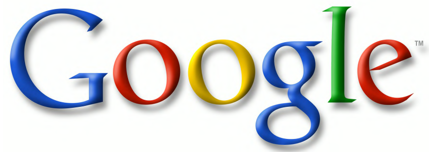

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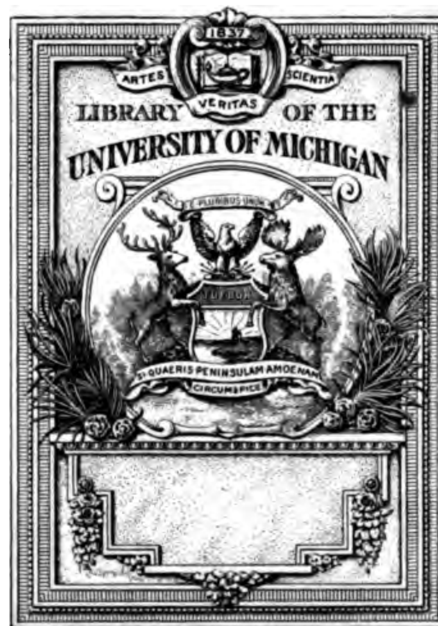
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MAGAZINE

OF

AMERICAN HISTORY

WITH

NOTES AND QUERIES

ILLUSTRATED

EDITED BY MRS. MARTHA J. LAMB

VOL. XIV

JULY–DECEMBER, 1885

30 LAFAYETTE PLACE, NEW YORK CITY

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Press of J. J. Little & Co.,
Nos. 10 to 20 Astor Place, New York.

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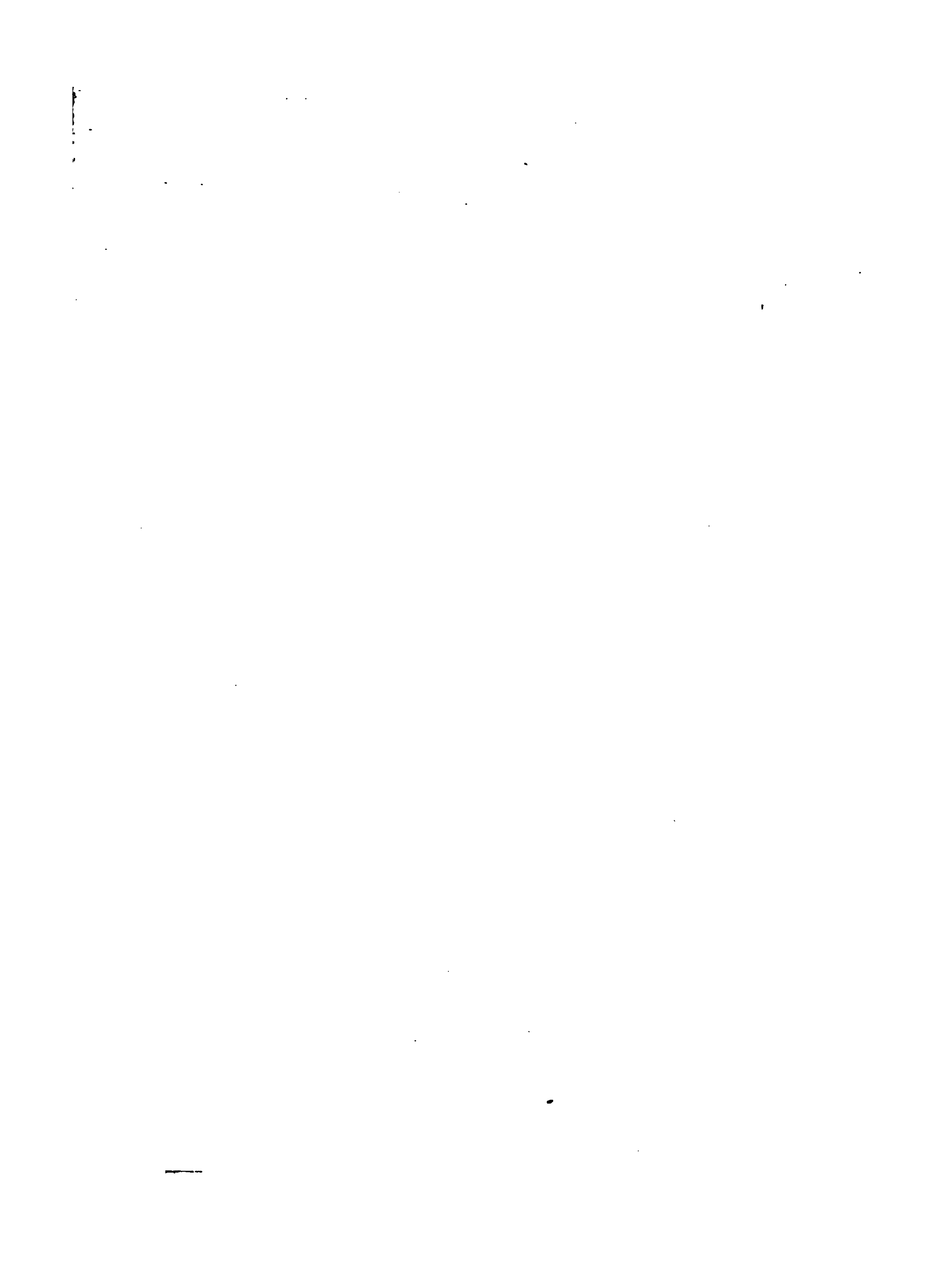

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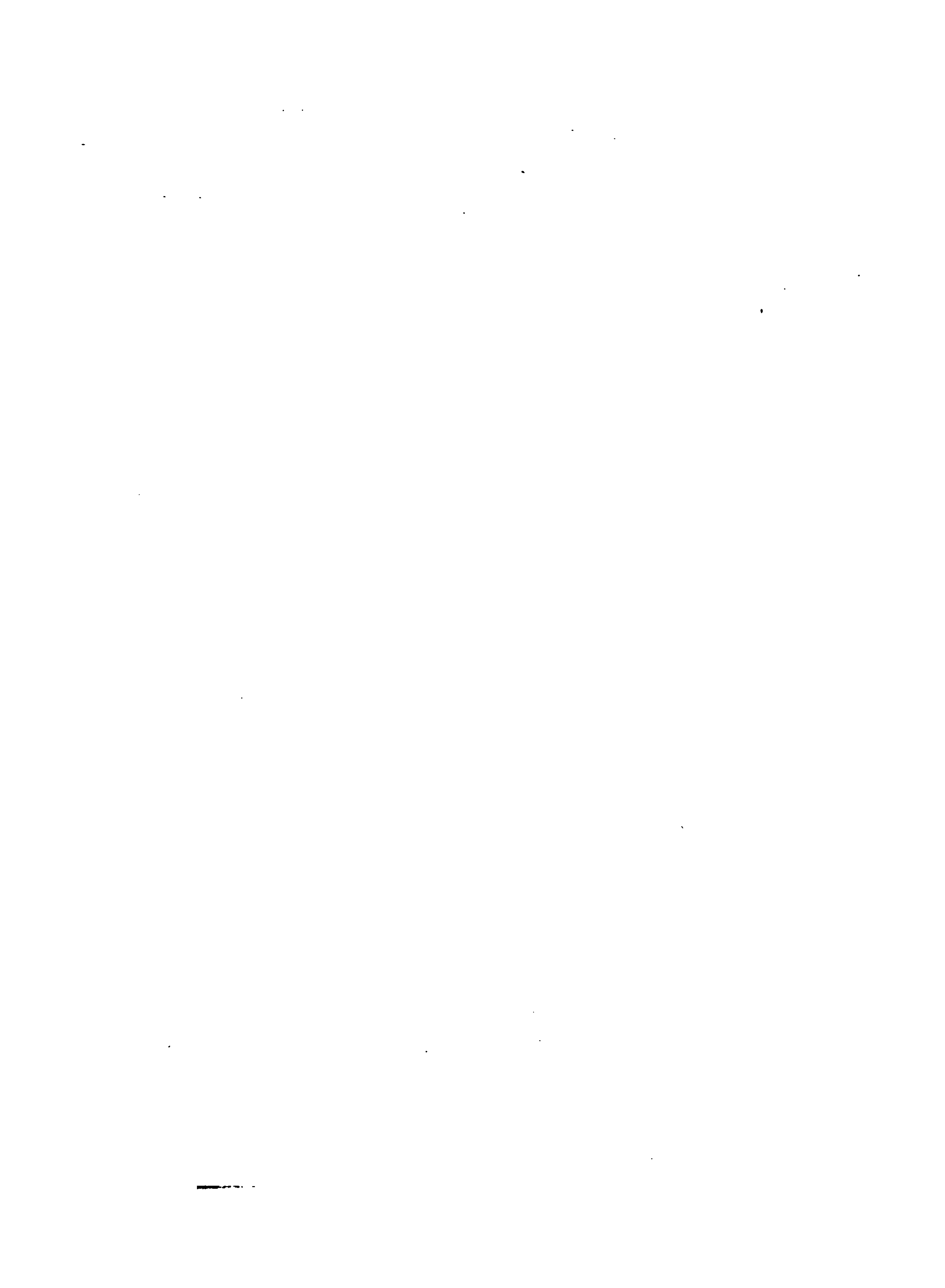
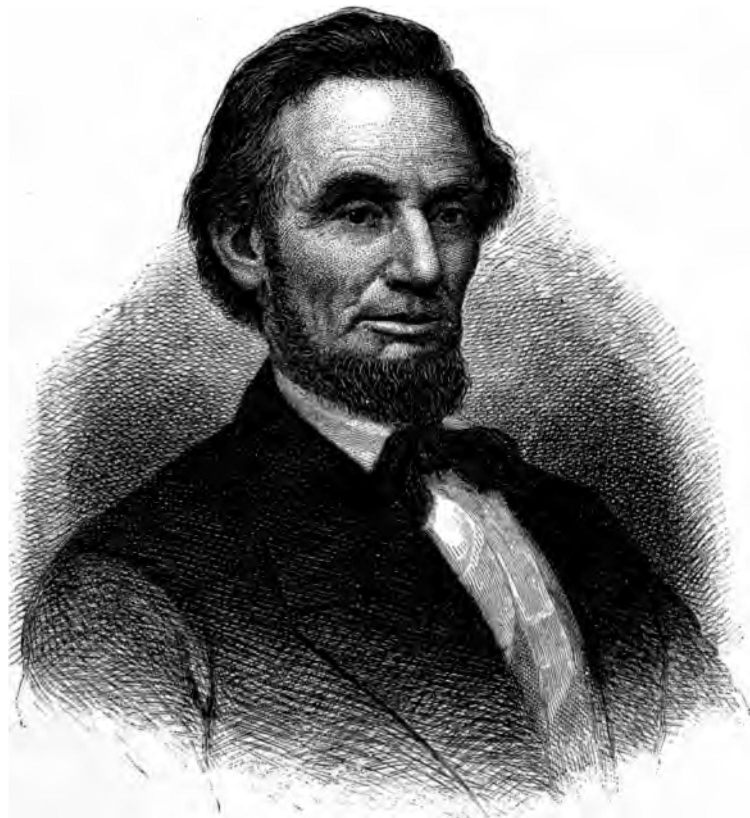




A. Lincoln

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XIV JULY, 1885 No. 1

WASHINGTON IN MARCH AND APRIL, 1861

IMMEDIATELY after the inauguration of President Lincoln there came in the capital of the country the lull which preceded the cyclone. To those who looked with great solicitude on passing events and toward the near future there appeared one bright spot in the horizon, which was that the United States Government had at least an executive head, duly installed and universally recognized.

There existed, however, great cause of anxiety in that blindness to danger which too often afflicts the leaders of a political party recently successful and for the first time succeeding to power. Few, very few, of the then leaders of the Republican party appreciated the serious, deeply-seated hostility of either the chiefs or the rank and file of the secession movement in the States which had already declared themselves out of the Federal Union, or the determination and activity of the advocates of secession in those of the Southern States that still remained in the Union.

The most prominent men in the successful party, with few exceptions, made light, in ordinary conversation, of threatened dangers: and professed to believe and I think did believe, that all violent opposition to the United States Government would soon melt away before the power of official patronage. "There will be," said they, "a vast deal of bluster, but when it comes to a question of actually fighting against the Government of the United States, there will be none of it."

The general tone of the conversation of those prominent men may be appreciated by the following expression attributed to one of them: "I would want," said he, "no better fortune than to have the right to collect a quarter of a dollar from each Southern man who will cross the Potomac to ask for Federal office under the administration of President Lincoln!" I do not think that he died as poor as he would have been had his income been derived from that source.

The first days of the new administration were passed in receiving congratulations on the victory of the party and in the rapid disposition of the principal offices made vacant by the resignations and removals of their

CHARLESTON MERCURY

EXTRA:

Passed unanimously at 1.15 o'clock, P. M., December 20th, 1860.

AN ORDINANCE

"To dissolve the Union between the State of South Carolina and other States united with her under the compact entitled "The Constitution of the United States of America."

We, the People of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained,

That the Ordinance adopted by us in Convention, on the twenty-third day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and also, all Acts and parts of Acts of the General Assembly of this State, ratifying amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed; and that the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of "The United States of America," is hereby dissolved.

THE

UNION

IS

DISSOLVED!

From a rare copy in the collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.

recent occupants; and so busy were the President and the members of his cabinet in these agreeable occupations that it seemed to the anxious lookers-on that not only were they blinded by success, but also so deafened by gratulatory shouts and the clamors for preferment that they could not hear the distant but distinct mutterings of the coming storm, which were so easily heard by others.

Meantime the Government of the "Confederate States of America" had been organized at Montgomery, Alabama, since the 9th of February, and there skillful officers who had resigned from the United States' service were actively engaged in organizing an army and a navy.

Fort Sumter

with its brave little garrison was in a state of siege, with hostile batteries on all available points already prepared against it. Yet it was confidently asserted in Washington, where the government was making no military preparations, that all would pass in "bluster."

During the winter I had organized, under the orders of the Secretary of War (Mr. Holt) and the General-in-chief of the army (Lieutenant-General Scott) and with their vigorous support, nearly three thousand five hundred volunteers, citizens of the District of Columbia; and these volunteers, who had already rendered such excellent service before and during the inauguration of President Lincoln, I kept under as active drill as possible; for I was under the firm conviction that we were on the eve of a great and desperate civil war involving the existence of our government, and that this war might break out at any moment. I recognized the fact that while the explosion might thus occur at any moment, the Federal District, with all its public departments, would in such case have at the first outbreak hardly any other means of defense than these troops.

As Inspector-General of the District of Columbia I had large means of obtaining information respecting the feeling in and around the District, and early in March I earnestly recommended that these organized volunteers, or at least a portion of them, should be mustered into the service of the United States for the purpose of furnishing proper guards for the President's house and the public buildings in the city, but was only laughed at for my pains, as being unnecessarily anxious. Nevertheless I continued to perfect the organization, discipline and drill of the companies, a work in which I was ably seconded by the good will and earnestness of the volunteers themselves and constantly supported by the encouragement and advice of the general-in-chief and Lieutenant-Colonel Townsend, Assistant Adjutant-General at the headquarters of the army.

Day by day army and naval officers occupying important positions were resigning their commissions and leaving service to join the forces of their respective States which had seceded; and the resignations were always accepted as in ordinary times, no action being taken by the government to prevent their departure, when it was known and even openly announced that they were going directly to join the forces of declared enemies to the United States Government. To those who really expected war it seemed as if the executive departments of the government of the country were deliberately furnishing experienced officers, trained in the service of the government, for the purpose of perfecting a respectable, well-organized force with which to fight when that force should be ready to attack it. And yet no steps were taken toward strengthening the forces of the government.

Those who spoke of coming war were apparently regarded as pestiferous alarmists, and high public functionaries turned wearily away from such to resume the more agreeable duty of listening to propositions for filling some good fat office by the appointment of a political friend.

The railway trains and steamboats going south from Washington were laden with military goods purchased in northern cities for the supply of seceded states and states discussing secession; and the telegraph and United States mails were freely and openly used in the interest of military effort against the national government without any action taken to prevent or control such proceedings.

The people of the District of Columbia, at least that large majority of the people who desired the continued existence of the Government of the United States, began to despair while noticing the indifference of the executive to the open encouragement of the new confederacy by large numbers of people in the border states, and in the national capital itself. It was difficult to learn anything more about the action of the so-called "government" at Montgomery than the leaders of that organization saw fit from time to time to publish; but every act of the United States' executive and all its lack of action were promptly and openly telegraphed all over the South by the voluntary and official agents of the Confederacy and of the various seceded states, who were permitted to remain in the capital and there to act, not only as purveyors for the military forces organizing in the South, but also as preachers of war against the government.

Finally the most desperate element of society in the District seemed to take up the notion that a government which permitted such things to pass unopposed and unnoticed had not force enough to put down lawlessness in them; and there came serious danger of riot and plundering in the very capital. Designing men did not fail to see their opportunity to gain by such a feeling, as the following incident will prove.

One evening I had made my usual duty call on the general-in-chief and had returned to my quarters when a messenger from head-quarters summoned me thither. It was past ten o'clock when I re-entered General Scott's room, and there I found Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, in conversation with the general.

General Scott asked me if I knew Count ———, and on my replying that I did not have that honor, Mr. Seward laughingly remarked: "Why, Colonel Stone, to say that you do not know the Count is to argue yourself unknown." He then described the personal appearance of the nobleman in question and informed me that he could be found at Mrs. Ulrich's boarding-house.

The general-in-chief informed me that this "gentleman" was playing the demagogue in a dangerous manner and exciting desperate men in Washington to pillage by descanting on the wealth of such men as Corcoran and Riggs and others and hinting that it would be easy under existing circumstances to burn and sack a little in such houses with great chance of

William H. Seward

profit. The general then directed me to go in uniform, without delay, to the rooms of Count ——— and to inform him that I visited him by order of Lieutenant-General Scott, who directed me to say to him that law and order would be maintained in the District of Columbia, that property would be carefully protected, and that on the slightest sign of an attempt by licentious men to break the peace, military force would be promptly used to repress disorder; while men inciting roughs to such action as it was known the count had advised or insinuated, would be dealt with in a summary manner. I was, moreover, to tell the Count that his movements

and words had been well noted, and that a repetition of some of his incendiary propositions, made in supposed privacy, would place him where such conduct should place him. I carried out my instructions to the letter and had a curious interview with the nobleman in question, which was duly reported to the general-in-chief and Secretary of State within half an hour from the reception of the order.

Whether or not this matter had anything to do with the action taken in reference to the muster into service of some of the volunteers, I do not know; but on the 8th April I was notified that four companies of my volunteers would be mustered into the service for duty in the District. I urged strongly that all the completely organized companies would not be too many or enough, and the order was changed from four to eight companies. The muster-in was commenced on the 10th of April in the inclosed space on the north side of the War Office and attracted great attention on the part of the citizens as well as on the part of temporary residents. These companies as fast as mustered in were placed under my command; and before the first eight had passed through the necessary formalities, eight more were called for, and so on until thirty companies had been received. Thus the first citizen troops called into the service of the nation to oppose secession were those of the District of Columbia. They responded to the call of duty with cheerful alacrity, with full ranks, and, as I believe, with a clearer sense of the dangers of the situation than any of the state troops who soon afterward responded to the call of the President for three months' service.

With these troops in hand I immediately commenced the nightly occupation of the grounds around the Executive Mansion and of the principal public buildings, posting them after sunset each evening and withdrawing them shortly after sunrise in the morning, keeping a reserve always on duty in the armories during the day in constant readiness for any emergency.

This act of taking into service even a few troops, produced in the capital an excellent effect. The friends of the Union among the citizens of the Federal District took heart, and the enemies of the Union, while of course ridiculing the action, became more circumspect. Both parties seemed at once to recognize the fact that the government of the United States had resolved to act as a government, at least as far as the District of Columbia was concerned. The ice once broken, the work went on. The War Department authorized me to organize and bring into service more companies. I organized those in service in battalions of four companies each, placed over them the most experienced officers of the force,

and at the same time pressed the organization of five new companies in process of formation.

I have never found, among new troops, a finer spirit than was exhibited by those District of Columbia volunteers. They uncomplainingly submitted themselves to strict military discipline and from the moment of

Gideon Welles

entering the service cheerfully performed arduous duty to which they were, of course, quite unaccustomed. They seemed to be fully impressed with the truth that they were in service to protect their own homes as well as the government, and as a rule they acted as if, while on duty, they were attending to their own interests.

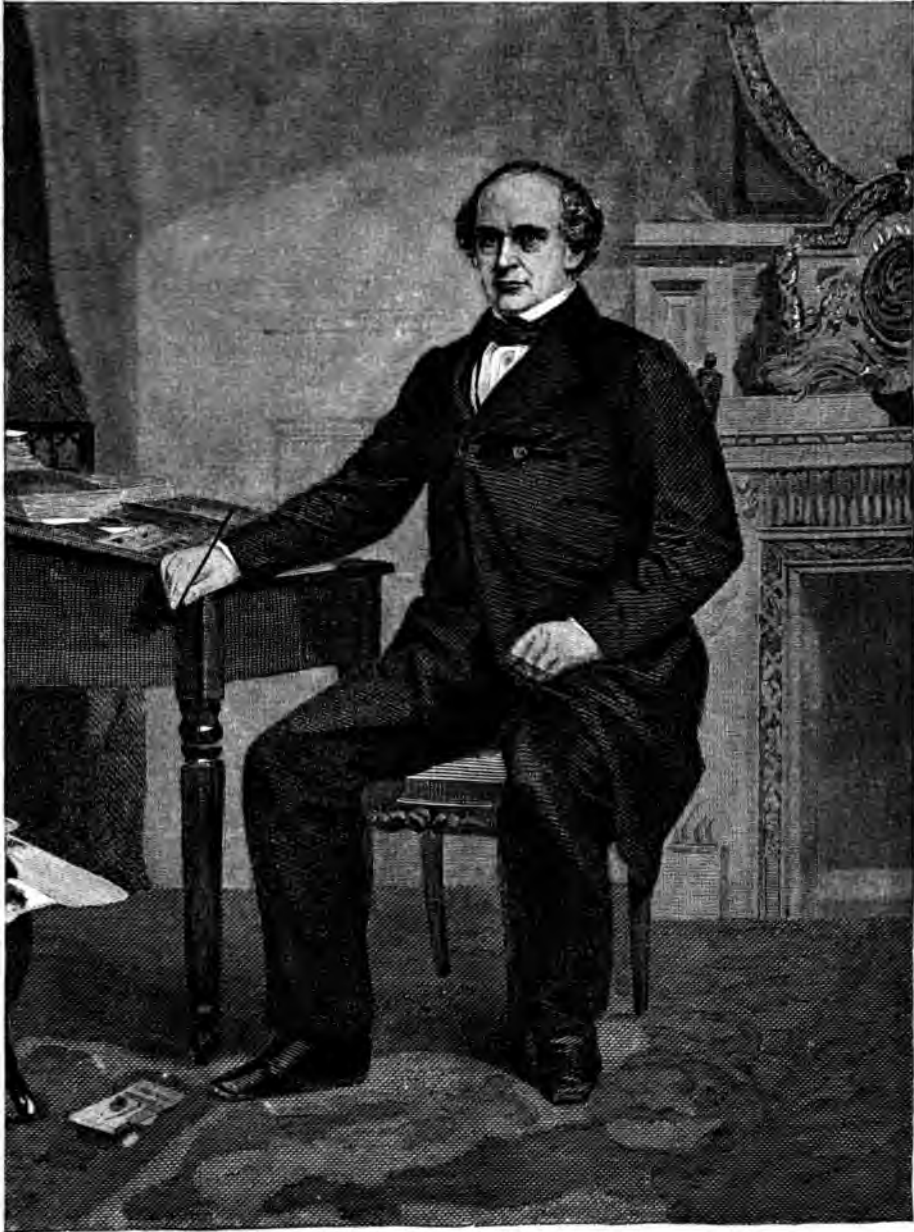
From the first I took, under the orders of the general-in-chief, especial care in guarding the Executive Mansion; without, however, doing it so ostentatiously as to attract public attention. It was not considered advisable that it should appear that the President of the United States was for his personal safety obliged to surround himself by armed guards. Mr.

Lincoln was not consulted in the matter. But Captain Todd, formerly an officer of the regular army, who was, I believe, the brother-in-law of Mrs. Lincoln, was then residing in the Presidential Mansion, and with him I was daily and nightly in communication, in order that, in case of danger, one person in the President's household should know where to find the main body of the guard, to the officer commanding which Captain Todd was each night introduced. Double sentries were placed in the shrubbery all around the mansion and the main body of the guard was posted in a vacant basement room from which a staircase led to the upper floors.

A person entering by the main gate and walking up to the front door of the Executive Mansion during the night could see no sign of a guard; but from the moment any one entered the grounds by *any* entrance, he was under the view of at least two riflemen standing silent in the shrubbery, and any suspicious movement on his part would have caused his immediate arrest; and inside, the call of Captain Todd would have been promptly answered by armed men. The precautions were taken before Fort Sumter was fired on as well as afterward.

One night, near midnight, I entered the grounds for the purpose of inspecting the guard and was surprised to see a bright light in the East room. As I entered the basement I heard a loud noise as of many voices talking loudly, mingled with the ringing of arms, coming from the great reception room. On questioning the commander of the guard I learned that many gentlemen had entered the house at a late hour, but they had come in boldly, no objection had been made from within, but on the contrary Captain Todd had told him that all was right. I ascended the interior staircase and entered the East room, where I found more than fifty men, among whom were Hon. Cassius M. Clay and General Lane. All were armed with muskets which they were generally examining, and it was the ringing of many rammers in the musket barrels which had caused the noise I had heard. Mr. Clay informed me that he and a large number of political friends *deeming it very improper that the President's person should in such times be unguarded*, had formed a voluntary guard which would remain there every night and see to it that Mr. Lincoln was well protected. I applauded the good spirit exhibited, but did not, however, cease the posting of the outside guards, nor the nightly inspections myself as before, until the time came when others than myself became responsible for the safety of the President.

As it seemed to me that Washington might be suddenly cut off from communication with the rest of the country, I made careful inquiries as to exactly whence came the daily supplies of food and as to the quantities



S. P. Chase

generally on hand, especially of bread supplies. I knew that a beleaguered town of sixty thousand people might be kept in order if the population as well as the garrison were well provided with food ; but that in case the population could not procure at least *bread*, it would surely make trouble for those charged with the defense of the place. A quiet inspection of provision stores in the city made by myself and one other, resulted in the disquieting discovery that there was rarely on hand among the bakers and grocers more than about three days' supply of flour. This state of things resulted from the fact that there were large flouring mills at Georgetown, only three miles off, whence the supply came as it might be wanted. On making quiet inquiries at Georgetown I learned that on the day of inquiry there were about 10,000 barrels of flour in the mill magazines, which amount I estimated would largely suffice for twenty days or more for the population and garrison of the whole District. I also learned that shipments were taking place usually about as fast as the mills produced. As isolation would cause supplies of wheat for the mills to fail, I deemed it only safe to cause myself to be informed daily of the amount of flour on hand there, and most fortunate it proved that I did so. One quiet Sunday afternoon at fifteen minutes after three o'clock, while at dinner with a friend, I learned that a large portion of the flour at Georgetown had been rapidly placed on board two or three large schooners, which would sail the following morning, while nearly all the remainder in store would be shipped the next day. I left the hospitable table immediately and went to the War Department, where I fortunately met the Secretary of War, Mr. Cameron, just leaving his office. I rapidly stated the case to him and earnestly recommended the seizure of all the flour at Georgetown without delay, and its conveyance to safe magazines in the public buildings in Washington. Mr. Cameron acted with admirable promptness, asking only two questions. 1st. Had I the force disposable to seize and guard the flour on the vessels and in store at Georgetown ? 2d. Where could we place it in safety? I replied that I had the necessary force already in Georgetown to effect the seizure and guard the flour, and that we could easily store seven thousand barrels in the basement of the Capitol, in the General Post Office and in the basement of the Treasury building.

He instantly gave me orders to make the seizure, saying, "You, Colonel Stone, see to the soldier part—seize the flour and guard it, first there and then here, and I will see to the transportation !" I left promptly to do my part, while Mr. Cameron *ran* toward the office of Captain Beckwith, the quartermaster, which was near the War Office. Captain Beckwith was an officer full of energy, and within an hour long lines of drays,

express-wagons, carts and all sorts and kinds of wheeled vehicles were rumbling through the streets of Washington laden with barrels of flour. Late into the night that rumbling continued. Throughout the night soldiers and laborers were handling the barrels, and on the following morning the basement of the Capitol held three thousand barrels, the General Post Office two thousand, and the Treasury building two thousand. Washington was provisioned for a siege, and a few days later that flour served garrison and population with good bread while Washington was cut off from communication with North and South. Many of the present residents in the capital can doubtless remember the rumbling of the flour carts on that Sunday afternoon and night, and can remember also the great bakery on Capitol Hill which served so many.

After the passage of the ordinance of secession by the convention of the State of Virginia, but before nominal action had been taken on it by a vote of the people, the condition of affairs in the national capital was rendered yet more critical than before. There were many officers, Virginians by birth or by marriage, some of high grade in the military and naval services who had remained in service hoping that the Mother of Presidents would remain in the Union, but who now tendered their resignations, had them accepted, and left for Virginia. From this sudden vacation of important positions considerable inconvenience resulted, perhaps some confusion. It became evident that military movements were taking place on the opposite side of the Potomac, and it was quite certain that any troops on that side of the river could not be regarded as our allies. With the approval of the general-in-chief I placed strong guards on the "Long Bridge" and "Chain Bridge," opening the "draw" in the former and thus controlling the passage; but, until after open acts of hostility took place large numbers of passes were given, and even after the burning of the Gosport Navy-Yard, I think, resigned officers were permitted to freely go and join the enemy.

As the attitude of Maryland was equivocal, guards were placed at Tennally Town, far out on Fourteenth Street and Seventh Street and at Benning's Bridge.

Each of the most important public buildings was not only guarded during the night by details of troops which I made daily, but on the suggestion of Lieutenant-Colonel Townsend, an officer of the regular army was placed nightly in each building.

These officers, Major McDowell at the Capitol, Colonel Bache in the State Department, Colonel Taylor at the Patent Office, Lieutenant-Colonel Garesché at the War Office, etc., etc., were on duty in their respective

offices during the day and passed the night in the buildings to which they were assigned, to be awakened and take charge of the defense in case of attack. From my experience in visiting them during the night, I think that they allowed themselves but little sleep, for I do not remember to have ever found one of them asleep, although they were expected to rest except in case of attack. Captain William B. Franklin, Corps of Engineers, who had charge of the construction of the Treasury Building, remained there at night and took command of the 200 or 300 men whom I detailed daily for service there. He solidly barricaded the openings of the basement and thus rendered the building a sort of citadel which could be desperately held, it being flanked by the State Department building; and about one hundred men were placed under the command of Captain Shiras in the Riggs' building opposite the Treasury front.

For my part, after having, during the day, made necessary details and attended to the organization and wants of the whole force, I, during the night, placed the guards in the President's house and grounds, and visited all the guards and pickets at least once between evening and morning, making the entire circuit of the District. The only sleep which I could snatch was taken in a carriage while driving from one picket to another. The drive from Long Bridge to Chain Bridge would afford me a nap; that from Tennally Town to the Fourteenth Street picket, another; that from Seventh Street to Benning's Bridge, yet another, and that from Benning's Bridge to the Capitol, one more. I usually arrived back at the Executive Square an hour or more before daybreak and passed the time until sunrise with Captain Franklin, after having paid a second visit to the guard in the Executive Mansion.

Magruder's Battery was stationed near the Executive Square behind the Headquarters of Lieutenant-General Scott, whence it could be promptly sent to reinforce any point which might be attacked, and Barry's Battery was stationed at the Arsenal. Magruder suddenly departed after the secession of Virginia, and the battery passed under the command of Ricketts, under whose name and command it afterward won fresh renown.

When Virginia passed her ordinance of secession, Alexandria was promptly occupied by a small force of State troops; and I was informed that a small cannon had been placed on the wharf to command the navigation of the Potomac. I was also informed that on the day following that on which the information was received, the large steamboats which made the railway connection between Washington and Acquia Creek would be brought to and detained at Alexandria for the use of the commonwealth of Virginia. This information I conveyed to Mr. Cameron, Secre-

An Ordinance

To repeal the ratification of the Constitution of the United States of America, by the State of Virginia, and to resume all the rights and powers granted under said Constitution.

The people of Virginia, in their ratification of the Constitution of the United States of America adopted by them in Convention on the twenty fifth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty eight, having declared that the powers granted under the said Constitution were derived from the people of the United States, and might be resumed whensoever the same should be perverted to their injury and oppression and the Federal Government having perverted said powers, not only to the injury of the people of Virginia, but the oppression of the Southern slaveholding States.

Now, therefore, we, the people of Virginia, do declare and ordain, That the ordinance adopted by the people of this State in Convention, on the twenty fifth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty eight, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and all acts of the General Assembly of this State ratifying or adopting amendments to said Constitution, are hereby **repealed and abrogated;** that the union between the State of Virginia and other States, under the Constitution aforesaid, is hereby dissolved, and that the State of Virginia is in the full possession and exercise of all the rights of sovereignty which belong and appertain to a **free and independent State.**

And they do further declare, That said Constitution of the United States of America is no longer binding on any of the Citizens of this State.

This ordinance shall take effect and be an act of this day when ratified by a majority of the votes of the people of this State, cast at a poll to be taken thereon on the fourth Thursday in May next, in pursuance of a Schedule hereafter to be enacted.

Done in Convention in the City of Richmond on the seventeenth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty one, and in the eighty fifth year of the **Commonwealth of Virginia.**

Attest Jno. L. Eubank

Secretary of the Convention.

tary of War, and he, while very desirous of not taking any premature violent action, nevertheless gave orders for the seizure and detention of these steamboats. They were promptly occupied and held at their wharf by two companies of the District of Columbia volunteers.

This vigorous action, which took place at about four o'clock in the afternoon, created great excitement in Washington. The Unionists were delighted; the Secessionists were furious and denounced the act as unconstitutional, illegal and *irritating*.

Late in the evening of the same day I learned from excellent authority that the steamer *St. Nicholas* (afterwards made quite notorious by her capture) was to sail at seven o'clock the next morning for Baltimore, laden with *flour and molasses*. It was a new thing for Washington to supply Baltimore with food, and at this time, especially, food was more valuable in Washington than Baltimore. It was evident that the steamer would be captured at Alexandria if she sailed, and the provisions would go to supply the Virginia troops. I therefore sought Mr. Cameron and found him at about half-past ten o'clock in his room at the War Office. Mr. Cameron looked wearied, as he had a perfect right to after so long a day's work in his office, and on my reporting the information concerning the St. Nicholas, he said: "Well, Colonel, you can seize her as you have the other steamers; but this violent action on the part of the government is sure to create troublesome excitement throughout the country."

I said to him: "Mr. Secretary, why should it cause undue excitement or even surprise? War is made on the government. Has not the government at least the right of self-defense?" Mr. Cameron replied: "Yes, it is all right, but our people are not accustomed to see the government take such violent action, and from Maine to Texas to-morrow morning, the newspapers will discuss nothing but these seizures. Before midnight this news will be flashed all over the country."

I said to him: "Mr. Secretary, why should it be so? Why do you allow it? Do you receive by telegraph any important news from Montgomery or New Orleans or Charleston? Why should one side act as if all were peace, while the other side uses all the rights of war?"

Mr. Cameron reflected a moment and then said: "Colonel Stone, you mean that we should seize the telegraph as well as the steamboats!"

I replied: "Yes, Mr. Secretary, that is exactly what I mean. Nothing should, from this time out, go over the wires from here unless approved by the War Department. We are in a state of war, and should act accordingly."

Mr. Cameron asked: "Will you do it?" I answered, "Yes, sir! immediately, if you give the order." With a bright look he said, "Do it."

I left his office, drove to the armory of the National Rifles Company commanded by an admirable officer, Captain Smead, and directed him to send twenty men under his first Lieutenant (Davidson) to Seventh Street wharf to seize and occupy the Steamer *St. Nicholas*, and having seen the detail off

Simon Cameron

on its mission, I ordered Captain Smead to take with him a squad of ten men and to meet me in ten minutes from that time at the general telegraph office on Pennsylvania Avenue, and should I nod to him, to immediately take possession of the office and allow no despatches to be sent without the authority of the War Department. I then drove to the house of the

President of the transportation company to which the *St. Nicholas* belonged, informed him of the seizure of the steamer by the government *in the interest of his company*, and then drove to the telegraph office. Entering the office on the ground floor, where messages were received and sent up to the operators' room by an elevator, I placed myself at the desk and appeared to be preparing a despatch. Hardly was I posted there when Mr. S——n, the reporter of the *New York Times*, hurriedly entered, holding in his hand a long despatch. He walked to the counter and was about to send off his despatch when he saw me at the desk and turned at once, evidently hoping to get some additional news from the Inspector-General of the District: "Ah, good evening, Colonel, have you any news to-night?" "Yes, indeed, Mr. S——n, plenty of news," and I commenced the story of the Acquia Creek boats. "Oh, yes! I have all that down here in full; but has anything else of importance occurred?" "Yes, a great deal." Just then Mr. H——m, reporter of the *New York Herald* arrived with a despatch apparently longer than that of Mr. S——n. Mr. H——m, seeing the reporter of the *Times* in conversation with the Inspector-General rushed up to see to it that the *Herald* should not be behind the *Times* in news. "Ah, good evening, Colonel! has anything important happened to-night?" "Yes, Mr. H——m, I was just saying to Mr. S——n," and much to the disgust of Mr. S——n, I recommenced the story of the first two boats. Mr. H——m hastened to assure me that he was fully posted on the Acquia Creek boats as he had been to the wharf and learned all the particulars. Just then we heard the steady tramp of soldiers outside, and the command "Halt!" in Captain Smead's voice, rang out in front of the door. Captain Smead entered, I gave him a nod of recognition, and he walking up to the counter, laid his hand on it and said: "I take possession of this office in the name of the United States Government. Stop that elevator!"

Mr. H——m looked at me, then at Mr. S——n, and crying out: "Sold!" he ran out of the door. Surmising that he was about to go up to the operators' room by the front door, I told Captain Smead to hold the lower office and to send a sergeant and three men to the operators' room above to see to it that no instrument was used without authority. Going up to the operators' room I found the Superintendent, who was naturally enough in a state of great excitement and indignation, denouncing my action as one which was outrageous and contrary to the orders of the government, etc., etc. He said a great deal about "fearful responsibility," but I quietly told him that I was fully aware of the responsibility and had assumed it when taking possession. He declared he would go at once and complain to the Secretary of War, if he had to seek him in his own

bed-room, etc. I told him that it would not be so difficult to find the Hon. Secretary of War, as that high functionary was in his office, where I was then going to report to him, and that the most certain and expeditious manner of reaching him would be to take a seat in my carriage, which I had the pleasure of offering him.

This calmed his excitement, and he drove with me to the War Office, where I made my report to Mr. Cameron, who seemed to be delighted with the result.

On the 19th of April, the Sixth Regiment of Massachusetts State Militia arrived at Washington, after hard fighting in the streets of Baltimore, and was quartered in the Capitol.

Early in the morning of the 23d of April (if I am not mistaken in the date), I received orders from Mr. Cameron through General Scott to seize and hold possession of the Washington station of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, which company, for reasons best known to its Board of Directors, had ceased to run regular trains between Baltimore and the Capital. I sent orders to a battalion of the District of Columbia volunteers to meet me there, and on arriving at the station I found it stripped of everything useful excepting the station master, who received my communication without signs of astonishment. There was no rolling-stock in the yard excepting a broken-down locomotive, which served only as a pump, and two or three broken-down and quite unserviceable old passenger cars. Just as I was making these uncomfortable discoveries the Secretary of War appeared on the scene, accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel Townsend. They walked with me around the station, and Mr. Cameron locked the telegraph office and handed me the key, which was of but little value, as the operator had removed his instruments; and after confirming to the station-master the act I had made of taking possession in the name of the government, Mr. Cameron left, directing me to seize any rolling-stock that might come in. Subsequently I was ordered by the General-in-chief to get possession of the road if possible as far as Annapolis Junction, and to learn as much as possible concerning the state of affairs on the Annapolis branch which had been torn up. The battalion having arrived, I posted guards in such manner that they could not be seen from the railroad, giving instructions to those by the rear gate to close it and form across the track in case a train should enter the station.

Soon there rang out a loud whistle, and a powerful locomotive drawing only two passenger cars and one baggage car rushed into the station. Three gentlemen, who were all the passengers, sprang out of the first car and walked rapidly out of the station to the street without apparently no-

ticing the presence there of two officers, one of these passengers being, as I was informed, a high official of the company. The men belonging to the train rapidly threw out on to the platform what luggage and freight the baggage car contained, after which they called out "All right," and got back to their places. The engineer was about to back off with his train when I stepped near him and ordered him to shunt his train in the yard. He looked astonished and informed me that he had received orders to go directly back to Baltimore, and go he must. I informed him that I was in charge of that branch of the railroad, and that he must obey my orders and place his train where I had told him. Looking to the rear as if with an intention to rush his train out of the station, he saw the track covered with soldiers, and sullenly he obeyed my orders. I immediately sent an officer to the General-in-chief with a report of results so far obtained, and received orders to hold all I could of the road and to send out a train with troops as soon as practicable. He promised me any assistance I might ask and he could give.

Meantime I had learned from the conductor of the train which had come in, a man well disposed toward the government, that a freight train was on the way to Washington, but that the same orders for immediate return had been given to that train as to the first. The same disposition as before was made of the troops, and in a short time I was in possession of a second large locomotive and five good substantial box cars, which were disposed of in the same manner as those of the first train. I then ordered that a train should be made up of the most powerful of the two locomotives and the most commodious cars, at the same time sending information to the General-in-chief that in a short time I would be able to send a train to Annapolis Junction and asking if he had any further orders for me on that subject. Lieutenant-General Scott sent me his congratulations, with orders to act according to my own discretion, at the same time inquiring if I wanted anything to insure success which he could furnish. I replied simply: "I want Captain Franklin."

Then a difficulty arose. I had no troops at my disposal other than the District of Columbia volunteers; and they had been sworn into service only for duty in the Federal District. It would have been an evident breach of their engagement to order them against their will to go outside the District on duty which might be very dangerous. I caused the nearest company to be drawn up before me, and said to them: "Soldiers, you have been mustered into the service for duty in the District of Columbia only. I do not claim the right to send you out of the District without your consent, and will not do so. But now, I want 200 men to board that

train yonder, to go wherever I say, to do whatever they may be ordered to do, under the command of any officer I may designate. This service is important for the government, and it may be dangerous. All in this company who wish to go under these conditions step one pace to the front!" The entire company, excepting, I believe, the bugler, stepped to the front instantly, and were promptly ordered into the cars, which they entered cheering. Another company was brought up. The same words were spoken to them, and the entire company stepped to the front and entered the cars, cheering and receiving the cheers of their comrades.

Captain W. B. Franklin (now General Franklin) reported for duty, received his instructions, and was presented to the troops in the train as their commander during the expedition. He was received with enthusiasm.

But another difficulty arose. The *locomotives had been tampered with since their arrival*, and neither of them would do duty! It occurred to me that the Sixth Regiment of Massachusetts militia came from a country of work-shops, and I knew that it was the practice of mechanics to carry tools with them under all circumstances; so I sent a mounted officer at speed to the Capitol, with my compliments to the commanding officer of that regiment, requesting him to kindly send me as quickly as possible a half dozen locomotive builders with their tools; and in a few minutes half a dozen delighted mechanics (in Massachusetts uniform) came running into the station, one waving a monkey-wrench, another a hammer and chisel, another files, etc., etc., all calling out, "Where is she? let us get at her!" and within a few minutes our two locomotives were both serviceable.

Yet we were not done with difficulties. *Both the engineers had decamped.* Learning from the station-master where the engineer of the made-up train lived I sent a guard for him, and he was soon brought to his place. During the delay thus caused I had placed on the front platform two riflemen with loaded weapons, and had given them special instructions.

The engineer objected most strenuously to taking out the train, stating that it would cause his discharge by the railroad company. I ordered him to take his place promptly, which he thought it best under the circumstances to do, and he was then told that go he must, and if the railroad company discharged him or treated him unjustly I would see that he had a better place. Then, addressing both engineer and fireman, I said: "Do you see those two riflemen on the front platform? It is only fair to you that I should inform you what orders they have received. From this moment until the train shall return here, should either of you attempt to leave your places, one of those soldiers will shoot the attempted deserter. Moreover, should anything wrong occur with engine or

train one of those soldiers will shoot you, engineer; the other will shoot you, fireman. I would therefore advise you, for the sake of your own safety, not to run the train into any peril without orders from the commander of these troops, Captain Franklin."

The engineer replied: "These are hard lines, colonel. If the rebels have weakened a bridge or a culvert without my knowing it and the train should go down, then I should be killed without any fault of mine." I replied: "Yes, they are hard lines, but the times are hard. If you should have an accident without your fault, then you should be shot an innocent man and an unfortunate one. It would be your misfortune. But I do not believe that any bridge or culvert would be made dangerous by the rebels without your being informed of it; and if, knowingly, you wreck this train, you will deserve what you will, in such case, surely receive; you will then be justly shot on the spot." The train was then ordered to start, and went off slowly and steadily. I felt sure of the best efforts of the engineer and fireman.

Captain Franklin had orders to go, if practicable, as far as Annapolis Junction; to drop guards at bridges and other points where damage could be easily caused to impede his return, to gain as much information as possible respecting the condition of the Annapolis branch of the road, and as to the position of the troops under General Butler, and to return, bringing information not only as regarded the above subjects, but also as to the quantity of railroad material stored along the line of the road passed over, the number of important sidings at different stations, which might be taken up to afford materials for rebuilding the Annapolis road, etc.

Captain Franklin accomplished his mission, and reported to me on his return a few hours later. He had been to Annapolis Junction; had found no United States troops there; had noticed that the rails toward Annapolis had been torn up and carried away as far as he could see. He brought a list of sidings which could be taken up, and a rough estimate of the quantities of rails, ties, etc., which could be found along the line. Under the instructions I had given him, he was not to delay the return by attempting to make an accurate list in detail. It was rumored at Annapolis Junction that the troops under General Butler were moving toward the Junction and rebuilding the road.

I immediately sent the train out again with Captain Smead in command, to keep up communication to the Junction; and from that time we held control of the railroad to that point, ready to bring in such troops as General Butler might succeed in sending there.

On my reporting in person to Lieutenant-General Scott, he was pleased

to express himself as satisfied, and more than satisfied, with what had been accomplished, and informed me that the Secretary of War, Mr. Cameron, had been fortunate enough to secure the services of a very able railroad man, Mr. Thomas A. Scott, in whom Mr. Cameron seemed to have the greatest confidence, and that we could have the advantage of his services. He said that Mr. Scott had called upon him with or from Mr. Cameron, and had made the sensible suggestion that the extra tracks, called in railway parlance "sidings," should be measured to learn what amount of material could be had by pulling them up. I drew from my pocket the rough estimate of Captain Franklin and the more minute one made by Captain Smead, and told him that I had thought exactly as Mr. Scott had, that such information was worth having.

The old chief was delighted: and turning to Colonel Townsend, said: "Anticipated again! Oh! these rascally regulars!" This expression, "rascally regulars," was a pet one with the lieutenant-general, and he would often add: "I call them rascals because I love them."

The general said to me: "You asked me to send you Captain Franklin." "Yes, general, and I think you will agree with me that I asked for the right man." "Yes, sir!" said the general. "Yes, sir!" and then, after a moment's reflection, he added, as if thinking aloud: "Captain Franklin! a man who as yet has never done anything too quick or too slow!" Those who have known General William B. Franklin, from his cadetship to the present time, will appreciate the old general-in-chief's estimate of him.

The government soon after this owed much to Colonel Thomas A. Scott. He brought to the service of the country a strong mind, a body of iron endurance, and a wealth of practical knowledge on the working of railroads, the value of which to the government, at that time, cannot be estimated.

The manner in which communication was opened between the general-in-chief and General Butler at Annapolis is worthy of record. Several attempts had been made, by various officers, to carry dispatches through, but they had all been unsuccessful. I recommended for this service Lieutenant William Stone Abert of the 4th Artillery, who was an aid-de-camp on my staff. This young officer had been stationed at Fortress Monroe, Virginia, and had been sent by the commanding officer of that fort to Washington with dispatches, by the way of Baltimore. When he landed at Baltimore he found that railway communication had been cut off, and he could not even hire a locomotive to take him on. Baltimore was in a state of wild excitement, and he rightly judged that any attempt to hire a horse

would cause suspicion of him and probably cause his temporary detention. While of slight form in appearance, he was quite an athlete, and a good pedestrian. He shouldered his portmanteau, and following the railroad track walked rapidly on to within some nine miles of Washington, where he was enabled to hire a one-horse vehicle, in which he drove to the capital and went straight to headquarters, where he duly delivered his dispatches, "with the dust of the road on them." As I was greatly in need of staff assistance, Lieutenant Abert was assigned to duty with me as aid-de-camp, in which capacity he rendered good service.

When it was found so difficult to find any one who could carry dispatches to General Butler, it seemed to me that the best man to carry such documents was he who had so safely brought in dispatches under difficulties. The general-in-chief held the same opinion, and Lieutenant Abert was ready to start almost at a moment's notice. He divested himself of all uniform excepting his military vest, the buttons of which would prove him a soldier of the United States, and carefully concealing the dispatches in his clothing he drove quietly out of Washington in a buggy, which he left at Bladensburg, I believe. Thence he walked on foot to Annapolis Junction, and down the railroad track toward Annapolis. He soon struck a *destruction train*, well manned, a large party pulling up the rails and ties, and loading them on platform-cars, which, as fast as loaded, were dragged off toward Annapolis. Abert immediately put off his overcoat, placed it on a car, and commenced aiding in the work of destroying the track. After working vigorously for some time, he was noticed as not being one of the original party, and one of the destroyers asked him his name, at the same time praising his strength and skill at the work. He replied, frankly, "My name is Abert." "Where do you live?" "Born in Washington. I have lately lived in Virginia." "All right." And so he went on until all the cars were loaded, and he threw himself on one of them and was transported to the vicinity of Annapolis. He had never been there before, and I remember the minute description of the outskirts of the town, and the pathway thence to Fort Severn that General Scott gave him. Lieutenant Abert told me afterward that every detail down to a white paling fence with a green gate before a house, given by the General, was minutely correct. When he recognized one of the landmarks given by the General, he slipped off the car, followed the pathway indicated, and in a few minutes was before General Butler, to whom he delivered his dispatches. He returned to Washington when the volunteers came in. Abert served with me as aid-de-camp, afterward as assistant adjutant-general, was promoted to a captaincy of cavalry, then to lieutenant-colonel and aid-de-camp, as

inspector-general of the 19th Corps d'Armée. He died of yellow fever shortly after the war while on duty in Texas.

After this digression, due to a gallant young officer, let us return to Washington and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Trains were kept running to insure the possession of the road, and to have transportation ready

EDWIN M. STANTON.

at Annapolis Junction for any of the New York, Massachusetts, or Pennsylvania troops who might arrive there. The suspense in the national capital was short.

On the 25th April the train came back to Washington filled and covered with *men*. As the train neared the station the uniform of the Seventh Regiment New York State Militia was recognized, and a loud cheer of wel-

come went up from my troops in the station I have never seen men more cordially welcomed than were those of the Seventh Regiment. The blockade was broken, and that gallant regiment were the first fruits of the opening of communications. The colonel and field officers and staff sprang from the cars. The companies were quickly formed, and the column marched in correct Seventh Regiment style up Pennsylvania Avenue to the President's mansion, where they gave a marching salute to the President. I mounted and galloped to headquarters to report the arrival to the general-in-chief, and arrange for a camping-ground for them. The old general said that this fine regiment must have a beautiful camping ground, and designated the country seat of Mr. William Stone, far out on Fourteenth Street, which the owner had patriotically offered to place at General Scott's disposal for such a purpose.

From that day on, each train sent out came back to us laden with volunteers from the Northern cities, and Washington was soon too strong for attack by any force which its enemies could then send against it.

FLUSHING, LONG ISLAND, *June* 3, 1885

BEGINNINGS OF THE CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA

Writing twenty years after the close of the disastrous effort of the Southern states to form a political federation and government more to their liking and more in sympathy with their special industrial interests than the Southern people had come to regard that of the United States, I am of the belief that I can usefully relate certain events of the epoch of 1860-65, in which I was either a participant or a witness, or of which I was specially made cognizant at the time. I also believe that I can write in the main unswayed by personal and political feelings, and free from the illusions of personal or sectional likes or dislikes.

I am incited to the undertaking, moreover, by the feeling that the souvenirs even of so unfortunate a part of their past history are not without many consolations to the people of the conquered states for what of misfortune and disaster befell them, including that long period of humiliation to which they were subjected after the war, known as that of political reconstruction: from which, happily for the whole country, they have wholly emerged without hazard of any future sectional contests or struggles other than that healthy competition between the various industrial interests naturally to be expected in so vast an empire as that of the United States.

Entirely satisfied myself that, while the great war of the sections of 1861–1865 fortunately failed to disrupt the Union, it should have ended in the summary extinction of servile labor or negro slavery in the country—I shall none the less carefully and dutifully narrate in the course of the following pages, as matter that belongs to the truth of history, much that will be found running counter to the present general opinion in the South as well as in the North and West: that the war necessarily ended in the discomfiture of the Southern people, if for no other reason than that of the great numerical inferiority of their section. On the contrary, no people fighting for independence or another polity ever had such an opportunity for gaining their object despite numerical odds, as the people of the Southern States had, at least as late as the battle of Gettysburg.

With state governments essentially older than the Federal Constitution, they started the Secession movement with nearly their full share of the educated military men of the national army, as well as with a small nucleus of an effective army in their militia and volunteer organizations,

and a large number of men educated at state military schools. The whole seceding section was exceptionally rich in food and other resources, and was largely dowered with defensive geographical features, together with a system of completed railways which intensified the value to the Southern armies of their thorough possession, from the outset, of the "interior lines"—that inestimable advantage in war. And last, but not the least potent part of their equipment for the enterprise, was a thorough unity of sentiment as to its justness—amounting to a heroic devotion and readiness for every sacrifice on the part of the whole Southern people.

I

After a service of eight years as an officer of the general staff of the army on the Pacific coast, on the 10th of November, 1860, I set out from San Francisco on the steamer *Sonora*, under orders for Washington. Among the passengers were Mr. Reverdy Johnson and Senator Judah P. Benjamin, returning home after a memorable display of their great legal and forensic abilities in a suit in which the large mining property known as the New Almaden, was the stake. Another senator recently elected from Oregon was of the company, the distinguished California advocate, Colonel Edward D. Baker, who had gone to and lived in Oregon barely long enough to qualify him for election, and who, therefore, in more recent times, would have been known as a "carpet-bagger." A Republican, his election had been effected by virtue of a political bargain between the anti-Lane Democrats* and Republicans of the legislature of Oregon. Another prominent, and, to me, most interesting fellow-passenger, was Frederic W. Lander, a man physically and mentally of marked individuality, who had acquired some celebrity as an explorer and builder of wagon-ways across the continent to the Pacific coast. Several brother officers were also returning eastward, and, altogether, the party was a most agreeable one with the exception of a rather obtrusive San Francisco local politician, one Dr. Rabe, a German, who had started post haste, it was said, for the East, for the purpose of securing the collectorship of San Francisco from an administration which was not to be installed for some four months ahead. He was not a pleasant fellow-traveler because of his bad manners in airing his extreme political opinions on all possible occasions; nor was he much less displeasing to Colonel Baker than to others of our party, although politically affiliated with him, for the senator was an accomplished man of the world, of charming social demeanor, as I had seen during my previous casual friendly intercourse with him in Oregon.

* General Lane was, at the time, Senator in Congress.

He was, however, of the class of Republicans since known as "Stalwarts;" not in favor of any compromise with the Southern states; in favor of the exertion, hereafter, in the government of the country, on the part of the North and West, of the whole controlling power given these sections by their numerical preponderance, to impose the dogmas of the Free-Soil party through Congressional enactments; a purpose expressed, however, always with much suavity of manner and of words.

Thus by the time the *Sonora* reached Acapulco, a Mexican port at which it had to touch, there had come to be a very decided division of the passengers on our good craft into two political parties more or less socially repellant.

The harbor of Acapulco, the finest of all havens on the whole Pacific coast, is completely land-locked, easy of access, and so deep that the largest ships may lie close to the lofty rocks which environ it on several sides—altogether most picturesque. Once a great depot of Spanish commerce with the East Indies, there great galleons resorted freighted with the luxuries of the East and carrying away the precious metals from the mines of Mexico; there, too, a great annual fair was held to which merchants came from all parts of Mexico, up to the time of the revolt of that country against Spanish authority. But from that high commercial estate the Acapulco of 1860 had altogether fallen away, for it was reduced to a mere straggling Mexican town of several thousand souls, scattered over the somewhat terrace-like hillsides that bound the eastern shore of the beautiful small bay in a crescent manner. As I had seen as much of the place and of its people eight years before as I cared to do, I staid aboard the *Sonora* while at anchor. Some of the passengers, however, went ashore, among them Colonel Baker, invited by Doctor Rabe, who lost no opportunity to curry favor with a senator who also enjoyed the distinction of having been, before migrating to the Pacific coast, the personal friend of the probably President-elect, Mr. Lincoln.

Late in the afternoon the captain made signal for the passengers ashore to come aboard, and among the last to return was the senator and his party. When at the ship's side, and about to quit the boat manned by three or four bandit-looking natives, Rabe became involved in a squabble with the padrone about the fare. At a gesture or word from their leader, the others pushed their yawl off from the steamer's side landward, and made a show of drawing the knives with which each one was garnished. As the boat was approaching from the shore, I had been drawn to the vessel's side, and Lieutenant Howard of the army, a Baltimorean, was with me—and we thus witnessed the altercation. Other passengers were also spec-

tators of it, chiefly, I may add, men in sympathy politically with Colonel Baker and Doctor Rabe, none of whom, however, at the menacing posture assumed by the Mexicans, and their apparent determination to carry Baker and Rabe back to the shore, stirred to hinder it. Neither Howard nor myself having any weapons, I cried out for a revolver and so did my young friend, and two in an instant were forthcoming—from what quarter I cannot now recall. Howard and myself each brought a pistol to bear upon the yawl's padrone and called upon him to return, which was sullenly done. Rabe now paid the fare, and he and Colonel Baker ascended to the deck of the *Sonora* with an alacrity that marked their pleasure at being rid of their recent unpleasant if picturesque gondoliers. That they had been relieved from their somewhat critical and altogether humiliating position entirely by two Southern men, to whom Rabe had made himself disagreeable by his open-mouthed sectionalism, had not escaped the notice and appreciation of Colonel Baker—as also that his own political associates had meanwhile looked idly or inertly on; and during the remainder of the voyage, and afterward in Washington, he lost no opportunity of being personally most gracious to me.

Resuming our voyage, as before, there was an unbroken period of delightful weather, with the loveliest nights imaginable; and more attractive company hardly could be brought together. Mr. Benjamin, I fancy, was at his very best. I had frequent long conversations with him. It was his first visit to the Pacific, and he had been greatly impressed and interested with what he had seen of the country and people. Professionally and pecuniarily the visit had been a success; his rich clients had shown him much attention and hospitality, and naturally he was highly pleased. So, we talked of the wondrous growth of that quarter of the country and of its marvelous resources, and also of the books we had recently found of most interest or most nutritious mentally; but, somehow, very little was said by either of us of a forecasting character of impending political affairs or events.*

* That the fast-gathering elements of the storm about to burst upon the country were not really seen at that time by Southern leading men, and therefore that those men could not have been plotting for years the disruption of the Union, is made apparent, it seems to me, by a brief paragraph of a private letter written by me October 29, 1861, to Mr. Benjamin, in answer to one from him of the 27th of October, namely: "You rightly say the events of the last six months seem all a dream. The most dreamlike thing in the world's history is the presence here in Fairfax County, in the month of October, twelve months from the time you were in San Francisco, of two hostile armies of formidable size such as now confront each other." (Page 929, *Rebellion Official Records*, Series I., Vol. V.) My words were called out by a reference in his note to our voyage together, and how little was then dreamed of the momentous drama about to be enacted.

I had daily conversations also with Mr. Reverdy Johnson, and now that a quarter of a century has elapsed since that time, I may, without impropriety, repeat his interesting judgment expressed to me one day, of the qualities of Mr. Benjamin as a lawyer. Admitting his great ability as an advocate, and his legal learning and high accomplishments, the great Maryland lawyer added: "But Mr. Benjamin is not really a safe legal adviser for a client, for the reason that after having received a retainer in a case, he seems unable to see any weakness in it, nor any strength on the side of the adversary. He is altogether too sanguine." These were almost Mr. Johnson's exact words, and afterwards I had cause to remember them because the justness of this *aperçu* of Benjamin's character was so strikingly illustrated by his sanguine and over-confident course as Secretary of State, Attorney General, and Secretary of War of the Confederate States. His whole official conduct in the Confederate Cabinet, exhibited precisely the traits ascribed to him as a lawyer by his astute brother of the law, on the deck of the *Sonora* on the Pacific Ocean.

Several days before our arrival at Panama we came in sight, as we had expected, of the steamer of the same line bound northward for the port of San Francisco, and which we knew must have news aboard from the Atlantic States of the result of the Presidential election. Soon thereafter the two ships came within hailing distance of each other. It was in the early afternoon—a bright, beautiful hour; the sea was nearly as smooth as a lakelet. Both vessels were stopped, our boat was lowered, swiftly manned, and sent for newspapers, which were deftly cast into it from the deck of the northern-bound steamer, and the two vessels resumed their voyage with a parting whistle. A good sized roll of New York newspapers had been brought to our captain, from which right speedily was gleaned the information, hardly unexpected to any one, that Mr. Lincoln had been elected President—with the immediate, startling, momentous consequence, however, that the Legislature of South Carolina had ordered the assemblage of a "Sovereign Convention" with a view to the immediate secession of that state from the Federal Union!

Hardly had this intelligence been disseminated among the passengers, than there was an immediate division of them into two nearly equal parties. As usual, the aspirant to the Collectorship of San Francisco was loud-spoken and aggressive in his denunciations of the Southern people, and of their past and present courses; and so affluent in offensive language, as to what should be done by his party for their summary repression, that very soon some of the passengers of Southern origin, taking umbrage at the virulence of his words, began to gather menacingly. Of course Rabe had

his allies, and almost a mere spark would have kindled civil war that afternoon on the coast of Central America, on the comparatively narrow deck of the *Sonora*. Seeing the danger, and while very plainly informing Dr. Rabe of my opinion of the unbecomingness, on the part of one foreign-born, of such denunciation of the Southern people, I at the same time quietly advised Messrs. Baker and Harding * to put a stop to his mischievous tongue, else trouble would come of it, to the serious disadvantage of Doctor Rabe and those who affiliated with him, big and little. I also advised the Southern passengers to act with moderation, so long as sectional provocations were not made unbearable. Messrs. Baker and Harding had of course been very decided in their condemnation of the course of the South, but both agreed that Rabe must be led to be much less noisy. They had influence enough to silence him, and did so, otherwise I am satisfied there would have been a serious collision, or the first outbreak of the civil war, as it were, would have happened in the month of November, 1860, on the Pacific Ocean and not four months later at Fort Sumter.

That night Lander and myself sat up late, talking together. It was one of those indescribably delicious nights of the Southern Pacific, with the measureless concave vault of the heavens radiant above us with countless stars glowing as is wholly unknown here in the North. He had been born and educated in Massachusetts, where his family all resided except himself. As I have already said, he was a most interesting character, and I have never forgotten the intensity of feeling with which he spoke of the results or consequences of the election, the news of which had just reached us.

He said it "meant that no man would be permitted hereafter to live in the Northern states and remain a Democrat in party affiliations—such was the intolerant, over-bearing spirit incarnated in the fanatical Republican leaders, or men who would dominate in its councils—unless the Southern States, one and all, by immediate secession from the Union, brought the people of the North to their senses, or thus brought them to understand plainly and beyond peradventure, the consequences of giving the Government of the country into the hands of such fanatics and perilous demagogues."

"The Southern people," he declared, "have talked of secession so much that if they do not now secede there will be no limit to the aggressions of those men in the future, and the Democrats of the North will be virtually disfranchised, if not worse." All this, and much more, was said in vibrating tones that were full of conviction and of the passion that is born of it. "Should the South promptly secede," he continued, "thousands of the men

* Mr. Benjamin F. Harding of Oregon, who took his seat as senator from that State in 1862.

of the North and West will be with the South, not only in sympathy but bodily. I for one shall come," he said explicitly, " and it shall be with a thousand '*mountain men*' at my back." These last words were literally as he uttered them. Afterwards in the course of the voyage he repeated essentially the same sentiments as to the course that the Southern states should pursue, and reasserted that they would have not only the moral but physical aid of the Democrats of the North, and so substantially that it would lead to an early re-establishment of the transiently broken Union upon a basis of mutual consideration, with an equitable adjustment of all troublesome questions such as would permanently eliminate all sources of future sectional disturbance. *

The voyage to Panama was concluded without further noteworthy incident, about the 24th of November—as also the transit of the Isthmus by railway. At Aspinwall the stanch steamer *Northern Light* was awaiting us. After a somewhat stormy and belated passage I was landed at New York about the 3d of December, eight years and about four months from the day I had set out from the same port for San Francisco. Of course the first object of greatest interest to me was the progress of the Secession movement, and the current newspapers were eagerly clutched and scanned for the news. Thus I soon learned that the Sovereign Convention called

* That this gentleman was thoroughly sincere in his utterances at the time, and serious in the expression of the course he intended to take in certain contingencies, I have never doubted. But like many other prominent Northern men, when the time came for action, that action was utterly inconsistent with previously announced convictions and determinations. He did, indeed, go to the South with a "*thousand men*" at his "*back*,"—but with the commission of a Federal general in his pocket, bearing date as early as July, 1861, and with the object of repressing that very secession from the Union which he had some eight months previously asseverated his purpose to aid, if attempted. He had tendered his services to General Scott as early as March, 1861, if not earlier, and had been employed on confidential service both in Texas and Florida for the prevention of the spread of the secession movement. He also served on the staff of General McClellan, in the Rich Mountain campaign, before his appointment to the grade of brigadier-general.

Frederic William Lander was born at Salem, Massachusetts, December 17, 1822. An *élève* of the celebrated Partridge Military Academy at Norwich, Vermont, he adopted the profession of civil engineering, which ultimately carried him into the service of the United States—first, in the survey of a railroad route to the Pacific coast, and subsequently, in 1858, as the superintendent of the construction of a wagon-way to California. In these services, as I have said, he made reputation in his profession and as a man of tried courage, energy and resources. He also acquired notoriety by his connection with the Potter Pryor difficulty, having been called upon to act as second to Mr. Potter, member of Congress from Wisconsin, in his contemplated duel with Roger A. Pryor, of Virginia—of which much-mooted incident he gave me a most interesting account, and of the course of certain politicians who sought to magnify it into a sectional issue. He died in Western Virginia on the 2d of March, 1862, from congestion of the brain, brought about, it is said, by his excessively hard service, resumed too soon after a severe wound in the leg received in a conflict at Edward's Ferry, in Loudon County, Virginia.

by the Legislature of South Carolina was to assemble within a fortnight. But so far as I could gather, while there was menace throughout the Cotton states of a purpose to follow whatsoever course South Carolina might finally decide upon, here in New York there seemed really no serious general idea that the country was on the actual verge of disunion. However, at the same time I found a strong sentiment in this quarter that, should the Southern states really withdraw from the Union, the true policy for New York City would be to detach itself from either section and become a "Free City," occupying a somewhat similar relation to the other states of the sundered Union, that several cities, such as Hamburg, held so long to Prussia and the other German states.

It was about the 8th of December that I reached Washington, and reporting at the office of the Third Auditor of the Treasury, took occasion to inform him of my belief that the early secession of all of the Southern states was inevitable, and therefore I had to beg the early adjustment of my heavy accounts with the Treasury, which, reaching back as far as 1848, embraced large transactions connected with the Mexican war. I asked this, as I further stated, because it was my purpose to resign from the army so soon as Virginia should secede—or sooner, even, should my services be called for in the repression of any one of the Southern states.

Mr. Atkinson, with whom I had had for years an official correspondence, which had given me great respect for his character, promised that every effort should be made to settle my account, but expressed the warmest hopes, or indeed belief, that so satisfactory a compromise would be made as must avert disunion. He also, with much good feeling, attempted to show me that, in any event, brought up as a servant of the Union from boyhood, as I had been, I should not suffer such a thought to enter my brain as that of quitting its service at such a time. Of course I answered that while I could but regard as most deplorable the rending in twain of the fair, broad territory of the United States with its unparalleled resources for the building up of the happiest and most powerful empire that had ever been known on the earth, yet under no possible circumstances could I remain—in peace no more than during war—in the service of the Union that no longer included the state of Virginia, one of whose quota to the military service I was. As for bearing arms against my father and brothers, and all the kindred that I had, the idea was simply out of the question.

Congress had now been in session a month, with the exception of the senators from South Carolina, who, taking it as a foregone conclusion that their state would secede, had resigned their seats, and no successors had

been elected or appointed. Meanwhile, the Legislature of that state had not only convened an organic convention for the 17th of December, 1860, as I have already said, but had also passed laws looking to the organization of a considerable military force, and had made the requisite appropriations for such an organization as well as for the approaching contingency of a downright resumption of the sovereignty of their state. Military companies were being enrolled in the cities, towns and rural districts of South Carolina. Drills and parades followed; arms and munitions of war were being provided, and evidently the people of that state, resolutely bent on quitting the Union, were preparing stoutly and intelligently for the most serious consequences of that step. Nevertheless, so far as I could discern from my most anxious survey of the situation, there was the scantiest possible conception at Washington, at the time, among the public men either of the Southern or Northern states there assembled, of the grave fact that an actual rupture of the Union was not to be averted!

My range of association and of inquiry was a wide one. It embraced senators and members of the House from the two Pacific Coast states, as also from each of the other sections of the Union, but I could find nowhere any evidence of the existence among the public men of the planting states, at Washington, of an organized plan for the dissolution of the Union, such as the people of South Carolina alone had resolutely contemplated even in anticipation of the election of Mr. Lincoln as the necessary consequence of the division of the Democratic party upon the radical question of " Squatter Sovereignty " in the Territories. In fact abundant proof was visible that no such plan was on foot at the time, much less a conspiracy to that end ante-dating the election of Mr. Lincoln—as has been so persistently maintained thus far by Northern writers of all grades, and adopted without honest historical examination by such alien writers as the Comte de Paris. Conclusive testimony to this fact would seem to be afforded in the action of a conference of the members of Congress from Mississippi, at Jackson, their state capital, called by the Governor of the State, as they were about to proceed to Washington in November, 1860. The chief question considered at that conference was: " Shall Mississippi, as soon as her convention can meet, pass an ordinance of Secession, thus placing herself by the side of South Carolina, regardless of the action of other states; or shall she endeavor to hold South Carolina in check, and delay action herself until other states can get ready, through their conventions, to unite with them. and then, on a given day and at a given hour, by concert of action. all the states willing to do so, secede in a body? " Mr. Davis being present, strenuously opposed a resort

to secession so long as hope of a peaceable solution of the controversy could be possibly entertained, and went so far in that direction as to lead to the belief with some that he was counseling delay with the object of ultimately averting the secession of the state.* The conclusion reached, however, was that Mississippi should not endeavor to delay separate state action, as Mr. Davis had advised; when of course he declared that he should abide by whatsoever a sovereign convention of the people of Mississippi should decide upon. Thereupon he set out for Washington to take his seat in the Senate. Mr. Davis was met at the railway station by Mr. Jacob Thompson—also a citizen of Mississippi, the Secretary of the Interior in the Cabinet of Mr. Buchanan—and carried at once to the White House. There in strict conformity with his views just urged in the Jackson conference, the Mississippi Senator gave assurance to the President, for whose statesmanship and good intentions he had the greatest respect, that he would urge moderation on the part of his section, and the exhaustion of all measures for accommodation, at least as late as the 4th of March, 1861.† He was, at the same time, shown the rough draft of the message prepared to be delivered at the coming meeting of Congress, and suggested some modifications that were accepted for the time but subsequently materially departed from.

The after course of Senator Davis accorded strictly with this agreement, for it was logical with his whole public life that he should be reluctant to venture a movement which made compromise under the Union impossible—disunion inevitable. His whole antecedent course as a public man shows him to have been, whether in the Cabinet or Congress, keenly alive to the value of great national establishments; as always seeking to foster them and to widen their scope of usefulness. His ambition as well as his education had naturally led him to look forward to that large political sphere which should embrace not a section, but the whole Union, and it is historical that he had better grounded hopes of such preferment than any Southern statesman of the time.‡

* See notes of that Conference made by Hon. O. R. Singleton, pages 58, 59, vol. i., Davis's Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government.

† My authority for this was Mr. Thompson, when associated with me on the staff of General Beauregard in April and May, 1862, at Corinth, Mississippi.

‡ Jefferson Davis, it is to be remembered, was graduated at the United States Military Academy at West Point, in 1828. Entering the army, he served as a subaltern both in the Infantry and Cavalry—a part of the time as the Adjutant of his regiment—until 1835, when he resigned and betook himself to civil life as a planter in Mississippi. His first appearance on the stage of Federal politics was in 1845—ten years after his resignation from the army—as a member of the House of Representatives. At the outbreak of the war with Mexico, in 1846, he resigned from

The fact is, the people of the cotton-planting states had gone far ahead of those of their public men who generally had so long represented them at Washington as to be one and all possessed with strong personal attachments for the life and associations at the Federal Capital, which they were accordingly loath to abdicate. Even the public men of South Carolina were not exceptions to the general rule. The constituencies of these gentlemen, ahead of their representatives, had gradually, with remarkable unanimity, reached the settled conviction that the dissolution of the Union was the only way by which to escape from an inexorably organized system of legislation that fostered or protected the industrial interests of the Eastern and Middle Atlantic States to the great detriment of their own sectional interests, coupled with other inequalities in relation to the national territory as were fraught with the ultimate political and social, monetary and industrial subordination of the Southern to the Northern states.

On the 17th of December the Organic Convention of the state of South Carolina met at Columbia, where, as it happened, there was so much local sickness that it was at once adjourned to reassemble at Charleston. There, at quarter-past one o'clock P. M., on the 20th of December, 1860, that convention, composed of the most eminent and conservative citizens of the State, passed unanimously what was entitled: "An Ordinance to dissolve the Union between the state of South Carolina and the other States united with her under the compact entitled the Constitution of the United States of America." That pregnant paper in words and figures ran as follows:

"We, the people of the state of South Carolina, in convention assem-

Congress, went home to Mississippi, raised a regiment of volunteer rifles—which under his command won signal distinction at Monterey and Buena Vista. In 1847, tendered the commission of brigadier-general by President Polk, he declined it, and soon after re-entered the political career, as Senator from Mississippi. This position he held until the State seceded in 1861, with the exception of the four years between March 4, 1853, and March 3, 1857, during which he was Secretary of War in the Cabinet of President Pierce. In the Senate, Mr. Davis rose to high influence, which he exercised effectively as the watchful friend both of the Military Academy and of the Coast Survey, and was able repeatedly to ward off injurious legislation as well as to secure that which added materially to the usefulness of two public establishments which rendered incalculably valuable services to the Union, during the war for its life. While in the Cabinet, it was Mr. Davis who sent to the Crimea a commission of three officers—including General McClellan, then a cavalry captain—to study and report upon the state of the science of war and the organization and condition of European armies. Moreover, solely by the efforts and influence with Congress of Mr. Davis, two regiments of Infantry and two of Cavalry were added to the regular army, which proved specially efficient and valuable during the war. Therefore it is time that honest minds should look judicially into and recognize the fact that such a public career is wholly incompatible with the popular idea that Mr. Davis was the very incarnation of the ideas, aims and inspirations which induced the Southern people to secede in 1861—the arch-conspirator who deeply plotted, craftily contrived and resolutely inaugurated that movement.

sent in convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinance adopted by us in convention on the 23d day of May in the year of our Lord 1788, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and also all acts and parts of acts of the General Assembly of this State ratifying amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed; and that the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved."

Four days later there emanated from the same source an elaborate "Declaration of Causes" which had led the people of the State to an adventure so summary and momentous, a recital of the accumulated ills to which, they asseverated, the Federal Union had subjected them.

Even so supremely important an act as this formal withdrawal of one of the original states from the Federal system, coupled with immediate extinction of all Federal official authority within her limits, and duly followed by a demand for the evacuation of the forts in the harbor of Charleston by the troops of the United States—even this did not seem to arouse at Washington [illegible] the least adequate sense of the fact [illegible] the first step which made the secession of at least [illegible] States from the Union [illegible] was of the least [illegible] would not be as easily brought back into the Federal fold as she was during the Presidency of Andrew Jackson, when she had attempted to nullify certain laws of Congress which her people regarded as unconstitutional and prejudicial to her industrial interests.

It is true that on the 5th of January, 1861, or about fifteen days after the secession of South Carolina, there was a meeting of twelve senators from seven of the Cotton States which resulted in a series of resolutions to the effect that, in the opinion of those present, each of their states should secede as soon as may be, and that provision should be made for a "convention to organize a confederacy of the seceding states at Montgomery, Alabama, not later than the 15th of February." * But it is equally true that these same senators and other members of Congress from the Southern states were assiduously counseling against any overt acts with reference to the Federal fortresses calculated to provoke a hostile collision with the National troops, which all were evidently desirous of avoiding, if possible, so as not to make ultimate accommodation impossible. Moreover, that very Senatorial conference was essentially the offspring of home influences and pressure, rather than the source of an influence which

* See Davis's Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government, vol. I, page 204.

accelerated the secession of a single state, one hour, as may be seen from abundant evidence. Their constituents in Mississippi, Florida, and Alabama, for example, had already called sovereign conventions as they were designated, and that of Mississippi, contrary to the judgment and advisement of Mr. Davis, as early as the 9th of January, 1861, had dissolved political relations with the United States; Florida did likewise the day after, and Alabama the day following the secession of Florida. On the 18th of January the roll of seceded states was increased by the concurrence of Georgia, the most important state in the movement, and Louisiana, on the 26th of the same month, raised the number to six immediately contiguous states, embracing, in the aggregate, 290,500 square miles of territory, with a population of 5,000,000 souls,* and the industrial products of which had constituted the largest part of the export trade of the United States.† These six states, acting through their several conventions, appointed delegates to a congress to be assembled on the 4th of February, 1861, at Montgomery, Alabama, for the formation of a new government in place of the one just renounced. Notwithstanding that the several constituencies of the members of Congress from Mississippi, Alabama, and Florida had all formally turned their backs upon the Union by the 11th of January, as was well known to those gentlemen, including Mr. Davis and by his counsel, they did not sunder their own official relations with the Federal Government until the 21st of January. This may only be rationally accounted for on one or the other of two suppositions: either that they had not altogether given up the belief that an adjustment might yet be effected which their states could accept, or, as has been alleged in some jaundiced quarters, they "kept their seats in Congress in order to be able to paralyze its action, forming at the same time, a center whence they issued directions to their friends in the South to complete *the dismemberment* of the Republic."‡ That the first of these motives was the real inspiration of their action would seem substantiated beyond intelligent doubt by unquestionable contemporaneous documents. Upon this point may be adduced the tenor of a note addressed on the 15th of January, 1861, by Messrs. Davis and

* Of this population about 2,750,000 were white, and 2,250,000 colored.

† The six states of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina aggregately produced 4,090,605 of the 5,350,000 bales of cotton grown in the United States during the year 1860.

‡ See History of the Civil War, by the Comte de Paris, vol. i, pages 122 and 125—English translation—a remarkable, laboriously woven tissue of errors of statement and errors of judgment, with many ridiculous blunders in American political history, and much of stale fanciful matter which, current during the heat of the war, has long ago been discredited by American writers of any standing.

Wigfall, Mallory and Benjamin, with six other senators from the states in question, to Mr. Isaac W. Hayne, Envoy of the state of South Carolina to the President, urging such a course on the part of South Carolina regarding the forts and their garrisons in the harbor of Charleston as should avoid the possibility of precipitating a hostile conflict of authority of the National with state authority. Read between the lines, the whole series of notes and speeches of the members of the Cotton states up to the moment of their final abdication of their seats, throughout they effuse with an earnest desire for an ultimately rehabilitated Union of all the states, divested of all those sources of mortal dissatisfaction conscientiously so regarded by the Southern people whether with or without just grounds.

Meanwhile, assuredly, no leading public man of the Republican party at Washington, either in his utterances, his action, or his demeanor, manifested the least appreciation of the fact that the country was upon the very edge of the greatest and bloodiest war of modern times, one that would call forth from all the peaceful avocations of life millions of men and set them to slaughtering each other, from the Potomac almost to the Rio Grande, and from the Ohio to the Gulf of Mexico, at a cost of three thousand millions of dollars, beside the incalculable loss entailed by the vast destruction of property. Nor, for that matter, did the Democrats from the North and Northwest, with possibly the exception of Senator Pugh of Ohio, attest in anyway that they comprehended the nearness of those portentous events with which the hours were weighted. Mr. Pugh addressed the Senate in a speech of lofty and fervid eloquence that did honor to his head as a statesman in the immediate presence of the greatest crisis of human history, to his heart as a man looking presciently into a near future of his country filled with carnage and waste of its vast resources in a prolonged war, which a little statesmanship and proper fraternal feeling might have averted. That speech I heard and was deeply impressed with the manner of the orator and with the spirit of conviction which breathed in every word he uttered; I was also, however, greatly discouraged by the sardonic sneers which distorted the features of more than one of his fellow senators as he sought to evoke the spirit of reconciliation.

As I have already said, the state of South Carolina having declared her political relations with the United States at an end—as a natural incident to that event, she next claimed the retrocession of the four military works erected for the defense of Charleston harbor. Of these the chief in importance was Fort Sumter, a lofty, pentagonal brick fortress constructed for an armament of one hundred and forty pieces. Planted

at the very southern edge of the harbor channel, upon a shoal three miles seaward from Charleston, it rose sixty feet above the water, with its guns arranged in three tiers, the first nearly on a level with the water, and the last disposed *en barbette* upon the *terre-plein* of the work—that is, uncovered except by the parapet—the others being casemated. Fort Moultrie, on Sullivan's Island, dominated the entrance on the northern side of the channel, nearer the immediate harbor's mouth than Fort Sumter, from which it was distant less than a mile, while about twenty-four hundred yards from the northern end of Morris Island, directly across the entrance. Fort Johnston, built on James Island nearly west from Fort Sumter, was an old, abandoned, valueless work at the time; and Castle Pinckney, an equally old-fashioned structure, was of little military value. All bore names redolent of the Revolutionary history of South Carolina. However, but one of the four, Fort Moultrie, standing on the very ground made famous by its intrepid defense in 1777 by Colonel Moultrie and his handful of devoted Carolinians, was garrisoned by United States troops at the moment of secession, and that garrison did not exceed seventy non-commissioned officers and privates, with nine officers, line and staff. Their commander was Major Robert Anderson, one of the most accomplished officers of the American army—and high in the confidence of General Scott, on whose staff he had formerly served. Fort Sumter, in the hands of the Engineer Corps, however, was being rapidly fitted by a large body of hired laborers and mechanics, under the special direction of Captain John G. Foster,* for military occupation. Apprehending that his petty force was not to be re-enforced, and fully aware that it was wholly insufficient to hold such a work as Fort Moultrie should the authorities of South Carolina send against him a body of troops which could be readily mustered in Charleston for such an enterprise, Major Anderson suffered the fancy to enter his mind that an effort was about being made to carry that work by a *coup de main*, notwithstanding such a purpose had been distinctly disclaimed in the proper quarters. He ignored the vital facts that while his little command might be free from risk of capture by a mere *coup de main* if transferred across the channel to Fort Sumter, on the other hand, he might be far more easily re-enforced and provisioned subsequently at Fort Moultrie than would be possible in the event he gave up Moultrie for Sumter.†

* Subsequently Major General.

† A relieving force, with ample supplies, might have been easily landed from transports upon the northeastern extremity of Sullivan's Island and forced its way into Moultrie. Sumter was only to be reached by water and the entrance to it could only be effected through a portal commanded from James Island.

Hence, it seems to me, so cool and intelligent a soldier as Major Anderson ought to have seen that no military, moral or political advantage was to be gained in exchanging the risk of capture by surprise at Fort Moultrie for an early enforced surrender in Fort Sumter from starvation. But he thought otherwise, and with consummate skill on the night of the 26th of December, 1860, effected the evacuation of Fort Moultrie and ensconced its garrison in the impregnable stronghold, as he hoped, of Fort Sumter. At the same time the guns in Moultrie were carefully spiked, carriages destroyed by fire and otherwise, and its flag-staff felled to the ground.

That same night, three commissioners dispatched by the authority of South Carolina, reached Washington to open negotiations with the government there for the retrocession of the forts and the transfer of the light-houses upon the coast of the state; and on the other hand, to agree upon the share of the National Debt that should be apportioned to South Carolina for payment of principal and interest—a mission which was certainly incompatible with any design on the part of those in control of the revolutionary course of that state, to seize the forts by force. Until this transfer of the Federal troops from Moultrie to Sumter, no attempt had been made by the state authorities to seize upon the ungarrisoned works, such as Castle Pinckney and Fort Johnston; these, however, were at once taken into possession, as also Fort Moultrie, just evacuated, the Charleston Arsenal, Custom House and Post Office; and all were thereupon surmounted by the Palmetto flag of the state.

About the same time, the Hon. Francis W. Pickens, but recently elected, was installed as Governor of the state. He and his associates in political and military control of South Carolina saw the necessity for a prompt recourse to all its defensive resources, including the selection of the best positions on the islands environing the harbor and Fort Sumter, whereupon to erect earthworks from which to menace that work, and to command the harbor entrance so as to cut off re-enforcements—works executed with prodigious activity and not a little display of military aptitude.

Thomas Jordan

MILITARY AFFAIRS OF NEW YORK STATE IN 1861

SOME PERSONAL EXPERIENCES AND IMPRESSIONS

I

Little dreaming of the severe labors and grave responsibilities awaiting me in the near future, I accepted the appointment of adjutant-general of the state of New York and became chief of Governor Morgan's staff on the 1st of January, 1861. My taste for military affairs had been early developed, for not only had I been drilled in a military school prior to my course at Brown University and studies in the Albany Law School and in Europe, but I had at eighteen years of age commanded a company of Rhode Island cadets, when General Burnside was at the head of the militia of that state; and a year later had been named aid to the governor with the rank of Colonel, a position which placed me in close relation with the entire range of regimental and general officers. I had also taken an active part in the organization and direction of the Wide-awake movement in New York which swept the state for Abraham Lincoln in the autumn of 1860; and when subsequently asked to choose between a military and a civil station—the adjutant-generalship of New York, or a foreign appointment—my decision was quickly taken, and I entered upon my new and arduous duties with enthusiasm, notwithstanding that it was a most critical moment in the history of the country. Could I have foreseen, however, that within three months I should be called upon to take part in the organization of an army of New York men twice as large as the army of the United States at the time of my appointment, and in the midst of the greatest possible difficulties, I should have hesitated, chiefly because of my comparative inexperience and the fact that I was only twenty-three, the youngest man who had ever yet been adjutant-general—an office which had been held (from 1784 to 1793) by Colonel Nicholas Fish of revolutionary fame and the father of Hon. Hamilton Fish; by General Solomon Van Rensselaer of the War of 1812; by General William Paulding, member of the constitutional convention of 1821, also of Congress, and mayor of New York; by General William L. Marcy, recorder of the city, comptroller of the state, judge of the Supreme Court, United States senator, governor of the state thrice elected, Secretary of War and Secretary of State; and last, but by no means least, by General John A. Dix, who, hav-

ing taken part when a youth in the War of 1812, was called from one high post to another, in each of which he displayed an independence of character and statesmanship that placed him in the front rank among public men.

My purpose in this paper is to place upon record some few salient facts and figures concerning the military affairs of the state at this juncture, which came under my own personal observation and care, and to notice in passing some of the able men associated with me in a patriotic work upon which I look back at this time with pardonable pride and pleasure. In his annual message in 1861, Governor Morgan estimated the organized portion of the militia of the state at 19,435 officers and men. But it could not be said that all included in this number were "uniformed, armed and equipped, and in a creditable state of discipline." The unorganized militia were placed at 450,000—a liberal allowance, and one with which we had to deal some weeks later.

The governor, in concluding, remarked: "Though I trust it may never be necessary to employ this strong arm for any unfriendly purpose, yet 'a well-regulated militia is necessary to the security of a free people,' and to maintain such an organization is a part of the established policy of our country. The right of the people to keep and bear arms is one secured to them by the Federal Constitution. Although fully enjoying our liberties, it is the dictate of prudence that the military spirit of our state should continue to be fostered. Ever ready in the past to defend their institutions, we have, for the future, in our citizen soldiery, a pledge of domestic security and of safety from external violence."

There was nothing in the above to indicate that the greatest civil war of modern times was at hand; and yet so rapidly did events sweep onward to the denouement, that within twelve days Mr. Seward portrayed in the Senate of the United States the dangers of the hour, and declared that "Dissolution of the Union will arrest the majestic drama of national progress," and Mr. Lamar, twenty-four hours afterward, telegraphed to Jefferson Davis that although the secession ordinance in Mississippi had been carried, it was with great difficulty, and that the first *faux pas* would turn the powerful minority opposed to it into a triumphant majority.

Anxiously scrutinizing the signs of the times, both the governor and myself felt that vigorous measures should be speedily taken to place the state on a war footing. Accordingly, toward the end of January, a bill was introduced into the legislature to appropriate $500,000 for the purpose of thoroughly equipping the Militia of the state. Upon the appearance of this bill in the senate a lively discussion ensued, in which Senator

Colvin, who three months later took a most patriotic stand, accused the Republican senators of desiring to arm the military for the purpose of forcing the Chicago platform upon the citizens of the South. This charge brought out the Republican senators, who all declared it to be a wise policy in time of peace to prepare for war, and insisted that the resolutions recently adopted by the legislature, tendering to the President the resources of the state to put down insurrection, meant the very thing which was in this bill. Having pledged the resources of the state, it was their duty to so prepare themselves that if the President should demand aid they could give him something substantial, and not comparatively worthless material. While this discussion was proceeding an incident occurred at Albany which illustrated the excitement of the moment. One hundred citizens of the capital petitioned Mayor Thacher to prevent the meeting of abolitionists which was about to take place. The mayor, who was a Democrat, very wisely replied that he had neither the authority nor the inclination to interrupt freedom of speech, that he had no fear of riot in the orderly city of Albany, and that the best way to treat the abolitionists was to let them severely alone.

After having given this sensible advice, the mayor upon consultation was informed that in case the police proved unable to cope with the situation, the military authorities would come to his aid. On the evening in question I went with the mayor to Association Hall, and admired the judgment and courage which he displayed amidst great popular feeling. He succeeded in preventing any violence, but had it not been for his presence with a large police force, Frederick Douglass would have been lynched.

The excitement of electing a successor to Mr. Seward in the United States Senate, was added to the other important events, and the contest, in which Mr. Evarts and Mr. Greeley were in the beginning most prominently engaged, resulted in the selection of Judge Ira Harris. Mr. Greeley and Judge Harris have long since gone to the grave with the honors of noble careers, while Mr. Evarts has just been elected to the high office which he would have dignified and adorned a quarter of a century ago, but which seems now a still more fitting crown to a long career of the highest forensic triumphs, and of the most solid patriotic achievements.

The bill appropriating half a million for arms passed the Senate on the 7th February and was taken up the next day in the House, at which time, a correspondent ridiculing the measure, said: "A person would think that the National Capital had already been taken and that a monster army was en route to take New York." Yet the very next day six seceding states—

South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, and Louisiana, "organized an independent government, adopted a constitution, and elected a President and Vice-President. The *convention consummated this greatest event of the age* five days after its first sitting."

With a rebel government actually established at Montgomery, it seemed indeed time to take the most prompt and decided steps to assure the effective assistance of New York to the Government of the United States. Yet at this most critical moment a great metropolitan daily gave utterance to these sentiments: "There is an atrocious conspiracy to force the people into a bloody intestine strife, and the governor of this State has been aiding and abetting the design. He has played into the hands of the fanatics who contemplate servile insurrection at the South as the results of Northern invasion. He first offered the militia to subdue the Southern States—an offer which far exceeds his legislative (*sic*) power. He next endorsed, if he did not direct, the seizure of the private and public property of citizens of Georgia; and the natural consequence was that the Governor of Georgia retaliated by seizing our ships. The authorities of the State of New York were clearly the aggressors. And it now becomes the duty of the citizens of New York, and especially of the merchants, to come forward and repudiate the outrage that has been committed in this great commercial city by the authority of Governor Morgan—to make him and his party distinctly understand that they will not be permitted to trample on the Constitution and the laws—that they cannot make the inhabitants of this metropolis the instruments of their nefarious plot, or drag them into collision with their Southern brothers. This city has a greater stake at issue than all the rest of the State. . . . the time has come for prompt action, and the people must now arise in their might if they would save themselves and the country from the horrors of civil war. Armed preparations are being everywhere made in the North. In this State a bill *appropriating half a million of dollars* for war has passed the Senate by a strictly Republican vote. The whole South is arming and preparing for the struggle. Not a moment, therefore, is to be lost by the commercial classes of New York in holding a great public meeting to denounce all appeals to 'the God of Battles;' and as *a separation of the States is beyond human control*, to pronounce in favor of the recognition of their independence, a fair division of the territory and other public property, a just apportionment of the public debt, and a treaty of peace and amity between the two confederacies, regulating their commerce, and a treaty offensive and defensive against all the world. This is the great question of the hour."

This leading article (the italics are mine) was accompanied by correspondence shrewdly calculated to defeat the military bill, which was still pending in the Senate. As a natural result of this and similar efforts the bill was thrust aside on the 15th of February, and was not again called up until the news suddenly flashed over the wires that Fort Sumter had been summoned to surrender. Two precious months had been lost, because the wise policy of the state military authorities had been ignored. We shall presently see in what manner both the state and Federal governments suffered on account of this unjustifiable course.

On the 11th February it was telegraphed that Mr. Lincoln had set out from Springfield on his way to Washington, accompanied by the heartfelt wishes and prayers of a great concourse of people who were gathered to bid him God speed. Upon the reception of this news I was selected by the governor as chairman of a Military commission to proceed to Buffalo to meet the President elect and escort him to Albany. My associates were Benjamin Welsh, Jr., commissary-general; William Ayrault Jackson, inspector-general; Cuyler Van Vechten, quarter-master-general, and Colonel E. D. Morgan, Jr., aid-de-camp.

I shall never forget the first impression made upon me by Mr. Lincoln. He had long been a familiar abstraction to my mind, and I had formed an idea of him as we form an idea of a city or a country which we have never seen. In such cases one is almost sure to be wrong and the exceptions merely prove the rule. Mr. Lincoln, as I have said, had long been in my thoughts, for as early as 1859 some of his friends had conferred with friends of my father with the idea of nominating the late chief justice of Pennsylvania for President with Mr. Lincoln for Vice-President. Subsequent political events had changed the combination, but the original intention led to a warm friendship between the two statesmen, so that when Mr. Lincoln was nominated, my father commissioned the famous miniaturist Mr. J. Henry Brown, to go to Springfield and paint for him a likeness of his friend. Mr. Brown soon returned to Philadelphia with the first portrait ever painted of Mr. Lincoln, which was immediately engraved through chief justice Read's directions by Samuel Sartain, and this admirable print did much toward promoting the election of Mr. Lincoln. Some years afterward my father was dining at the White House when Mrs. Lincoln said: "Judge, the portrait you ordered painted of Mr. Lincoln is the best ever made of my husband. I often wish it were mine."

"It is entirely at you service, Madam."

"When will you send it to me, Judge?"

"As soon as I reach home, Madam."

In consequence of this promise my father gave the miniature to Mrs. Lincoln, greatly to his regret, it must be confessed, for it would have filled a niche in his library by the side of one of President Andrew Jackson, also painted from life for my father, and another of President Washington, painted for his grandfather. After the assassination of Mr. Lincoln we lost sight of his miniature, and both my father and myself sought in vain to ascertain its whereabouts. Many years afterward I was sitting in my private office in the Consulate General at Paris, when Robert Lincoln entered unannounced, and after hearty greetings, suddenly seeing the engraving of his father above my head, exclaimed: "Oh! I am glad to see that, I have the original." This miniature represented a comparatively youthful, unlined, clean-shaven face, lacking some of the striking characteristics which subsequent trials developed.

The astonishment and dismay with which I was filled when I first saw Mr. Lincoln, were partly occasioned by the remarkable change which had taken place in his personal appearance since the above portrait was painted. His face was now covered with the rough beginnings of a beard, while his prominent cheek bones were exaggerated by the fatigues of travel and the unremitting mental strain. Instinctively I thought: "Is this the man I have been working day and night for the last six months to elect?" I must frankly confess that disappointment, chagrin and doubt filled my mind when we embarked on the special train for Albany. Shortly after our departure, however, Mr. Lincoln called me to a seat by his side, and, after particular inquiries about my father, and characteristic recognition of my services during the Electoral campaign, he began to enlarge upon the gravity of his position, the responsibilities pressing upon him, and the waves which seemed rising in his path. As he talked his great soul looked out at me through his wonderful eyes, and I found myself drawn toward him by a sympathy which was as natural as it was spontaneous and profound. He spoke of the South with compassion and sorrow. He said that God's arm was strong and that he looked to His hand for guidance. That the nation had reached the entrance to a broad and a narrow way. The first was the easiest but it led to destruction. For his own part he would stick to the latter, which he believed to be the one which, under the direction of the Almighty, would lead us out of the woods.

Mrs. Lincoln was calm and cheerful. Her two younger children occupied much of her attention, but she found time to mingle in general conversation and to say many agreeable things. "Little Bob," as he was then called, was the life of the party, and his boyish pranks called fleeting smiles to his father's somewhat sad face.

Major, afterward General David Hunter, had the misfortune to have his shoulder dislocated by the pressure of the crowd at Buffalo, which, in spite of all precautions, broke through the ranks of the police and the soldiery, and well-nigh overwhelmed, with their boisterous welcome, the entire Presidential party. Looking at Hunter's arm in a sling, Colonel Ward Lamon remarked: "Well, Major! if you had had the good sense to stick close to me, you would not have met with that ugly accident. Yesterday the crowd at Pittsburg were hemming us in on all sides, eager to catch a glimpse of the President, and the situation was becoming dangerous, when I seized Mr. Lincoln by the arm, and drawing my bowie-knife, and waving it around me in a circle, cried, 'Just smell of that!'" Suiting the action to the word the Colonel snatched at a tow string around his neck and quickly brought to light one of the most formidable knives it has been my pleasure to encounter in a somewhat wide experience in different parts of the world. There is no doubt that Mr. Lincoln owed his freedom from bodily harm, on that and some other occasions, to the quickness and courage of his stanch friend Ward Lamon. General, then Colonel Sumner, was also in the suite. The subsequent services of Generals Hunter and Sumner and the latter's glorious death are household traditions throughout the land. In mentioning the former distinguished officer it recalls the curious fact that of all those who accompanied Mr. Lincoln in February, 1861, to Albany, only three were with his body when it reached the latter Capital on the 25th April, 1865, viz.: General Hunter, Colonel Lamon, and myself.

Another notable figure was Mr. N. B. Judd, of Illinois, an intimate friend of Mr. Lincoln, who had been warmly pressed for a place in the Cabinet, and was afterward named Minister to Berlin. He was a most intelligent and sympathetic supporter of the President and fully alive to the difficulties of the situation. The country is so familiar with Judge David Davis' striking appearance and interesting career that I can add nothing to the sum of knowledge concerning him, except to record the fact that he impressed me as entirely worthy of the high reputation which he has always enjoyed. Colonel Ellsworth, then of Zouave note, afterward so unfortunately and needlessly killed at Alexandria, was of the party; and when a few months later it became my painful duty to receive his body, and to conduct the ceremonies attending his lying in state in the Capitol at Albany, I remembered his lithe and nervous figure, his energetic and mobile features, and the exuberance of his diction in speaking of the prospects of strife and the precautions to be taken.

My meeting with John Hay was a source of great pleasure to me, for we had been classmates at Brown University, where his attractive face,

winning manners and brilliant intellect had made him a universal favorite. At seventeen he wrote a play full of promise, which had a deserved success. His slight and graceful frame, his ruddy countenance, his fine eyes and pleasing voice, accentuated the charms of an active and original mind. There was a thread of melancholy blending with a thread of humor in the woof of his being which found a ready response in the heart of Abraham Lincoln, who was as proud of the handsome youth as if he had been his father. When we remember what Colonel Hay accomplished during the war, that he has since distinguished himself as a diplomatist at Paris, Madrid, Vienna and Washington, and that in journalism and literature the author of "Little Breeches" has achieved a wide renown, we must confess that the promise of boyhood has already been kept. But instinctively we look forward to still higher achievements in one so thoroughly equipped and who is still in the vigor of life.

Mr. Nicolay, at this time, had not the advantage of his subsequent wide experience of men and affairs, but one already discerned in him those qualities of caution, judgment and quickness which made him an invaluable aid to Mr. Lincoln in the most trying moments of the war. On the day that Mr. Lincoln reached Buffalo, Jefferson Davis arrived at Montgomery from Mississippi, after "a continuous ovation." He was received with the wildest enthusiasm at the rebel capital, and in a speech at the railway station made use of the following unequivocal language: "The time of compromises is past, and we are now determined to maintain our position, and make all who oppose us smell Southern powder and feel Southern steel."

The inability to obtain pecuniary assistance from the state for the efficient development of the Militia forces now rendered it the more essential to foster the contingent already on foot. In pursuance of this idea, by Special Orders 15, from my office, General Sandford was directed to parade the First Division on Washington's Birthday, and Governor Morgan and Staff repaired to New York to take part in the ceremonies of the day. The papers of the 23d of February stated that the Division was reviewed on Fourteenth Street the previous afternoon by the governor and adjutant-general, Captain Otto having early in the day reported himself and troop for escort duty to the adjutant-general at the Metropolitan Hotel. After a long march, in the midst of great enthusiasm, the head of the military column reached the East Gate of the City Park, and the governor entered that inclosure and rode up to a position in the center of the front of the City Hall, where he and his staff dismounted and were received by Mayor Wood and the members of both branches of the City Councils, and where

both parties prepared themselves to receive the marching salute. Nearly five thousand men were in line, and as they passed five hundred guns thundered from the Battery.

I can see now the tall, fine figure of Mayor Wood standing next to the Governor, clad in black frock-coat and trousers, with a high collar framing his handsome and vigorous face. To call the roll of all the brave men who filed past us that day would be to name many who afterward fought and many even who afterward died in the cause of their country.

With a view to stimulating still further the zeal of the troops I departed from the usual rule, and on the 26th of February appointed a special commission to prepare the annual course of instruction. In this were included officers who afterward won national renown—such as Generals Charles W. Sandford, H. B. Duryea, John Ewen, Wm. Hall, Charles Yates, L. B. Sloan, Colonels Henry W. Slocum, Marshall Lefferts, Edward Hincken, S. Brooke Postley, T. C. Devin, E. Le Gal, Jos. C. Pinckney, Daniel Butterfield, Abel Smith, George W. Pratt, Major H. P. Hubbell, Captains Varian, Egbert L. Viele and James Brackett; a distinguished list in view of subsequent events.

As the result of unwearied exertions, and of constant arguments showing the necessity of immediately placing the state on a war footing, I succeeded in obtaining the insertion in the Supply Bill of the two following important items: For regulations, $500. For Scott's tactics, $500. And as I have already remarked, it was not until the news was telegraphed from Fort Sumter of the summons to surrender, that the Rip Van Winkles awakened from their slumbers and called the $500,000 Military Bill from the table. This was on Friday, the 12th of April. The next day the bombardment of Fort Sumter created the utmost excitement at Albany. The members and their friends were assembled in groups at the hotels discussing the probable result, and the streets were thronged with people speculating over the fate of Major Anderson. A correspondent writing on the evening of the same day said, "The war spirit is in the ascendency and all rejoice over the fact that the Southerners commenced the fight. I hear but one expression from Democrats as well as Republicans, and that is not to yield an inch now that war has commenced. Whilst it is deeply deplored that we have drifted into civil war, no one now hesitates what to do."

And yet, although the $500,000 bill was finally passed on Saturday, the 13th of April, its terms were such as to hamper the military authorities at every step. An unwieldy Military Board for instance was created, consisting of the governor, lieutenant-governor, secretary of state, comptroller,

treasurer, attorney-general, state engineer and surveyor; and the money was not to be used unless the parties named should consider it necessary for the public defense. Even with these restrictions the comment was made that "if the national government should get up a little brush, the sum of five hundred thousand dollars will be taken from the State treasury whether it is needed or not!" As we shall see, the disbelief that it could be the intention to create seven governors instead of one, led to the issuing of a vigorous order calling for volunteers, which I was obliged eventually to alter, to meet the views of the Military Board.

The surrender and evacuation of Fort Sumter! was the announcement which met every anxious eye at Albany on Sunday morning.

At the call of the governor, a meeting of the state officers was held at an early hour in the Executive Chamber, and it was decided to tender immediately thirty thousand troops to the United States Government. Another meeting took place in the afternoon, which was attended by the Military and Finance committees of both houses. After talking over national affairs at much length a Committee was appointed, consisting of the adjutant-general, the attorney-general and two others, to draft a bill for the enrollment of thirty thousand men, and providing for the laying of a two mill tax, or so much thereof as might be necessary for the purpose—the bill to be introduced into the Assembly on the morrow, with an appropriate message from the governor. The Democrats withheld their approval for the present, saying that they desired to see the bill before committing themselves fully to it, but at the same time were in favor of tendering the militia. The excitement at Albany was at fever heat. Every public place was crowded, and the rotunda of the Capitol was filled with people discussing the war news. It was in the midst of this furore that the military bill appropriating three millions of dollars was framed in my office. Care was taken not to associate any one with the governor and to leave entire liberty to him and to place corresponding responsibility upon him—so as to avoid the defects of the previous act. The bill was taken from my office in this shape to be copied and printed during the night, but when it was laid upon the desks of the members on Monday morning it contained the names of several state officers to be associated with the governor in carrying out its provisions!

Mr. Pierce, Republican, Chairman of the Standing Committee in the House, stated that the committee had had the exigencies of the times under consideration, and had come to the conclusion that the peril that threatened our country demanded some further legislation. They had therefore unanimously decided to report by bill, and the bill reported was, almost

word for word, that in the hands of the members. After some opposition from Mr. Cozans, the House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole, with Mr. Moore, of Brooklyn, in the chair. The first section having been read, Mr. Bingham, with great good sense, moved to strike out the lieutenant-governor, secretary of state, comptroller and attorney-general, and to leave the carrying out of the various provisions of the bill in the hands of the governor, the constitutional commander-in-chief of the military forces of the state. During the discussion which ensued, the private secretary of the governor was announced, with an executive message relating to the subject-matter, and which caused a profound sensation in the chamber and galleries. Nevertheless, Mr. Bingham's motion was lost. Mr., afterward General, Lewis Benedict, of Albany, then moved a substitute for the first section, providing that the governor shall call for volunteers whenever the President shall issue his requisition. This amendment was also lost. In the afternoon session Mr. Cozans moved to strike out the enacting clause. Mr. Chapman followed him, strongly in favor of the bill. He was sorry to see the young man from New York placing himself in this unfortunate manner upon record. This was a measure to preserve the country, and it was the duty of all to obey the call to preserve the national government from those seeking to destroy it.

Mr. Benedict, Republican, in a most eloquent speech warmly supported the measure. Mr. Townsend, Democrat, of Queens, while recording his vote in favor of the bill, wished to declare his utter abhorrence of the principles of the Republican party, which had brought the country to this condition of affairs. Mr. Wright, Republican, of Genesee, came handsomely to the rescue of the bill, and Mr. Cozans again opposed it in vigorous language. Mr. Fulton, Democrat, of Saratoga, on the contrary, declared that he would be recreant to his duty, to his party, and to his country if he failed to cast his vote in the affirmative. Mr. Bergen, Democrat, of Suffolk, agreed most heartily in this view. Mr. Barry also favored the bill, and Mr. Saxe made a strong speech on the same side, which created great enthusiasm, and Mr. Provost closed the debate by saying that he held it to be his first duty to support the Washington authorities. The bill was then passed by yeas 102, nays 6.

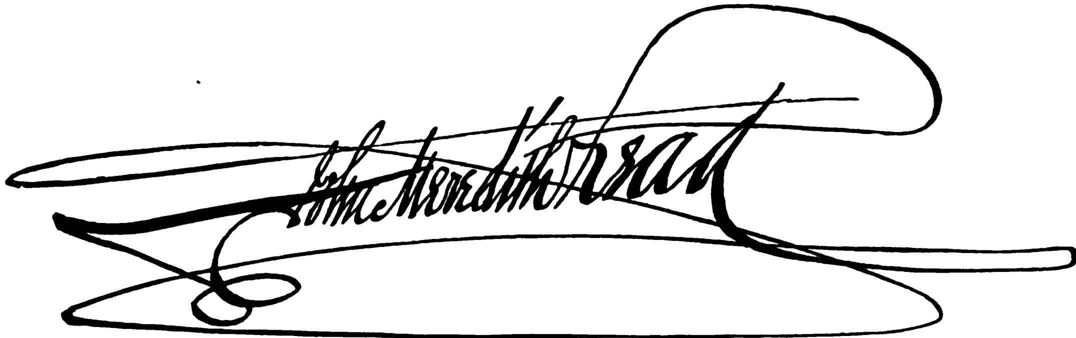
The announcement of the vote was greeted with cheers. Those voting in the negative were Messrs. Cozans, Hardy, Kenny, Varian, Walsh and Young—all from the city of New York.

The afternoon session, says a contemporary writer, was probably the most solemn that has ever been held at Albany. Members felt that they had been called upon to perform a painful duty, yet one that the exigencies

of the times demanded that they should discharge fearlessly and without regard to the consequences. The bill having been read by sections, was passed the same evening, by the Senate, which, however, encumbered it still further by adding the treasurer and state engineer to the Military Board. The Republicans not only introduced the measure, but also threw their united influence in its favor. Senators Goss, Truman, and Spinola supported the bill with great force, and Senator Ramsay made a patriotic speech which awakened warm applause. Senator Colvin, casting behind him the hesitations of the past, gave voice to the following glowing language: "The country is in a crisis, and he who falters is a traitor to his country! * * * Sir, Secession is rebellion, and is not tolerated by the Constitution!" Senator Conolly followed in a speech which likewise elicited universal approbation. The yeas were 29, the nays were 3.

Next followed the call of the President for 75,000 men from the country at large; but the governor had already notified Mr. Lincoln that 30,000 men from New York instead of the 13,000 requisitioned, were at the disposition of the General Government; and thus the preponderating influence of New York was cast into the balance in favor of the Union and the Laws.

The Seventh, Sixth, Seventy-first, and Seventy-ninth Regiments, and many other organizations, immediately held meetings and volunteered to march; and in pursuance of General orders from my office, dated the 17th of April, the Seventh Regiment, under the command of the gallant Colonel Marshall Lefferts, departed on the 19th inst. to perform the admirable work which is brilliantly set forth on another page of this Magazine.



[Since the death of his father, Chief Justice John Meredith Read of Pennsylvania, the author of the above, has dropped the junior from his name.—*Editor.*]

THE SEIZURE AND REDUCTION OF FORT PULASKI

The convention of the people of Georgia which passed an ordinance "To dissolve the union between the state of Georgia and other states united with her under a compact of government entitled 'the Constitution of the United States of America,'" did not assemble in Milledgeville, —then the capital of that commonwealth,—until Wednesday, the 16th of January, 1861. The proclamation of Governor Joseph E. Brown, ordering an election, by the people, of delegates from the several counties to that convention, was issued on the 21st of November, 1860. In the selection of these delegates the deepest interest was manifested, and the public heart was stirred to its inmost depths by the momentous questions which agitated the nation. On the 20th of December, 1860, South Carolina, whose associations with Georgia, from the inception of that colony, had at all times been most intimate and cordial, unanimously adopted an ordinance revoking her delegated powers, and withdrawing from the Union. Profound was the impression created in Georgia by this action on the part of her sister State. The retirement of her representatives from Congress; the events which quickly followed in Charleston Harbor; the failure of all overtures for conciliation, and assurances from trusted friends in Washington that coercive measures had been resolved upon by the general government, added fuel to the flame and encouraged prompt and decided action. So strong was the popular current in favor of the immediate capture of the forts and arsenals within the limits of Georgia, that a resolution was formed by a number of the leading citizens of Savannah to take possession of Fort Pulaski in advance of the assembling of the convention, and even without the formal sanction of the executive. Wiser counsels prevailed, however, and this contemplated movement was delayed until Governor Brown could be definitely advised of the situation. Responding to an urgent telegram from the Mayor of Savannah, he repaired to that city on the evening of the 2d of January. After calm deliberation, his Excellency, at a late hour the same night, issued the following orders to Colonel Alexander R. Lawton,* then commanding the 1st Regiment Georgia Volunteers:

* Afterwards Brigadier-General in Confederate service, and Quartermaster-General of the Confederacy.

"Headquarters Georgia Militia.
Savannah, January 2, 1861.

Colonel A. R. Lawton,
Commanding 1st Regt: Georgia Vols:
Savannah.
Sir,

In view of the fact that the Government at Washington has, as we are informed upon high authority, decided on the policy of coercing a seceding state back into the Union, and it is believed now has a movement on foot to reinforce Fort Sumter at Charleston, and to occupy with Federal troops the Southern forts, including Fort Pulaski in this state, which, if done, would give the Federal Government, in any contest, great advantages over the people in this state: to the end therefore that this stronghold, which commands also the entrance into Georgia, may not be occupied by any hostile force until the Convention of the State of Georgia, which is to meet on the 16th instant, has decided on the policy which Georgia will adopt in this emergency, you are ordered to take possession of Fort Pulaski as by *public* order herewith, and to hold it against all persons, to be abandoned only under orders from me, or under compulsion by an overpowering hostile force.

Immediately upon occupying the Fort, you will take measures to put it in a thorough state of defense as far as its means and ours will permit. * * *

* * * * * * * *

I am Sir, very respectfully
Your obedient servant,
Joseph E Brown
Governor and Commander in Chief"

Early on the morning of the 3d of January, 1861, detachments from the Chatham Artillery, Captain Claghorn, the Savannah Volunteer Guards, Captain Screven, and the Oglethorpe Light Infantry, Captain Bartow,* numbering about one hundred and twenty-five men, under the immediate command of Colonel Lawton, embarked on board a steamer and, at twelve o'clock M. the same day, took formal possession of Fort Pulaski in the name of the state of Georgia. No resistance was encountered—the fort being in charge simply of an ordnance sergeant and a few assistants. The battery of the Chatham Artillery, comprising two 12-pounder howitz-

* Afterwards Brigadier General C. S. A., and killed at the first battle of Manassas.

ers and four 6-pounder bronze guns, accompanied this detachment, and was added to the armament of the fort, which then consisted of only twenty 32-pounder guns, the carriages of which were in many instances unserviceable. In the magazines a few hundred pounds of inferior powder were stored. The cartridge-bags were moth-eaten and valueless. Of solid shot there was but a limited supply. Not a shell was ready for service. Implements were scarce. The quarters were destitute of furniture. Not a gun was mounted *en barbette*. Of quartermaster and commissary stores there was no accumulation. The honor and safety of Georgia were at stake. The spirit of the men was admirable, and the troops entered with alacrity and zeal upon the task of placing the fort in as good a state of defense as the limited means at command would justify. The flag of Georgia was unfurled and saluted.* There it continued to wave in beauty until it gracefully yielded place to the national ensign of the Confederate States, within the ampler folds of which were garnered not only the hopes of the Empire State of the South, but the aspirations of her valiant sisters.

On the 18th of January the convention of the people of Georgia, assembled at Milledgeville, unanimously resolved: "That this convention highly approves the energetic and patriotic conduct of Governor Brown in taking possession of Fort Pulaski by Georgia troops, and requests him to hold possession until the relations of Georgia with the Federal Government be determined by this convention." This resolution was adopted at the instance of the Hon. Robert Toombs, who had just vacated his seat in the Senate of the United States.

It may not be denied that this occupation of Fort Pulaski by Georgia state troops, in obedience to the orders of Governor Brown, in advance of

* The first Secession banner, or flag of separate state independence, raised in the South during this eventful period was, it is believed, displayed by the citizens of Savannah, Georgia. It was exhibited from the monument erected in honor of General Greene in Johnson Square. It bore this inscription and device:

"OUR MOTTO;

SOUTHERN RIGHTS

EQUALITY OF THE STATES."

[A rattlesnake in the attitude of striking.]

"DON'T TREAD ON ME."

Its display was accompanied by demonstrations of the wildest enthusiasm, by bonfires, illuminations, fire-works, and soul-stirring utterances from popular orators and prominent citizens.

the withdrawal of Georgia from the Federal Union, exerted a potent influence not only within the limits of that commonwealth, but also among sister Southern states. Thus, prior to the assembling of her convention, was Georgia *de facto* committed to the doctrine of secession.

Mississippi adopted her ordinance of secession on the 9th of January, 1861. She was quickly followed by Florida on the 10th, Alabama on the 11th, Georgia on the 18th, and Louisiana on the 26th.

So intent were the Confederates upon the tenure of Fort Pulaski, and so industriously had they been engaged in strengthening its armament, that at the time of its reduction in April 1862, its battery consisted of forty-eight guns of all calibers. There were five 10-inch and nine 8-inch columbiads unchambered, three 42-pounder and twenty 32-pounder guns, two 24-pounder Blakely rifle guns, one 24-pounder iron howitzer, two 12-pounder bronze howitzers, two 12-inch iron mortars, three 10-inch sea-coast mortars, and one 6-pounder bronze field piece. The investing batteries,—eleven in number and mounting in the aggregate thirty-six pieces—were distributed along a front of 2,550 yards on Tybee Island, and at distances varying from 1,650 to 3,400 yards.

It lies not within the scope of this article to note the incidents of this bombardment, but we cannot refrain from alluding to the important military lesson inculcated on this occasion. By the three thousand shells and solid shot emitted from the 10 and 13-inch mortars, and from the 8 and 10-inch columbiads, admirably served by the United States troops, comparatively little damage was inflicted upon Fort Pulaski. Had these guns only been employed, the probability is that structure would have preserved its integrity for an indefinite period. To the novel and unexpected effect of the conical shot and percussion shells ejected from the James and Parrott rifles must be credited the breaching of the wall, the partial demoralization of the work, and the accomplishment of disastrous results which speedily rendered the fortification untenable. While the arches of the fort resisted the heaviest vertical fire encountered at the mouths of large mortars, and while the impact of solid shot from 8 and 10-inch columbiads proved inadequate for the serious impairment of the masonry walls of the fortress, it was quickly demonstrated that this well-constructed fortification could not long resist the penetration of, and demolition by, rifle projectiles guided with remarkable precision.

The siege and reduction of Fort Pulaski will be remembered as an important event not only in the history of the war between the states, but also in the development of the manufacture of heavy guns and the advancement of the science of artillery. The impulse which the results there

obtained imparted to the fabrication and employment of rifled ordnance and conical projectiles was strikingly illustrated during the subsequent operations of the Federals in Charleston harbor and at other points.

Nor was this lesson heeded only on this side of the Atlantic. The nations of Europe, appreciating its value, have remodeled their permanent fortifications, and have consigned to oblivion, both on shore and at sea, those old-fashioned smooth-bore guns the thunders of which had so long been regarded as most potent in deciding the fortunes of battle. We do not transcend the teachings of history when we affirm that this bombardment of Fort Pulaski, which culminated so disastrously to Confederate hopes, was largely instrumental in revolutionizing former theories with regard to the practicability of breaching admirably constructed brick scarp, and in introducing at home and abroad, on land and afloat, heavy rifle guns which are now the embodiment of martial power and precision.

Charles C. Jones, Jr.

AUGUSTA, Georgia.

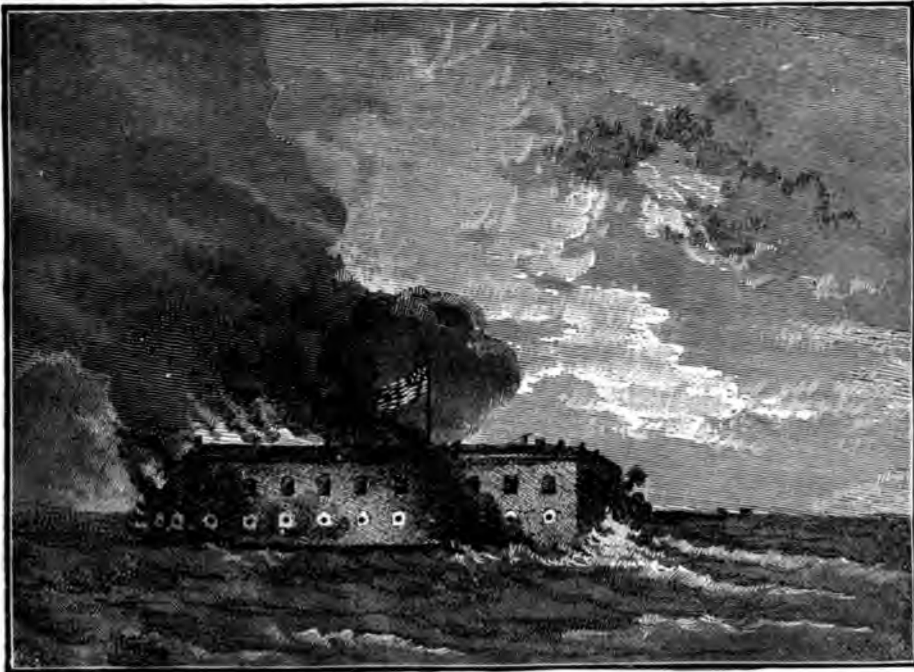
MARCH OF THE NEW YORK SEVENTH REGIMENT

THE GREAT UPRISING IN NEW YORK CITY, 1861

"Civil War has begun."

These four expressive words staring from the morning newspapers as the day dawned on Saturday, April 13, 1861, burned into the New York soul like molten iron. A terrible fight had been twenty-four hours in progress at Fort Sumter. The news with its as yet barren details spread through the city with the rapidity of thought. Whatever the public expectation concerning approaching hostilities between the Northern and Southern states, the reality was stunning, overwhelming. During the early morning hours of that black Saturday it was as if a pall had fallen over the whole Island of Manhattan.

"Fort Sumter is on fire!"



BURNING OF FORT SUMTER, APRIL 13, 1861.

From a photograph made at the time.

This exciting announcement came later. The flames bursting forth about eight o'clock that eventful morning, raged with great fury, until at noon every building in the stronghold was burning. At five minutes before one o'clock in the afternoon Major Anderson surrendered to the enemy and the guns ceased their roaring. But the strange echoes awakened by the Sumter guns were heard in every part of the continent for many troubled days. The blazing fort in Charleston harbor seemed to fill New York with its lurid light, and the atmosphere grew thick and heavy as with the smoke of battle. Trade stopped in its channels; men with pale distressed faces stood in groups on the street corners, or swelled the dense crowd that besieged Printing House Square to seize and devour the hourly bulletins as they appeared. Information that the American flag had given place to the Palmetto of South Carolina, touched unused and forgotten chords in the human heart. The chagrin and indignation that prevailed can neither be described nor imagined. A great and irrepressible love for the national flag leaped swiftly into life. It was at once displayed upon every flag-staff in the city, it crowned the roofs of dwellings, churches and factories, it fluttered from windows and public conveyances, it floated from the shipping, and men, women and children hastened to adorn their breasts with bits of red, white and blue ribbon. Swift-footed news-boys darted hither and thither with their piles of extras—on the cars, stages, steps of the cabs, everywhere these ubiquitous messengers were to be seen. The excitement grew more intense with every fresh piece of intelligence. Among commercial men at the Corn Exchange, at the Merchants' Exchange in Wall Street, in eating saloons, at hotels, and with the agitated throng on the streets nothing was talked of but Charleston, Fort Sumter and the war. At the Custom House men seemed actually paralyzed. Among the common people a panic was at one time created by the suggestion that New York would be next attacked. All through the evening and late into the night the club-rooms and other places of public resort were packed with excited multitudes; and under the street lamps, in front of the theaters, in the vestibules and on the steps of hotels and dwellings, extras were read and the one theme discussed. The fever had risen rather than abated on Sunday, April 14. People walked the streets, they conversed in loud then in hushed tones, they flocked to the churches where clergymen preached, not peace, but the sword. It was a Sabbath never to be forgotten. In Brooklyn a dense mass of humanity crowded every inch of space in Mr. Beecher's church, who spoke at great length and with wonderful eloquence and power on the error which would be committed if the government did not take measures to sustain itself. He said: "There is no fact suscep-

tible of proof in history, if it be not true that this Federal Government was created for the purpose of justice and liberty. Right before us, brethren, rolls the sea, red indeed, for there is blood in it, and the word of God is, go on."

On Monday, April 15, the President's call for 75,000 troops to retake and hold the forts and protect the property of the government, was met with immediate and decisive action. From every walk in life men stepped forward and offered their lives. Up to the time of this sublime outburst of public sentiment party heats and dissensions had nowhere raged with more virulence than in the City of New York. The newspapers were in a deadly war with each other on matters of opinion. The right and propriety of secession had been openly advocated. Indeed, there had been more or less discussion in political circles concerning the "true policy" of New York City in case of the disruption of the Union, which would be (as stated in a preceding article in this number of the Magazine) "to detach itself from either section and become a 'Free City,' occupying a somewhat similar relation to the states of the sundered Union, that such cities as Hamburg held so long to Prussia and the other German states." It was well known that the Southern leaders depended largely for strength at this juncture upon the influence of the *Herald* and other prominent New York papers. Thus the public eye turned toward them with questioning suspicion. The crowd in Printing House Square on Monday, despite a severe rain storm, was much larger and vastly more threatening than on Saturday. The police tried to preserve order, but the absence of the national flag from certain newspaper buildings created such a storm of popular resentment that a serious riot was imminent. Early in the afternoon the New York *Sun* displayed a neat flag over its bulletin, which was received with shouts and shouts and shouts of applause. The proprietor of the *Herald* had been waited upon in the morning by a committee of gentlemen, who assured him that if he did not display the Stars and Stripes there was danger that his "establishment" would be leveled with the pavement. As the day wore on the mob increased about the *Herald* building (then at the corner of Nassau and Fulton Streets) and grew more and more angry, and threatened more loudly and forcibly. It so happened that the *Herald* people had no flag in the building, neither had they any guns or weapons of defense. It was inconvenient to procure either in the alarming emergency. Yet something must be done. Wisdom was certainly the better part of valor. Finally a messenger was dispatched through the roof to procure the emblem of salvation. About half-past four o'clock in the afternoon an ensign was slowly dropped from an upper window, occasioning screams of delight and

satisfaction from the mob below, who having nothing further to demand, very soon dispersed, to the relief of all concerned.

On Wednesday morning, the 17th, the New York *Times* published the following editorial:

"SUDDEN CONVERSION.—The Union revival of the last few days has produced some very sudden and very remarkable conversions among our newspaper neighbors. The old Harlequin of the *Herald* is among them. He was brought to a realizing sense of his losing condition by a deputation from the street below, who expressed the opinion that his personal comfort would be promoted by his hoisting the American flag. He seemed to feel the force of the suggestion, but didn't happen to have such an article in his establishment. He had *heard* of it but had never sailed under it. One was procured, however, after some delay, and for lack of a flag-staff hung out of the window. Yesterday the *Herald* was devoted mainly to proving that it had always frowned upon Secession, and that if its advice had been taken the Southern rebels would have been crushed out long ago. The joke was pretty broad, but nobody laughed. The fact is the old Harlequin is about 'played out.' People are beginning to take too serious views of public affairs to render his incitements to rebellion amusing."

Meanwhile, the New York Seventh Regiment, or National Guard, the pride of the city, representing in its very composition the foremost families of wealth and influence, boldly declared itself for the flag and the Union. A meeting was held on Tuesday, the 16th, at which forty officers were present, and the following resolution unanimously adopted:

Resolved,—That the Colonel be requested to notify the Major-General that this Regiment responds to the call of the country as made by the President through the Governor of the State, and that the regiment is *ready to march forthwith.*

The magnetic influence of such prompt action upon the other militia regiments was immediately apparent. The tidings that the New York Seventh would march in the van to the relief and defense of Washington, went with the speed of a whirlwind from mouth to mouth, from city to city, and over the electric wires to the remotest confines of the State and country—trailing the fire of enthusiasm all along its course. At a late hour on Wednesday evening, the 17th, the following orders from the governor reached the regiment, and were hailed with the wildest delight:—

HEADQUARTERS STATE OF NEW YORK,
ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE, ALBANY, *April* 17, 1861.

GENERAL ORDERS, NO. 43.

In pursuance of a requisition from the President of the United States, Major-General Sandford is hereby directed to detail one regiment of 800, or two regiments amounting to the same number, for immediate service, to be reported forthwith to the President of the United States, and to serve until relieved by other regiments, or by a regiment or regiments of the Volunteer Militia, to be organized under an act of the Legislature of this State, passed April 16, 1861.

By order of the Commander-in-Chief,

J. MEREDITH READ, JR.,
Adjutant-General.

HEADQUARTERS, FIRST DIVISION N. Y. S. M.,
NEW YORK, *April* 17, 1861.

In pursuance of General Orders No. 43 from General Headquarters, the Seventh Regiment N. Y. S. M., under command of Colonel Lefferts, is hereby detailed for immediate service at the national capital. Colonel Lefferts will order his regiment to assemble at its armory on Friday, at 3 P. M., armed and equipped for embarkation, each man supplied with provisions for twenty-four hours. Colonel Lefferts will, upon his arrival at Washington, report to General Scott.

The Major-General congratulates the Seventh Regiment upon being the first corps detailed from this State, in response to the call of the constituted authorities, to support the Constitution and to vindicate the honor of that glorious flag which was consecrated by the blood of our fathers.

By order of
CHARLES W. SANDFORD,
Major-General Commanding.

The order from Colonel Lefferts was at once issued, and nine hundred and forty-five men immediately reported for duty. The commander, Marshall Lefferts, was just in the prime of life, of fine manly presence, quick of thought and prompt in action, and of sound judgment and great force and strength of character.* The major, Alexander Shaler, afterward served with distinction in the army of the Potomac, and for gallantry and meritorious services was commissioned brigadier-general, and later on breveted major-general. He was conspicuous for his exact discipline in camp and for his coolness in great emergencies. In 1867 he was appointed by Governor Fenton, major-general of the First Division National Guard of the State of New York, which position he has held to the present time, a period of eighteen years.† It was a regiment of officers, this "unrivaled body of citizen soldiery"—as Stephen A. Douglas called it. Six hundred and six of its members afterward served as officers in the Regular and Volunteer Army and Navy of the United States during the civil war. Hundreds sought admittance in vain to its ranks, which

* Marshall Lefferts was forty years of age, a native of Brooklyn, of old Knickerbocker ancestry, and a busy merchant in New York. He furnished the first zinc plated wire used for telegraphic purposes in the United States; was the first President of the New York and New England and of the New York State Telegraphic Companies, and at the time of his death in 1876, was President of the Gold and Stock Telegraph Company of New York, and of the Celluloid Manufacturing Company of Newark, New Jersey.

† The staff officers of the regiment at this date were Egbert L. Viele, Captain of Engineers; Timothy M. Cheesman, Surgeon; Locke W. Winchester, Quartermaster; John C. Dalton, Surgeon's Mate; Sullivan H. Weston, Chaplain; Meredith Howland, Assistant Paymaster; William Patten, Commissary; John A. Baker, Ordnance Officer; George W. Brainerd, Assistant Quartermaster; Charles J. McClenachan, Military Secretary; J. H. Liebenau, Adjutant. The captains of the several companies were: W. P. Bensel (A), Emmons, Clark (B), James Price (C), William H. Riblet (D), William A. Speaight (E), Benjamin M. Nevers, Jr. (F), John Monroe (G), Henry C. Shumway (H), Henry A. Cragin, 1st Lieut. *Commanding* (I.), and George C. Farrar (K.).

were already full. During the few hours prior to its departure the business of the city was almost entirely suspended. The entire population seemed to have gone raving mad with excitement. The arrival of Major Anderson from Charleston added powder to the flame. It was sensation upon sensation, panic upon panic. At the places of enlistment everybody seemed to be volunteering, and new regiments were rapidly forming. All

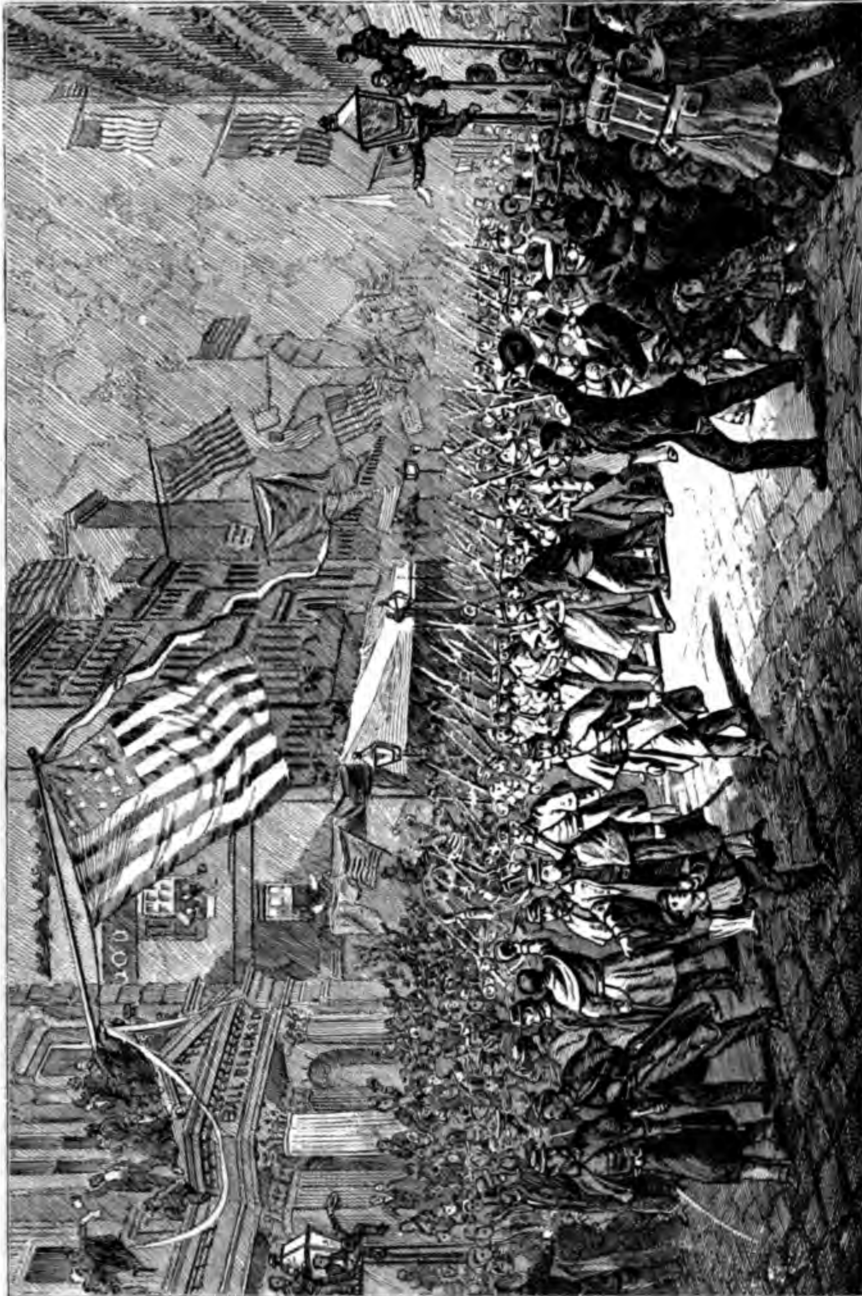
Marshall Lefferts

party differences were lost in that supreme moment. The hatchet was buried, and the bayonet of the Union rose in its stead.

On that fair Friday, April 19, while the gallant Seventh was bidding adieux to home and friends in New York, the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, which passed through the city the day before, had reached and was fighting in Baltimore. The thrilling news came just before the Seventh formed in Lafayette Place, and all the fine, frenzied enthusiasm of the nervous American nature was aroused. The excitement as these heroic, dignified,

and admirably drilled and disciplined men of the Seventh wheeled into column, with their faces Washington-ward, was sublime, almost terrific. Men cheered and shouted as men never cheered and shouted before; ladies laughed and sobbed, smiled and wept. For hours the people had swarmed Broadway from curbstone to roof, patiently waiting, and the display of the national colors on every side gave to the whole the effect of some grand carnival scene. The march of the Seventh down Broadway was less a march than a triumphal procession. A faithful and graphic description of the impressive scene is beyond the reach of pen. It was not only because—as men wrote and exclaimed—" New York loves the Seventh, it has distilled its best blood into it " that tears and caresses were showered like the rain from Heaven upon its members as they moved with firm, elastic step into the unknown ; but they had generously abandoned their business pursuits at a sacrifice of untold thousands to defend the beloved flag of the nation at a terrible crisis in its affairs, and their spirit was contagious in the superlative degree. The moral effect upon the country at large can never be fully measured or appreciated. The slightest expression of sympathy with secession was unsafe on that day. While passing the store of Ball, Black & Co., Major Anderson, of Sumter, appeared on the balcony, and the several companies of the Seventh paused successively and joined in the tempest of applause with which he was greeted.

It was past midnight when the regiment reached Philadelphia, and there learned that the revolt of the Marylanders had interposed a bar to the march of troops to Washington. Three railroad bridges had been actively removed within a few hours and all the telegraph wires cut. Colonel Lefferts consulted with his officers and determined to charter a steamer for Annapolis—which was done at once on his own personal responsibility, he drawing on his firm in New York for the money. Before eleven, Saturday morning (April 20), the steamer *Boston* had been secured, and by three in the afternoon of the same day it was fully equipped and provisioned, and the regiment embarked. While it was steaming down the Delaware the immense mass meeting in Union Square, New York, referred to in another article, was exercising its controling influence over the affairs of the country. On Monday morning, April 22, the little *Boston* with its precious freight anchored in front of the city of Annapolis where the Eighth Massachusetts, commanded by General Benjamin F. Butler, had arrived before them in the ferryboat *Maryland* (*via* Havre de Grace), which was hard and fast on a mud bank. The state and city authorities protested earnestly against the landing of troops and their passage through the city or state in any event; they represented the hostility such as to



MARCH OF THE SEVENTH REGIMENT DOWN BROADWAY.

Engraved for the Magazine from the original by Thomas Nast, owned by Colonel Emmons Clark.

render such an attempt perilous in the superlative degree. But Colonel Lefferts and his officers determined to land at once, and force, if necessary, a passage to the National capital. Before landing, however, several hours were spent by the *Boston* in unavailing efforts to float the *Maryland*, and finally the New York Seventh marched into the city, and sent their steamer back to debark the Massachusetts men.

Far more memorable than its beginning, or its progress, was the termination of the march of the New York Seventh Regiment. From the most trustworthy information that could be obtained by its commander, the whole country was in arms, the roads infested with guerrillas and bushwhackers, Baltimore secessionists had seized important bridges, the railroad was torn away for many miles, all telegraphic communications severed, and serious resistance must be expected.

After briefly discussing the alarming prospect, the regiment to a man resolved that having left New York for the relief and defense of Washington, it was its duty to face all perils, surmount all obstacles, push rapidly forward and spare no effort to reach its destination. It also determined to reconstruct the railroad track as it went along in order that other troops might follow without detention.

The mettle of these young men, trained only to mercantile pursuits, was here put to the severest test. Unaccustomed to the hardships of camp and field, or exposure, and in an enemy's country, without palatable food, they performed a service which will go down into history as one of the most important events of the War. Two companies of the Massachussetts Eighth seized and occupied the railroad depot, mending a broken locomotive and two miles of railroad track, in readiness for the forward movement. The Second and Sixth Companies of the New York Seventh, Captains Clark and Nevers, were honored with the post of danger—the advance.* Their train was an ingenious contrivance. It comprised two open platform cars formed by sawing off the tops of two old cattle-cars, the locomotive, and two small cars for passengers. On the first platform car was a loaded howitzer, on the second ammunition. An officer stood at the forward end of the first, with a guard of eight men distributed about the howitzer, and one man detailed for the specific purpose of watching for breaks in the road. The Second and Sixth Companies were at first packed into the two small cars. They soon came to where the road was so badly broken that

* Captain Emmons Clark, who was honored with the post of danger on this perilous and important march, has been the Colonel of the Seventh Regiment since June 21, 1864, now just twenty-one years. He was the son of a clergyman, and a graduate from Hamilton College, where he held high rank as a scholar. He has also held the responsible position of Secretary of the Board of Health since 1866, a period of nineteen years

the engine and the two rear cars must be left behind; the platform cars were then dragged with ropes by the men, stopping from time to time to restore rails. Skirmishers thrown out on either side of the road to guard against sudden assaults were in the meantime plunging through forest and fen, sweeping the country in a swathe a mile broad. During the forenoon the

Emmons Clark
Col. Com. 7th Regt. N.G.S.N.Y.

main body of the regiment joined the advance six miles out of Annapolis. Pushing on three or more miles further they found a railroad bridge gone, and were hindered to construct a new one, felling trees and hewing timber, without suitable tools, but succeeding in the end and passing their train over it. It was nearly night of the second day before this was accomplished, and yet they marched on six miles or more in the inky darkness, tugging their howitzer along over the newly laid track. One of the party wrote,

"The engineer corps had of course to do the forwarding work—New York dandies, Sir—but they built bridges, laid rails, and headed the regiment through that terrible march." The missing rails had frequently been dragged a considerable distance and hidden in the woods. To search for them, and adjust them in their places, guarding all the while against a sudden surprise from the foe, was serious business. In one place about twenty feet of track, rails, chains and ties, had been lifted up and pitched to the bottom of a steep embankment. Not a moment was lost; all realized the importance of perpetual activity. The skirmishers frequently discovered men tearing up the road in the distance, but in every instance they fled as the soldiers approached. Trouble was confidently expected at Annapolis Junction; the extravagant idea, however, which had spread through the country in respect to the number and prowess of the famous National Guard frightened away all opposition. At ten o'clock Thursday morning, April 25, six days after leaving New York, the Seventh was on the cars sent out from Washington, and at noon reached the beleaguered capital. Colonel Emmons Clark in his history of the Second Company, published in 1864, says: "It is a remarkable fact, and evidence of the unsettled state of the country and the complete destruction of communications, that no trustworthy information was received in New York of the movements of this regiment for nearly a week after its departure." Its heroic energy in occupying Annapolis, and opening the railroad to Annapolis Junction, was of the utmost moment to the future of the Republic. General Scott, upon learning the details of its adventures, hardships, hunger, and fatigue while dragging the cars, relaying rails, constructing bridges, and pushing its scouts three miles ahead of the regiment, pronounced "this forced march unsurpassed in the history of the Mexican War."

"The Seventh Regiment has arrived amid the wildest enthusiasm" were the telegraphic words that flashed over the country from Washington that afternoon. "One would have thought the invasion was of a foe, and that a panic had seized the population. The whole city danced with delight. The men looked worn and weary, as well they might, after their rough work. Nevertheless they were all in good spirits, and they walked almost with springing steps. A greater change never came over a town than that wrought in the space of half an hour."

THE SEVENTH REGIMENT AT THE CAPITAL, 1861

"THE DAYLIGHT CONTINGENT"

Viewed through the long retrospect of a quarter of a century, the events which preceded and accompanied the great uprising of the people in 1861 possess an almost melodramatic interest when compared with the terrible tragedies of the succeeding years of bloody strife. From the day that the result of the general election of 1860 was known, the preparation for an armed resistance to the National Authority throughout the Southern States began, and for four months the Government looked upon these seditious proceedings with a wonderful complacency, hardly rising above a keen curiosity as to what might be the next scene enacted. And yet these four months were nothing more nor less than active, diligent, and resolute preparations for war, absolute and predetermined measures of hostility, which should and could have been suppressed in their incipient stages, before the mass of the Southern people were dragooned into tardy acquiescence in rebellion. The guns of Sumter, as they echoed through the land, aroused the North to the reality of the situation. From the 4th of March the city of Washington had been trembling over a slumbering volcano, surrounded on all sides by hostile elements, containing within its precincts a seditious horde, many of whom were life-long parasites upon the public treasury. The anxious authorities knew not what a single day or a single hour might develop. Rumors of the wildest character filled the air. Undisguised and open threats had been made that the seat of government was to be captured. In fact the National Capital, with its archives, its memorials, and its treasures, was at the mercy of an invading host, had they chosen to assail it. Under these circumstances came the call of the President for 75,000 men. It was only a measure of defense; even then it was fondly hoped that the dread calamity of war might be averted, notwithstanding all the seditious acts. Nevertheless the call to arms meant war, and New York City rose up as one man to assert the supremacy and the power of the Government. Never before was, and perhaps never again will be, witnessed such a scene as that on Union Square, on the 20th of April, 1861. Burning words of eloquence and patriotism stirred the people to action. Sixty thousand resolute, earnest and determined men then and there resolved to offer their all! themselves, their sons, and their sons' sons, for

the national honor and the national defense. The day before, April 19, New York had witnessed another scene only paralleled by this one. In response to the call of the President the Seventh Regiment had answered like the minute-men of the Revolution. This truly representative body of citizen soldiery embraced within its ranks all walks, all callings of life. Merchants, lawyers, physicians, tradesmen, artisans, all were represented. In fact it would be impossible for any body of men to be more closely identified with the active business interests of the metropolis. At a moment's notice all these interests were laid down, and exchanged for the sword and the musket. Those who witnessed the departure of the regiment will never forget it. Amid the plaudits and the tears, the blessings and the fears of the entire populace assembled along the line of march, they moved with full ranks and steady tread. A thousand bayonets glittered in the sun, and a thousand stalwart citizens passed out from the life of the great city to meet an unknown danger, how many perhaps never to return. It was a solemn hour, and it left the homes of New York filled with sorrowful forebodings of the future. Then came the startling intelligence of the burning of the railway bridges, and the destruction of the approaches to the capital. The Seventh had arrived at Philadelphia, and in consequence of obstructions to their progress by land, had taken the steamer *Boston* to reach Washington by sea and the Chesapeake; and all communication ceased. The mails were stopped, the telegraph wires were cut, and a terrible suspense hung like a pall over the city. Rumors came of disaster, of bloody engagements, of lack of provisions, of hunger, privation and distress. Then promptly came forward the merchants and the bankers with open coffers. A "Union Defense Committee" was organized, and any amount of money generously pledged and freely contributed to the cause. A vessel was chartered without a moment's delay, and loaded with provisions for the gallant Seventh. The steamer *Daylight* was the one selected. Five hundred volunteers offered their services to join the regiment; very many of them were young men of independent fortunes or sons of wealthy citizens. There was only room for two hundred, who were accepted. The engineer officer of the regiment, who with a few other members had been detained on its departure, took command of the vessel and the Contingent. They assembled at the armory of the Seventh on the morning of the 24th, and after a few hours' drill, entirely new to most of them, they marched down Broadway to take the steamer with the bearing and appearance of veterans, and amid an ovation second only to that which greeted the regiment five days before. Meanwhile the main body of the regiment had passed through the Delaware to the sea, and down the coast to the mouth

of the Chesapeake, and thence toward Annapolis. What was before them they knew not. Possibly the mob spirit that had risen uncontrolled in Baltimore and murdered the men of Massachusetts, had taken possession also of Annapolis, and the landing there would be disputed. A sudden and peremptory hail, in the midst of a dense fog, from some vessel in the stream, as they approached the city, seemed portentous of evil, but a nearer view revealed a United States man-of-war, and brought about a mutual surprise and relief, as neither had any knowledge of the possible presence of anything but a hostile force. Then followed a speedy landing, and the revelation that destruction had also overtaken this route to the capital. The railway had been torn up, the cars destroyed, and Washington more than ever menaced with danger. A panic had seized the people. Women and children, and even men, were fleeing from the impending danger. The force at the command of the authorities was insignificant, compared with the number that were said to be gathering for its capture or destruction. To overcome this fear, to meet this emergency, there was work to be done by the Seventh. Communication must be reopened and established at whatever cost, and cheerfully they undertook the task. The railway must be rebuilt, the engines repaired, weary marches were to be made, an unseen foe to be looked for at every step, and all this by men unused for the most part to manual labor and unaccustomed to privations or fatigue. Inspired by a common purpose, there was no lack of enthusiasm or of energy. In these first days of the long and bitter struggle the minds of men were not yet accustomed to the scenes of carnage that came all too soon, and the events through which these novices in war were passing were accompanied by all that sense of danger and demanded all that fortitude of character that were called forth by the more tragic events that followed. The evidences of general disaffection in the State of Maryland were too palpable not to warrant the anticipation of a night attack on the bivouac while the railway was being repaired, but the regiment was thoroughly prepared for this. At length Annapolis Junction was reached, where the train dispatched by General Scott received the regiment and hurried it to Washington. Its arrival was worth ten thousand men to the anxious loyal people of the capital, for it gave them that sense of relief and security they had not felt for weeks. Deploying into columns as soon as they left the cars the regiment marched the entire length of Pennsylvania Avenue, cheered and greeted at every step, to the White House, where they were received by the President, and then marched back to the Capitol and quartered in the Hall of Representatives. While the route from Annapolis was thus being opened to the capital, the *Daylight*, with its Contingent and stores passing

down the Bay, steamed direct for Hampden Roads. During the trip a constant drill was maintained. Arriving after dark of the second day, the lights in the light-houses were found to have been extinguished, while the dim outline of the coast was barely discernible. Moving cautiously shoreward with the leads thrown on both sides of the vessel, the channel was

Union Defence Committee,

OF THE CITIZENS OF NEW-YORK.

OFFICE, No. 30 PINE STREET.

New-York, June 29th 1861.

Extract from Proceedings
of Executive Committee

"The Seventh Regiment commanded by Col. Marshall Lefferts, so long the pride of the City of New York, abandoned the ties of home and business, and with an alacrity that has scarcely a paralel in military history, marched its Thousand disciplined men steadily to the Capital, where it performed efficiently and faithfully all its duties. and whence it has returned, at the close of its full term of service, distinguished by the grateful commendation of the President, and the Commanding General of the Army.

"A detachment of 200 men of the Reserve of this Regiment, led by Captain E. L. Viele, was the first military body. which opened the passage, and passed to the City of Washington by the Potomac River. Much Credit was justly accorded to that Officer. for the skill, spirit and perseverance evinced by him on the occasion referred to."

Ex Report of June 29: 1861.

Prosper M. Wetmore
Sec: Exec: Com:

New York Sept 10 1861

Brigadier General
E. L. Viele,
Dear Sir;
It gives me pleasure to hand you annexed transcript of proceedings of Executive Committee in reference to the Services performed by the Seventh Regt and especially those so gallantly rendered by yourself in opening the Potomac River at a Critical Moment in the Conduct of Military Movements at Washington
I am
Respy & very truly
Yours
P. M. Wetmore

found, and the steamer passed safely into the Roads and anchored under the walls of Fortress Monroe, while the commander communicated with Captain Gillis of the United States steamer *Seminole*. Having learned that the Seventh had gone to Annapolis, as also the Eighth Massachusetts, he decided to proceed direct to Washington by the way of the Potomac. No vessel had yet made the attempt, in consequence of the rumor that batteries had been erected along the river. Captain Gillis kindly loaned two Dahlgren howitzers with an ample supply of ammunition. These were placed at the bow of the *Daylight*, giving her the appearance and the effectiveness of a gunboat, and thus equipped the Contingent set out to open the way to Washington by the Potomac. All the buoys in the channel had been removed, and progress was necessarily slow. This afforded time to drill the artillery assignment in the use of the guns. They were beautiful pieces, great pets with the Navy, having been used in the attack on the Peiho forts in China, and were inscribed with that victory. Lieu-

tenant Horace Porter of the Ordnance Corps of the Army, afterward General Porter, had joined the *Daylight* at New York, there being no other way to reach Washington, to which place he had been ordered. To him was given command of the artillery, and with great diligence he qualified the gunners in their duties. Arriving off Fort Washington, opposite Mount Vernon, the vessel was brought to by a shot across her bow from the fort. On going ashore the commander learned that the utmost consternation prevailed at Alexandria. Refugees were arriving every hour at the fort, and reported five guns in battery on the wharf to prevent any relief by the river going to Washington. The alternative of staying where they were or being blown out of existence was gravely presented to the commander of the detachment by the commanding officer of the fort. It was a responsible and trying position, but after a careful inspection of the vessel, finding that the boilers were protected by the coal bunkers, and having great confidence in the grape and canister of the howitzers as well as in the courage of the men, the commander determined that duty pointed the way to the capital. As the *Daylight* approached Alexandria the cannon were trailed for action, muskets were loaded, and each man stood ready for the word of command that would follow the signal of hostilities from the shore. It was a serious situation. As the vessel steamed slowly by, not a word was spoken. The insurgent sentinel who paced the wharf looked steadily at the armed ranks that faced him, but uttered no sound. The flag of disunion fluttered from the staff whence Ellsworth subsequently tore it down and lost his life simultaneously with that of the man who unfurled it to the breeze; and soon the town was passed, without a word or shot being exchanged. It was better so; although a different result might have hastened the issue with advantage to the Government. At any rate the Potomac was opened and the New York Seventh had won another laurel. The next day the First Rhode Island followed the *Daylight* in the *Bienville*.

THE MARBLE ROOM OF THE CAPITOL.

It was a dismal rainy Sabbath day (28th April) when the *Daylight* was

made fast at the Washington wharf. The President and Secretary of State hastened to welcome the new arrivals. They came at once to the steamer, and President Lincoln grasped the hand of every man on board, not ex-

THE SEVENTH QUARTERED IN THE HALL OF REPRESENTATIVES.

[*From a photograph made at the time.*]

cepting the stokers and firemen, whom he called up from their work to thank them as heartily as the rest for their courage and their presence in the hour of need. A detachment of four men held a large piece of canvas at each corner to shelter the President from the rain while the handshaking took place. The next morning the regimental band with an escort

came down and escorted the *Daylight* reinforcements to the Capitol, and the bivouac on the floor of the Hall of Representatives.

What a scene the Capitol now presented! At the entrance cannon loaded with grape and canister were planted. Arms were stacked in the Rotunda and sentinels guarded every avenue of approach. The whole building was one vast barracks. A bakery was improvised in the basement. Thousands of barrels of flour and other provisions filled the crypt. The marble floors resounded with the constant tread of the relief guard. Every available spot within the legislative halls, the galleries and the committee rooms, was appropriated for sleeping places, and the one great fact was now established beyond all peradventure that no flag but that of the Union could ever float over that great edifice.

The monotony of daily life, if such a life could be called monotonous, was varied in numerous ways—among others were mock sessions of Congress, with all the gravity and, perhaps, more assumption of dignity than actual representatives. The proceedings would be conducted in regular order. A speaker would rap with his gavel and the House would come to order. Members from different sections would rise to debate. Innumerable and extraordinary points of order were raised, and constituted, as in many more legitimate assemblages, the principal business of the House. It was a glorious field for the display of wit and humor, and was a never-ending source of amusement. An occasional visit from the President to their spacious quarters at the Capitol was always an interesting event to the regiment. One or more cabinet officers generally accompanied him. Every day new regiments poured into Washington, until the city became one vast camp. As soon as the equipage of the Seventh could be forwarded, a camping ground was chosen and tents pitched. The regiment then left the Capitol in charge of a permanent guard. The camp of the Seventh soon became the center of attraction. The evening parades drew large crowds to Meridan Hill. Every day witnessed marked improvements in drill and discipline, and it is safe to say that a more soldierly body of men it would be difficult to find.

Then came the mysterious order for a midnight movement—to what point and for what purpose no one knew. Each man was supplied with forty rounds of ammunition and three days' rations, and at two o'clock in the morning, without music and with but one low word of command, the regiment left its camp and marching silently through the city crossed the Long Bridge into Virginia. Ellsworth's forces moved at the same time down the river to Alexandria. The tragedy of Ellsworth's death and its speedy revenge followed quickly. It was the beginning of a long and bloody con-

flict, the history of which will probably never be fully told; but its results will be traced for many generations to come in the higher and nobler plane of civilization that has been developed through the length and breadth of the American continent under and by its influence. The task of the regiment did not end here. Twice again it went with equal alacrity to the front, and although as a regiment it was never brought face to face with the foe in battle, it gave more than six hundred of its brave men to most of the battles of the war, and its roll of honor is starred with the names of many heroes who poured their life-blood freely out *pro bono publico;* but that first march, the echoes of whose tread reverberated through the land, was the tocsin that called the nation to arms, for it marked the deadly earnestness with which the Union was to be defended.

WALL STREET IN THE CIVIL WAR

Wall Street derives its name from the wooden wall erected on its present course over two hundred years ago by the early Dutch settlers as a bulwark of defense against the incursions of wild beasts and savages—and of English enemies during the Dutch and English war.

Later, under English authority, Wall Street became the seat of the Colonial State Government, and the scene of the Stamp Act Congress, and finally, when separation from the Mother country had been determined upon, the Declaration of Independence was here publicly proclaimed with great enthusiasm. About the time of the foundation of our Government it was a fashionable thoroughfare, and the rendezvous of the statesmen of our political *renaissance*, of Jefferson, Hamilton, Madison, Franklin, and Jay. The Federal Congress sojourned here for six years, and on the spot now occupied by the marble steps of the Sub-treasury, George Washington took the oath of office as first President of the United States.

But the bird of fashion migrated to another abode; the seat of government was transferred to the banks of the Potomac, and the political glories of Wall Street faded into a dim historic memory. Toward the close of the last century it began to assume a moneyed character, which each subsequent decade has confirmed and enlarged. Wall Street now means something more than that short and narrow thoroughfare stretching from Trinity Church to East River. With the growth of large cities each important branch of business appropriates to itself, by some law of accident or natural selection, a special locality which thereafter becomes identified with it. In this sense therefore "Wall Street" includes Nassau, Broad, New, William, Exchange Place, and lower Broadway. Here are located the Sub-treasury, the Custom House, the Stock, Produce, Cotton, Petroleum and Mining Exchanges, railway offices, banks, brokers, representatives of foreign capital and financial agents of every description.

Without exaggeration this is the moneyed center of the nation, the fountain head of its capital, credit and speculation.

When the Bank of New York, the first banking institution of the city, was established, business of this character was not regarded as so beneficial or essential as at present, but with the development of the country's commerce and resources, the financial consequence of Wall Street increased, and by the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861 it was of recognized and commanding importance. The city at that time, with its population

of 800,000, was relatively as large as to-day with over a million and a quarter of inhabitants. Its business interests were widely extended and not limited to a local character. It was estimated that fully one-half of the commercial indebtedness of the South was held in New York. Any rupture of peaceful relations with this section would not only involve the annulment of this indebtedness, but would cut off a valuable constituency whose cotton was King. Moreover it would jeopardize its coasting trade and foreign commerce, and, in fact, expose the city itself to the dangerous vicissitudes of war. The commercial and banking interests of the city were intimately bound together, and it was natural that they both should have exerted themselves, as they did, to avert the arbitrament of war. When, however, it appeared that nothing could stay the "irrepressible conflict," and when the smoke of rebellion enveloped the flag at Sumter, Wall Street poured out its treasure to save the Union.

On March 4, 1861, Mr. Chase, of Ohio, was made Secretary of the Treasury in President Lincoln's Cabinet. The last loan of ten millions in one year Treasury notes negotiated by the Treasury under Mr. Buchanan's administration had cost the Government about ten to twelve per cent. interest, so that at Mr. Chase's accession to the portfolio of the Treasury the credit of the nation was gone, its exchequer empty, and the shadow of war hung over all. Surely these conditions were sadly discouraging to a Finance Minister, whose duties demanded that he should point out the ways and means for raising funds to conduct the war on a Titanic scale.

Financial skill and a practical expression by capital of confidence in a victorious end were as necessary as strategy and statesmanship. Modern warfare is largely a contest between money bags, and dollars are almost as potent as bullets themselves. Throughout the war the silent forces of capital and credit were at work in Wall Street, operating through the banks and Treasury, providing the sinews of successful war; and this work was urgent and pressing, as the disbursements averaged two millions daily from Bull Run to Appomattox.

A special session of Congress was called for July 4, 1861, and meanwhile Secretary Chase had at his command only the unissued remnants of several loans which he managed to dispose of by temporary expedients to an extent sufficient to tide the Treasury over till July 17th, when the first war loan of $250,000,000 was authorized. By this time the demands for cash were imperious and inexorable. The high interest rates exacted by lenders from Buchanan's Secretaries of the Treasury indicated that public subscriptions would be slow and unprofitable. In this exigency Mr. Chase looked to Wall Street, as he and his successors continued to do whenever

it became necessary to materialize the credit of the Government into money. He called a conference of the bankers of New York, Boston and Philadelphia to be held in the first-named city, August 19th, and before them he made a statement of the necessity of immediate aid to the Treasury. The banks did not wish to divert their resources from their customary commercial channels into the discredited paper of the Government, but patriotic rather than mercenary considerations impelled them to furnish relief and prevent any embarrassment to the Government in its efforts to suppress the rebellion. They consented to take fifty millions of three-year bonds bearing 7 3-10 per cent. interest at par, upon condition that such sales as might be made to the public at the time should be credited against the loan. On October 1st they again advanced fifty millions on the same terms, and on November 16th, fifty millions more for 6 per cent. twenty-year bonds at .89⅝, or the equivalent of 7 per cent. interest. They hoped that they might dispose of some of this loan abroad, but the feeling there was not friendly to our cause and the idea was abandoned.

The London *Times* said that Secretary Chase had "coerced fifty millions from the banks of New York, but he would not fare so well in London." The London *Economist* said that "it is utterly out of the question in our judgment that the Americans can obtain either at home or in Europe anything like the sums they are asking. Europe *won't* lend them; America *cannot*." There is no doubt that the prompt action of the banks in indorsing the security of Government bonds greatly aided the Treasury in its future negotiations with the public and did much to establish the credit of subsequent loans.

The banks of New York furnished one hundred and five million dollars out of the whole one hundred and fifty millions advanced, and, to show that the terms of purchase were not regarded as specially advantageous, the fact may be mentioned that Boston declined to take her pro rata part, and New York made good the deficiency. The payments to the Treasury by the banks were made in coin, and immediately disbursed by the former. Both had their coin reserves so depleted that, on December 30, the banks of New York were forced to suspend specie payments, their stock of specie having declined from forty-two millions on December 7, to fourteen millions January 4, 1862. The Treasury and banks throughout the country also ceased to redeem their notes in coin.

Under the Act of July 17, power was conferred upon the Secretary to issue fifty millions demand notes receivable for all public dues, including customs, and on February 12, 1862, ten millions more were authorized. Though these notes were not convertible into gold, they were as good as

gold at the custom houses, and, consequently, were worth about as much as the metal itself. The Government needed coin to pay interest on its bonds, and the fact that these notes were outstanding embarrassed the Treasury, which made every effort to retire them.

At the date of suspension of specie payments, the paper currency issued by the state banks and in circulation amounted, in the aggregate, to about two hundred millions. Many irresponsible "wild-cat" banks had sprung up in the West and South, whose place of business could hardly be found with a search warrant. The New England system and the New York system were better, but the currency was of local character, and of very uncertain and uneven value. Every merchant and banker had to arm himself with a Bank Note detector, as the notes were of cheap and unskillful fabrication. Altogether it was an unsatisfactory system, and now that all pretense of coin redemption had been abandoned, it was an early consideration with Secretary Chase how to extinguish the state issues. This was finally accomplished, a year later, by the National Banking Act, which taxed the state bank circulation out of existence, and gave to the country a uniform currency, based on the credit of Government bonds.

The suspension of specie payments was immediately followed by the withdrawal from circulation of coin, which was estimated to be from one hundred and fifty millions to two hundred millions in volume, and gold at once commanded a premium. It may here be noted that the bonds taken by the banks a few months before were at this time worth 3½ to 4 per cent. less in gold than their cost, though the improved credit of the Government in the spring of 1862 enabled them to dispose of such bonds as they still retained at a profit.

On February 25, 1862, there was enacted, under the pressure of war necessities, a measure which was severely condemned by many, and reluctantly approved by its friends. This was the Legal Tender Act, which authorized the issue of one hundred and fifty millions of notes, which were declared to be a legal tender in the discharge of all obligations except the payment of customs dues and interest on the public debt. In other words, it was a forced loan, without interest, though provision was made for the exchange of these notes at par into 6 per cent. bonds, called "five-twenties," payable, at the pleasure of the Government, in five years, and actually due in twenty, interest and principal payable in gold. By the act of March 3, 1863, this convertibility of greenbacks was to cease on the 1st of July following. While these notes were fundable into 6 per cent. interest-bearing bonds at par, they could not depreciate below the value of

the bonds, but this privilege was withdrawn to prevent such conversion, which would have caused a dangerous contraction of the currency. On June 11, 1862, one hundred and fifty million legal tender notes were authorized, and March 3, 1863, one hundred and fifty millions more.

The first emission of these notes merely filled the vacuum made by the disappearance of specie as a circulating medium, but after that inflation in prices was an inevitable result. The rapid and important rise in prices of all commodities was, however, partly due to the extraordinary demands for war supplies, which had to be furnished by a body of producers greatly diminished in numbers by enlistment in the army. On January 1, 1863, the number of men in the pay of the Government was over nine hundred thousand.

During the year 1862, Secretary Chase found it difficult to negotiate long loans, and about two hundred and thirty-five millions of the funds obtained by the Treasury were from legal tender and fractional currency issues, the remaining two hundred millions being chiefly derived from deposits, one-year certificates and three-year loans, only twenty-five millions of "five-twenties" having been sold. Thus the Government, during the year 1862, received very little support from the public, the banks furnishing money on temporary loans, and the people taking only such legal tender notes as were forced upon them.

In the summer of 1862 the Treasury required about four millions of gold to meet interest maturing July 1st on its bonds. To have come into the market to buy the gold would have materially enhanced its premium, so the Secretary exchanged $7\frac{3}{10}$ three-year bonds with the banks for the gold, as both gold and bonds commanded about the same premium in the market. Precisely one year after the Legal Tender Act became a law, or on February 25, 1863, the National Bank Act was passed, to which reference has already been made. This act encountered considerable opposition among the bankers in New York and elsewhere, notwithstanding it was Secretary Chase's pet plan. The leading financial periodical of New York pronounced it at the time "a monument of legislative folly."

The prejudice against it disappeared as the public became acquainted with its provisions, which insured large reserves, frequent inspections at unexpected intervals, and double liability of shareholders. The old state banks gradually converted their organization into National banks, and a system which was devised largely to make a market for Government bonds and to furnish facilities for the extensive collections and disbursements of the Treasury, has been, by common consent, perpetuated as the safest and best ever established.

Too much credit cannot be accorded to Secretary Chase for his persistent advocacy of this measure.

The colossal war loans which swelled our public debt to $2,845,907,-626.56 on August 31, 1865, were chiefly authorized and marketed during the years 1863, 1864, 1865, leading off with the one for nine hundred millions March 3, 1863, and ending with the famous "seven-thirty" loan of five hundred and thirty millions, negotiated through Jay Cooke & Co. This was in the summer of 1865, after the fall of Richmond and surrender of the Confederate army, and to meet heavy requisitions from the War Department to disband and transport the troops. During the later years of the Rebellion, when the ponderous enginery of war was battering down the defenses of the South, the credit of our securities obtained recognition in Europe, particularly in Germany, which profited largely by its purchases. Meanwhile wealth grew rapidly under the stimulus of the war expenditures, the increase of population, the issues of large quantities of paper money, the vast extension of our railway system, and the development of our manufacturing interests and rich agricultural areas. Much of the surplus of this money was converted into the interest-bearing obligations of the Government, and thus hundreds of millions were absorbed with less effort than hundreds of thousands had been a few years before. After the restoration of peace, the aim of the better and larger part of our people was to return to the solid and substantial basis of specie payment, and all the energies of the Treasury were bent to accomplish this purpose. On January 14, 1875, the bill providing for specie payments January 1, 1879, became a law, and to enable the Treasury to meet any coin demands at this date provision was made for the sale of 4 and 4½ per cent. bonds. In November, 1878, in anticipation of resumption, the Sub-Treasurer at New York was admitted to membership in the Clearing House, and all checks held by the city banks against the Treasury, and by it against the banks, were settled by the payments of balances in legal tender notes, and thus the coin was economized. In fact, this system has continued to the present time. At the time designated, January 1, 1879, according to Mr. John Jay Knox's figures—in his recent volume "United States Notes,"—the Treasury held one hundred and thirty-five millions of gold coin and bullion, and over thirty-two millions in silver. The gold coin represented nearly 40 per cent. of the notes outstanding.

Greenbacks thus became redeemable in gold at that date, and as National bank notes were convertible into legal tenders, the whole mass of paper was raised to a parity with gold. This was the last great act in the drama of war finances, and the climax was one inspiring every American

with pride and joy. The principal of the public debt has been rapidly reduced by our surplus revenues, and the remaining portion has been gradually funded or converted into bonds bearing a constantly diminishing rate of interest. To-day it may be stated, without any reservation, that the credit of the United States is the very best and highest in the world. It can also be truly said that the financial negotiations and achievements of the Treasury are in no small measure due to the patriotism, the wisdom, and the generous assistance and co-operation of the incorporated and private banks of New York.

The reserves of banks in all parts of the Union are largely held in Wall Street, and through the agency of the city banks collections and payments are made in all countries. Their functions are not merely local, but influence the money markets of the world. In periods of financial apprehension or commercial disturbances their action is awaited with the profoundest concern, and when they bind themselves together, uniting their cash resources to help weaker members through the crisis, immediate relief is experienced in business circles. The power which they possess in this particular is very great, and too much praise cannot be bestowed upon their wise and timely efforts when necessary in arresting the epidemic of financial panic and distrust. Indications are that New York before many years will supersede London as the clearing house for the world's trade. The first significant step in this direction was made during the past winter, when time bills of exchange drawn on London were largely discounted at lower rates in Wall Street than could be secured in Lombard Street.

One of the most interesting phases of Wall Street due to the Civil War was the speculation in gold, which became a subject of barter and sale with the suspension of specie payments and so continued until resumption. The fluctuating premium which it commanded over an inconvertible paper currency was of far greater importance than the varying prices for any ordinary article of commerce. For though a commodity, and not exercising the functions of a circulating medium at home, it was necessary in the settlement of our balances of trade with foreign nations. It was also required here for the payment of duties and interest on the public debt. Its premium measured the depreciation of the irredeemable paper money, and indicated also in a great degree the state of national credit, and during the war the progress of our arms. Speculation took it up, and it became a foot-ball for manipulators, who saw in its rapid fluctuations chances for quick profits or losses.

Legislation pronounced against trading in it as pernicious and unpatriotic, but the laws of Congress and the Legislature only served to increase

its evils. To adjust values and adapt contracts to its varying gyrations, added an element of uncertainty to all commercial contracts. It made every man an involuntary speculator, the farmer and the importer alike feeling its influence in their calculations. During the first five months of 1862 its premium was small, ranging from 1 to 4 per cent., but military reverses sent it up to 20 points premium on July 21. By December 31, 1862, the premium was 34.

During the years 1863–64 the premium on gold showed extraordinary vibrations with the changing fortunes of war and new emissions of paper money. The premium rose steadily from 33⅝ January 1, 1863, to 72⅜ on February 25, the day the National Bank Act was passed. This rise was due to increasing speculation in gold and the growing impression that the war would be of longer duration than formerly supposed. In order to arrest this speculative movement, which was considered as injurious to national credit and interests, the Legislature of the state of New York, on February 18, passed an Act prohibiting all state corporations from loaning money on gold on pain of forfeiture of their charters. March 3, Congress passed a law intended by its provisions to discourage heavy trading in gold. Speculation, when carried to excess on the "bull" side, is invariably followed by a reaction, and so it was with gold, which began to decline at this juncture, and by August 22 the premium was down to 24½. From this point there was a gradual increase to 52 premium December 31, 1863. It rose to 60 in February, 1864, 69¾ in March, 84¾ in April, 86¼ in May, 150 in June, and 185 on the 11th July.

This advancing premium early in the spring began to alarm the people, Congress and the Government, as it deranged all business contracts and exerted a depressing effect on the army and public credit. The Treasury and Congress determined upon the experiment of "bearing" gold, (*i. e.* using their power to depress the premium). There was at that time a considerable coin reserve in the Treasury arising from Custom House receipts, and in March the Secretary was authorized to sell the surplus at his discretion. On the morning of April 14, Mr. Chase arrived in New York, and within five days he sold eleven millions. This broke the premium about ten per cent. in the open market, but the Secretary wrote to President Lincoln: "The sales seem to have reduced the price, but the reduction is only temporary, unless most decisive measures for reducing the amount of circulation and arresting the rapid increase of the debt be adopted."

As soon as these sales had been completed and all fears of the Treasury had been removed, speculation again drove the price rapidly upward. The crowning folly was, however, reserved for Congress, which on June 21

passed the celebrated "Gold Bill" prohibiting the sale of gold in the public market, and intended by its terms to restrict all freedom of action among brokers and thus to destroy speculation. This legislation was not only futile but it aggravated the evil it was designed to remedy. On the 18th of June, the day following the passage of the bill, the premium on gold was 95¼, and by the 29th it touched a premium of 150 per cent. Between the date of its passage and July 5 there were no sessions or transactions in the Gold Room. During this interval there was no open market where sellers could meet in competition, and consequently the isolated owners of the actual coin sitting in their offices exacted pretty much their own price. On the 2d July Congress repealed this stupid and disastrous law.

When the Gold Room was opened the large outstanding "Short" interest finding it almost impossible to borrow gold to make their deliveries bought it in, and this pressing demand forced up the premium on the 11th of July to 185.

This was the climax of the market, which had been practically cornered. At this time the Greenback Dollar was worth only 35$\frac{1}{10}$ cents in gold. The fever of speculation reacted from this mad delirium, and by September 30 the premium was down to 91. It again revived, and on the 9th of November, the day Sherman set out on his memorable march to the sea, gold was quoted at 260 in currency, or a premium of 160. Six months later, May 11, 1865, the premium was only 28 per cent., showing a decline of 132 points within one hundred and eighty-five days. The issue of the war was no longer in doubt, and the premium on gold thereafter was to be determined either by manipulation or legislation relating to the finances and the restoration of specie payments. November, 1865, the premium was 47; March 24, 1866, 25; June 26, 57; December 31, 33. During 1867 and 1868, 38 was about the average premium. For the first half of 1869 the extreme range of fluctuations was as follows: 35 on the 1st of January; 30, March 6; 44⅞, May 20; and 33 September 1. This brings us up to the most exciting episode in gold speculation—Black Friday—a day of terrible memories.

During the spring and summer of 1869 there was an unusually heavy demand abroad for our breadstuffs and securities, which reduced the adverse balance of trade. The exports of gold were consequently light. Foreign bankers and merchants in the export trade sold gold in anticipation of orders for the shipment to Europe of securities, merchandise or commodities, and speculators also sold freely for a decline which they assumed would follow the natural conditions of trade. This left the market "oversold,"

that is to say, the sellers had contracted to deliver gold that they did not have, but expected to receive or buy.

The latter part of August a speculative clique or "conspiracy," as it was termed, was organized by Gould, Fisk, and others, whose purpose was to quietly buy up all the actual gold there was in the market and as much more as the "bears" would sell to them for future delivery. When this had been done they designed to quickly bid up the market, and force those who were short to buy their gold from the clique at such a price as the manipulators might arbitrarily determine upon. In other words, it was an attempt to "corner" gold, though the principals in the undertaking denied that such was their original purpose. For some time previous the Treasury, not wishing to hoard gold, had periodically sold moderate amounts of its surplus. As its aggregate reserve at that time was about eighty millions, it will be readily understood that the success of this speculative movement could be largely frustrated by the Treasury, if so disposed. In order to prevent the Treasury from selling they sought to convince President Grant and Secretary Boutwell, upon whose options sales could be made, that in order to enable our farmers to market abroad their surplus products a premium of 40 to 45 on gold was indispensable. This may be explained by saying that a cargo of wheat, for instance, laid down in Liverpool sold for so much gold, and that when the premium in New York was high this gold would command more greenbacks than if it were at a lower premium. In other words, prices for grain would be high, which would cause the farmers to sell freely. This, of course, would reduce our adverse balance of foreign trade after the movement of the crops, and gold would fall in premium of its own weight. To make "assurance doubly sure" they made an effort to interest prominent Government officials in the pecuniary success of their speculative undertaking, but their overtures in this direction were repulsed and defeated.

The latter part of August this clique began to buy gold, and by the 22d of September, according to Fisk's testimony, they held in gold, or calls for its delivery, fifty to sixty millions. Other interested parties estimated the sum at lower figures. There really was not at that time more than eighteen or twenty millions of gold in New York outside the Sub-Treasury. On the 22d, gold closed at 1.40½, a premium of 40½ per cent. On the 23d, they continued to buy, and the market that day left off at 144.

That night they determined to force a crisis on the morrow, though it does not appear that they decided exactly in what manner "the deal" should be closed.

On the morning of Friday, the 24th, orders were sent in to bid gold up,

and the price rapidly mounted to 150, 155, 160. During this time agents of the clique were endeavoring to make private settlements with those who were "short" under threat to put the price to 200. Alarmed by the wild rumors floating in the air that the Government would not sell gold, that prominent officials were interested and that the corner was complete, many bought gold from the clique to make their deliveries or settle their differences on the basis of the advanced price. The control of the Tenth National Bank had been purchased by men directing the manipulation, and it was used by them to certify their checks to enormous amounts and furnish the financial assistance necessary.

The excitement in the Gold Room was at a high pitch and the power of the clique seemed to be omnipotent. A newspaper of the time thus graphically describes the climax of the day: "Amid all the noise and confusion the penetrating voices of the leading brokers of the clique are still heard advancing the price at each bid, and increasing the amount of their bids at each advance, until at last, with voice overtopping the bedlam below, the memorable bid burst forth '160 for any part of five millions.' Again the noise was hushed. Terror became depicted on every countenance. Cool, sober men looked at one another and noted the ashy paleness that spread over all. Even those who had but little or no interest at stake were seized with the infection of fear and were conscious of a great evil approaching. And from the silence again broke forth that shrieking bid '160 for five millions' and no answer; '161 for five millions, 162 for five millions,' still no answer; '162 for any part of five millions,' and a quiet voice said 'sold one million at 162.'

"That quiet voice broke the fascination. The bid of 162 was not renewed. But 161 was again bid for a million and the same quiet voice said 'sold,' and the bid of 161 was not renewed. But 160 was again bid for five millions. Then it dimly dawned upon the quicker witted ones that for some reason the game was up. As if by magnetic sympathy the same thought passed through the crowd at once. There was a rush amid the crowd, new men wild with fresh excitement crowded to the barriers. In an instant the rumor was abroad 'The Treasury is selling.' Quick as thought men realized that it was not safe to sell to the clique brokers Scarcely any one now wanted to buy. All who had bought were mad to sell at any price, but there were no buyers. In less time than it takes to write about it the price fell from 162 to 135. The great, gigantic gold bubble had burst and half Wall Street was involved in ruin."

Those brokers who bid up the price to 162 found that their orders were repudiated and the richest men in the clique could not be held responsible,

and so they failed to make good their contracts, and those who had sold gold to them at the high prices were left with it on their hands.

The President and Secretary, who were kept advised of the progress of the corner on that eventful day, determined to afford relief as far as possible, as it was ruinous and demoralizing to all business interests, and so they gave the word to sell, at first, four millions. The corner might have been maintained in spite of this had those who were parties to it held faithfully together, but as the conditions were entirely artificial and opposed to a high premium they were all timid and each tried to protect himself, with the result that no one apparently realized much, if any, profit by the transactions. Fisk, when asked why he feared the Treasury sales when his party held calls for five or six times as much gold as there was in New York outside the Sub-Treasury, replied: "Oh! our phantom gold can't stand the weight of the real stuff."

The brokers in gold found that the actual delivery and receipts of gold in the settlement of each individual transaction involved a needless risk and expense, so the Gold Exchange Bank was organized to act in the capacity of a clearing house, so that only differences would be paid or received. On Black Friday this bank and its clearing house machinery succumbed to the panic, losses, and confusion. The leading members of the clique sought to save all they could from the wreck of the day and they procured injunctions and orders of Court, and it was believed that some of the judicial privileges allowed in their interest were obtained by improper influence.

The Gold Room was closed from the 24th to the 30th, and when it re-opened gold sold as low as 130⅜, and by December 31, 1869, the premium was only 19⅜ per cent. After this there was no attempt to "bull" the price of gold, and the premium gradually wasted away until it finally disappeared December 16, 1878, a few days before resumption of specie payments became an accomplished fact.

The first dealings in gold began in what is known as the "Coal Hole," a dingy basement in William Street, and later Gilpin's Reading Room became the theater of the speculation. In the Fall of 1864 a regular organization was effected and its membership was of a more homogeneous character. This was the Gold Exchange proper, and it continued in existence until April 30, 1877, when it was formally dissolved by its last President, Mr. C. O. Morris.

A Gold Department of the Stock Exchange was then established, and trading in gold was continued there until greenbacks rose to par, when, like Othello, its "occupation was gone." The war stimulated speculation

of every description and the volume of the banking and speculative business of Wall Street was vastly enlarged. The Stock Exchange furnished unlimited facilities for obtaining capital to build railroads, and as the shares and bonds were multiplied fresh fuel was added to the flame of speculation which large emissions of paper money and Government securities had already ignited. During the war excitement ran so high that brokers traded far into the night up-town, notably at the Evening Exchange at the corner of Broadway and Twenty-third Street, and later on the site now covered by the Madison Square Theater.

This vicious practice was abolished by the joint action of the Stock and Gold Exchanges, which, February 17, 1865, prohibited their members from trading after five o'clock. Wall Street brokers deal in intangible property, and their enormous transactions on the various exchanges are entered into by a hurried word or nod and seldom with observing witnesses. No notarial seals or acknowledgments or elaborate contracts are employed to bind the bargains. Yet it is extremely rare that any purchases or sales are denied oı repudiated, even though serious losses might often be averted. The business is based upon man's confidence in man, and without personal honor it could not be transacted at all.

The banking and currency system of to-day and the magnitude of Wall Street's financial power are outgrowths of the Civil War.

Money there, is literally like Faith, "the substance of things hoped for and the evidence of things not seen." For singular as it may appear for a street whose trade is in money the thing itself is rarely seen. Checks, bills of exchange, and clearing houses are the active agents which settle over 95 per cent. of all transactions, involving millions daily. It is only in times of panic and distrust, when the value of the substitutes and the integrity of the tokens are questioned that Bank and Treasury vaults fly open to expose their golden treasure.

At the head of Wall Street stands Old Trinity, which for years has guarded the gateway of this golden thoroughfare, and its chimes ring out a daily warning to the worshipers of Mammon, that all is "vanity, vanity and vexation of spirit," and its very spire seems to point out those "treasures where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt."

George Rutledge Gibson

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

Interesting Unpublished Letters of Major-General Phillips.

Contributed by John S. H. Fogg, M. D.

Phillips to Heath.

Cambridge Nov: 18th 1777.

Sir.

The Reverend Mr: Brudenell Chaplain to the Staff of the Army has been rob'd by his Servant the last night, who has taken away many things of value.

It is so contrary to the established customs of all civilized Nations to permit private Robberies to escape under pretence of Desertion, that I can have no doubt but you will issue your Orders for apprehending this Villain, and that it may be permitted to have him advertised in the publick papers.

The Reverend Mr: Brudenell will send a description of the Man.

I have the honor to be
Sir, Your most humble Servt
W. Phillips.

Major-General Heath.

Endorsed.
Letter from Genl
Phillips enclosing
Advertisement of a
Servant.
Nov: 18, 1777.

Cambridge Nov: 1777.

Sir.

I was last Sunday informed that a quarter was provided for me and that I could occupy it on Wednesday morning—the House formerly belonged to a Mr: Phips and is now held of the Committee by Mr: Mason. This morning I receive a message that Mr: Mason and Family cannot go out and consequently I have no quarter.

I will not enter into farther detail upon this subject, only to observe that I require a quarter suitable to my Rank of Major General, and that I will not interfere

about it myself, but depend on you, Sir, for fulfilling the 7th Article of the Convention.

I have the honor to be, Sir

Your most humble
and obedient Servant,
W. Phillips.

Major-General Heath.

Endorsed,
Letter from Genl
Phillips relative to
his Quarters.
Nov: 1777.

Cambridge 10th April, 1778, at Night.

Sir.

I have this instant received your Letter of this day's date, in which you inform me that, in consequence of a late Resolution of the American Congress, the Troops of the Convention are to be removed to the interior parts of this State, and, that the Royal Artillery and the Advanced Corps are to hold themselves in readiness to march to Rutland on Monday morning next:—I shall make no comment on the Resolutions of the American Congress, and the two Corps shall have the orders given them.

But, I will take leave to observe, that, I apprehend, this is the first time in any Army of any Nation, under any circumstances, where such a separation of Corps, and such Orders have been given without a participation with, or a previous notice to the General who has been at the head of the Troops:— Common civility and decent good breeding between Gentlemen and Gentlemen might claim such attention, nor does there appear in common or the most refined policy any reason to the contrary.

I am Sir,

Your most humble Servant.

W. Phillips.

Major-General Heath.

Endorsed
From Genl Phillips,
relative to the Troops
being ordered to Rutland.
Apl. 10. 1778.

Cambridge April 15th 1778.

Sir.

The time elapses fast and the reasons for Captain Willoe going to Canada become more pressing as the Season advances. I will therefore request there may be passports granted for Captain Willoe his two servants and three Women to embark in the Vessel hired by me to go for Halifax with a Flag of Truce.

It is, I believe necessary that you give a passport for admitting the Vessels into Nantascet Road, or whatever other port you direct them to go to with the cloathing from Canada, which passes must be taken by Captain Willoe and delivered to the Masters of such Vessels to prevent their being made prizes.

I request the favor of your immediate Answer.

I am Sir
Your Humble Servant
W. Phillips

Major-General Heath.

Endorsed, From Genl Phillips
respg Capt Willoe's going,
passports &c
April 15. 1778.

Cambridge 23d April 1778.

Sir

I enclose you the report I have this Instant received from Major Carter who Commands the British Troops of the Convention at Rutland, by it you will see how little care has been taken before they marched for their situation at Rutland: but I will hope you will be so good to forward Orders for proper Quarters being provided and that you will take into your consideration the necessity of extending the space of ground around the Barracks so necessary for the Soldiers healths.

I request you will be so good to send me out a copy of the Parole you think necessary for the Officers to sign, of their doing which there can be no doubt when proper Quarters are given to them, and I am of opinion with Major Carter and the Officers that the Tenor of our Parole here might be sufficient.

And I have further to observe that I apprehend the Officer of your Troops commanding at Rutland desires his Authority immediately from you.

I will request the favor of you to send me back the enclosed Report as I have no copy of it.

I am, Sir,
Your Humble Servant.
W. Phillips

Major-General Heath.

Endorsed. From Genl Phillips
Aprl 23.

Heath to Phillips.

Head Quarters Boston April 26th 1778.

Sir,

Major Pollard will communicate to you the Contents of a Letter which I have wrote to Major General Pigott in which I assure him that protection & assistance shall from Time to Time be afforded to such Vessels as may arrive at this port with provisions, Cloathing, Wine, Spirits, Tea, Sugar and other small Stores for the Subsistance and Comfort of the Officers and their Families, and the Soldiery of the Convention.

From the whole tenor of my Conduct, Sir, I think you must be satisfied that it is my wish and intention to extend to the Officers of the Army the Utmost Generosity, but on this Occasion I think it proper to observe that while I have been and still am determined to grant every Indulgence to the Officers and their Families which is Compatible with the duty of my Station, I do disapprove of and am determined to prevent any of the Inhabitants of this Town or State purchasing or procuring Goods or Necessaries for themselves or Families from any Port or place in Possession of the British Troops. And I think it further necessary to observe on this Occasion that if any Articles eatable or drinkable or of Cloathing furniture or Ornaments shall be brought consigned to the Officers of the Army but really designed for or intended directly or indirectly to be conveyed to any Inhabitant of this Town or State, I shall conceive it to be my duty to detain such articles, Or if I should hereafter find that any articles are directly or indirectly secretly conveyed, I shall be compelled to the Necessity of laying such Prohibitions as will effectually prevent such practises : at the Same Time shall be sorry to do it to the Injury of those who I most sincerely wish to treat generously.

A small bundle containing Several Table Cloths is sent to my Quarters from Cambridge addressed to I Carter Esq. I apprehend they were designed for Capt. Carter of the Artillery and sent here through mistake of the Truth of which I wish to be informed.

I am Sir

Your Obt. Servt.

W. Heath.

Major-Genl. Phillips.

Phillips to Heath.

Cambridge April 26th 1778.

Sir,

Major Pollard your Aide-de-Camp gave me to read a letter wrote by you to Major General Pigot containing an agreement concerning the receiving and delivering Provisions sent or to be sent from Rhode-Island.

I will take leave to observe that as these Provisions are to be allowed entrance into your Port of Boston and that the Troops of the Convention of Saratoga are to be fed with them all charges are by this means saved to America, it seems, therefore, severe, I will venture to say a little oppressive that the Transport of this provision by land should not be left in payment to the British Commissarys especially as the common prices would be paid, and the Country not Suffer.

The State give up the providing Provisions while we can do it, and consent to receive them from Rhode Island or New York for the British Army.

Surely Massachusetts present Government will not become Waggoners and enter into a *State* bargain for such a purpose.

Major Morrison however informs me you have, Sir, your doubts of the propriety of this measure and intend writing to the Congress upon it, and that all payment is to stand over untill an Answer is sent to you from the Congress.

I find the Council of Boston object to Mr. Leonard being on shore, I apprehend you will perceive the great inconvenience of this, and endeavour to prevail on the Council to soften the austerity of their measure, at least, Sir, I must request that Mr. Clarke our Commissary General here may be permitted a free intercourse with the American Commissary General, and have leave to go into Boston occasionally on publick business. Mr. Clarke's purity of manners, and gentility of behavior is so well known, that he cannot be suspected of giving or wishing to give umbrage or offence. I take for granted the issue of Provisions to the Troops of the Convention will be made from those lately recieved from Rhode Island.

It is unnecessary to remark, Sir, upon the British publick faith in the strict and honorable proceedings of Lieut. General Burgoyne and Major General Pigot and I make no doubt of similar conduct on your part.

I am Sir

Your humble servant

W. Phillips.

Major-Genl. Heath.

Endorsed

From M Genl. Phillips

April 26, 1778.

MINOR TOPICS

GRIFFIS'S COMMODORE PERRY

AN ERRONEOUS IDEA CORRECTED

In Mr. Griffis's interesting and valuable memoir of Commodore Mathew Calbraith Perry, in the May number of the MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY, it is stated that "the squadron (in the Gulf of Mexico) was divided into two divisions of steam and sail vessels, and Perry was ordered to command those that carried their motor with them" (p. 429).

I am aware that this impression was abroad, and that it was even entertained by some naval officers. This idea, which implies a joint command and consequently divided authority, is incorrect. The truth is, as the orders and official correspondence show, the whole force, known as the "Home Squadron," was under the sole, undivided command of my father, Commodore Conner, during all the time that Commodore Perry was in the Gulf until the 21st of March, 1847, when Commodore Conner transferred it to Commodore Perry, who then became its commander-in-chief. Down to the last date given, Perry's position in the squadron (after he had conveyed to it the reinforcement of two gunboats, mentioned in subjoined official documents) was but that of a captain, and his command but that of a single ship—the *Mississippi*. He was authorized to wear the red pendant of a second-in-command; but, nevertheless he was expressly told by the Secretary of the Navy that this mark of rank was to afford him no additional authority or emolument over and above what was common to his actual position, as stated above. Perry had already commanded a squadron, hence the conveyance of two gunboats with the ultimate charge of but a single ship, was, as the secretary says, an "inferior command;" but it was the only one then open, and it was offered to Perry in consequence of his repeated applications for active service, his zeal therefor not permitting him to remain unemployed in a time of war, a feeling greatly to his credit and to the credit of the other officers that shared it with him.

I add the official orders and dispatches relating to the subject.

P. S. P. CONNER,

126 So. Eighteenth Street, Philadelphia.

May 25th, 1885.

(Copy.)

NAVY DEPARTMENT,

August 20, 1846.

Commodore :

Your several letters of the 14th, 15th, and 17th instant have been received.

As soon as the two new steamers *Spitfire* and *Vixen* shall be, in all respects, ready for sea, you will assume the command of them.

I enclose you, herewith, copies of orders sent to Capt. Stringham and Commander Nicholson, of the 18th and 19th inst. You will consider them so far modified, that if it will not occasion more than two days' delay, the two steamers may leave New York together and proceed to Havana, from which port you will send Commander Nicholson to Chagres in the steamer which may prove best calculated for that service.

You will then proceed to join the squadron in the Gulf of Mexico, under command of Commodore Conner, and upon your arrival at Vera Cruz, you will report to that officer for the purpose of relieving Captain Fitzhugh in the command of the U. S. steamer *Mississippi*.

If a greater delay will be occasioned by the foregoing arrangement than is anticipated, you will direct the steamer which may be first prepared to proceed at once with Commander Nicholson in conformity with the enclosed orders, and when ready, you will proceed yourself to join the squadron in the other steamer.

You are authorized to hoist a red pendant, if you think proper, but your command and pay, after joining the squadron, will not be affected by it.

Very respectfully,

Yours,

(Signed) GEO. BANCROFT

COMMODORE M. C. PERRY,
NEW YORK.

(Copy.)

NAVY DEPARTMENT,

August 22, 1846.

Commodore :

Commodore Perry, having consented to accept an inferior command, has been ordered to proceed to the Gulf of Mexico to relieve Captain Fitzhugh in the command of the U. S. steamer *Mississippi*.

Enclosed herewith is a copy of the order addressed to Commodore Perry, of

the 20th instant, together with copies of letters to Capt. Stringham* and Commander Nicholson,* therein referred to; also a copy of the order to Capt. Fitzhugh,* of the 21st instant.

Very respectfully,

(Signed) G. BANCROFT

COMMODORE DAVID CONNER,
Com'g Home Squadron.

PRESIDENT BUCHANAN

The strong prejudice which existed against President Buchanan at the breaking out of the Civil War, and not yet entirely dispelled from the minds of many of his political opponents, may, in a great degree, be truly ascribed to a misapprehension of his real motives and modes of action. As a case in point, there is a little piece of secret history, which, in justice to his memory, ought no longer to be kept concealed. It relates to a private letter of his to Ex-President Tyler, which was found among Mr. Tyler's papers when his house was entered by United States soldiers during the war. It was written when the Peace Convention, presided over by Mr. Tyler, was in session in Washington. The warmest relations existed between him and President Buchanan, and great hopes were based on the action of that convention. As a matter of course, the President was anxious to avoid everything which might, in the remotest degree, disturb its tranquillity, and in deference to Mr. Tyler's judgment and wishes, he had indicated a willingness to dispense with the usual parade of United States troops on the occasion of the celebration of Washington's Birthday, the 22d of February. Meantime, as a matter of routine, the Secretary of War, Hon. Joseph Holt, had, without of course consulting the President, given the customary order calling out the troops on that day. Meeting the Secretary late on the evening of the 21st, the President, having committed himself to Mr. Tyler, was much concerned to learn that such an order had been issued, and that, in all probability, it was too late, as it proved, to prevent its insertion in the *National Intelligencer*, to which it had in the regular course of events been sent for promulgation. Greatly fearing from Mr. Tyler's representations, that the people might accept the display as a menacing demonstration, especially as a troop of Flying Artillery, just ordered from the West for the protection of the Capital, was to form part of the military procession, the President at once directed that the order be countermanded, and General Scott was so informed in time to prevent the assembling of the United States troops on the morning of the 22d. All this, however, was unknown to the people, who had filled the streets and avenues in expectation of witnessing the grand parade; and after waiting impatiently an hour or

* Of no consequence in this connection.—P. S. P. Conner.

more for the appearance of the United States troops, only the militia of the District having come out, a startling rumor reached the ears of the crowd that the order which had appeared in the *Intelligencer* calling out the troops had been countermanded ; thereupon a distinguished friend of the President hastened to the War Department, where he found the President and Secretary of War together, and in a state of great excitement, inquired if the rumor was correct. Learning that it was, his earnest protest and representations made so deep an impression on the President that he authorized the Secretary of War to confer immediately with General Scott in order to see, late as it was, if the original order could not be carried into effect. This was done, and although General Scott said the soldiers had been dismissed and all of the officers had doffed their uniforms, rendering it doubtful whether the order could be obeyed, nevertheless, he would, if possible, see it executed. Fortunately he succeeded and everything passed off well. The next morning the *Intelligencer* said :

"The military parade was of course the chief feature of the day. It might be said the double military parade, for while that of the morning was composed of the militia companies only, there was a subsequent general parade in which the United States troops formed a conspicuous part. The Artillery were the especial mark of interest, and their parade on Pennsylvania Avenue dissipated all sense of fatigue from the thousands who had been abroad from almost 'the dawn of day.' The rapidity with which the guns and magazines were manned and prepared for action was startling to those unaccustomed to artillery practice. While they were on the avenue they were at times as completely enveloped in the dust they stirred up as they would have been in the smoke of battle."

Thus, we have briefly, the main circumstances under which the following letter was written, on account of which letter President Buchanan has been severely censured. It was a simple explanation to Mr. Tyler of the reasons which had led him to permit the military display, that under the previous understanding would not otherwise have taken place.

WASHINGTON, *Feb'y* 22, 1861.

My dear Sir :

I find it impossible to prevent two or three companies of the Federal troops from joining in the procession to-day with the volunteers of the District without giving serious offense to the tens of thousands of people who have assembled to witness the parade. The day is the anniversary of Washington's birth—a festive occasion throughout the land—and it has been particularly marked by the House of Representatives. These troops everywhere else join such processions in honor of the birthday of the Father of his country, and it would be hard to assign a good reason why they should be excluded from this privilege in the capital founded by himself. They are here simply as a *posse comitatus* to aid the civil authorities in case of need. Besides, the programme was published in the *National Intelligencer*

of this morning without my knowledge, the War Department having considered the celebration of this national anniversary by the military arm of the government as a matter of course.

From your friend, very respectfully,

JAMES BUCHANAN.

MR. TYLER.

Happily, as already observed, the celebration was a success; and what was especially gratifying, the presence and wonderful manœuvring of the light artillery companies, not forgetting the splendid bearing of the dragoons, and the dismounted companies headed by Duane's detachment of sappers and miners, had the effect to allay, in great degree, the feeling of insecurity which for some time had existed to an alarming extent, not only in Washington, but throughout the country, before the arrival of these troops.

HORATIO KING.

WASHINGTON, D.C., *June*, 1885.

THE MANUFACTURE OF NAILS

This was one of the household industries of New England during the eighteenth century. In a speech in Congress in 1789, Fisher Ames said: "It has become common for the country people in Massachusetts to erect small forges in their chimney corners; and in winter, and in evenings, when little other work can be done, great quantities of nails are made even by children. These people take the rod iron of the merchant and return him the nails, and in consequence of this easy mode of barter the manufacture is prodigiously great."

Nearly all the bloomary and refinery forges and old-style furnaces of New England have long since disappeared, and in their stead have grown up reproductive iron industries of almost endless variety and vast extent, employing large numbers of skilled mechanics, and adding greatly to the productive wealth of the country. The rolling mills, machine shops, hardware establishments, nail and tack factories, foundries, and other iron enterprises of New England, together with a few steel works and modern blast furnaces, form to-day a striking contrast to bog-ore and other bloomaries, not much larger than a blacksmith's fire, and the small charcoal furnaces and chimney-corner nail factories of the last century.—*Swank's Iron in All Ages.*

NOTES

An american princess—A gentleman in the Admiralty has lately received a present from a friend in North America, being the body of an American Princess, supposed to have been buried upwards of four hundred years ago; it was enveloped in a goat's skin, and appears as fresh as if buried but yesterday.—*The Middlesex Journal, London, Nov.* 28, 1772.

Petersfield

Reinforcement of fort sumter in 1861—Extract from a Cabinet paper, Washington, March 15, 1861, from the pen of William H. Seward. "The question submitted to us by the President practically is: Supposing it to be possible to reinforce and supply Fort Sumter, is it wise now to attempt it, instead of withdrawing the garrison?

The most that could be done by any means now in our hands would be to throw two hundred and fifty to four hundred men into the garrison with provisions for supplying it five or six months. In this active and enlightened country, in this season of excitement, with a daily press, daily mails, and an incessantly operating telegraph, the design to reinforce and supply the garrison must become known to the opposite party at Charleston as soon at least as preparation for it should begin. The garrison would then almost certainly fall by assault before the expedition could reach the harbor of Charleston. But supposing the secret kept, the expedition must engage in conflict on entering the harbor of Charleston; suppose it to be overpowered and destroyed, is that new outrage to be avenged, or are we then to return to our attitude of immobility? Should we be allowed to do so? Moreover, in that event, what becomes of the garrison?

I suppose the expedition successful. We have then a garrison in Fort Sumter that can defy assault for six months. What was it to do then? Is it to make war by opening its batteries and attempting to demolish the defenses of the Carolinians? Can it demolish them if it tries? If it cannot, what is the advantage we shall have gained? If it can, how will it serve to check or prevent disunion?"—*Baker's Diplomatic History of the War for the Union.*

Continental uniforms—The following items appear in a list of clothing received from Boston and Philadelphia at Albany for the use of the Northern Army in 1777:

"Rifle shirts, Private and Sergeants coats, blue faced red, brown faced red, brown faced white, brown faced green, drab faced red, drab faced green. Drummers and fifers coats, green faced blue. Cloth breeches and waistcoats of a red, flesh color, and common color, and striped homespun woolen. Leather and strong linen breeches. White Dowlas shirts."

W. K.

History—It does not require any vast amount of experience to see the aid and practical benefits derived from a knowledge of general history, for we can scarcely take up a subject that is not linked and related to the past. The very words we use in common conversation have their origin in the past. The

broadened mind, the enlightened views, the cosmopolitan feelings derived from the careful study of past and present people and events, is of more practical benefit than we can well estimate. It will pervade our whole being though we may never stop to mention, in so many words, a single historical event. Education should be expansive, with an outward look toward the human and national needs, and make one competent for the demands of the times. Through history are we enabled to understand the significance of the present, for the present has its root in the past. What humanity has thought and achieved in bygone centuries has left its record. Children should be educated for good citizens and hence they must be able to see what constitutes a good and free nation by comparisons. The institutions by which we are surrounded, the laws which protect us, the liberties we enjoy, are all the fruits of somebody's thinking, somebody's suffering and somebody's achieving in the past.—*Educational Weekly*.

DATES OF SECESSION OF THE SOUTHERN STATES—

South Carolina	December 20	1860.
Mississippi	January 9	1861.
Florida	January 10	1861.
Alabama	January 11	1861.
Georgia	January 18	1861.
Louisiana	January 26	1861.
Texas	February 11	1861.
Arkansas	March 4	1861.
Virginia	April 17	1861.
Tennessee	May 6	1861.
North Carolina	May 20	1861.

O. B.

THE LAWS OF VIRGINIA—Mr. R. A. Brock, the learned Secretary of the Virginia Historical Society, in a foot-note to the second volume of the "Spotswood Letters," page 16, gives the following list as a perfect set of the published collections of the Laws of Virginia:

I. Laws of Virginia now in Force [Francis Moryson], folio, 1662.

II. Laws passed at a General Assembly held March, 1662.

III. Collection of Laws, 1652–82, dedicated to Lord Effingham, by J. P. [known as the Purvis collection], 4to, London, 1686.

IV. Acts of Assembly from 1662, 4to, London, 1728.

V. Collection, folio, W. Parks, Williamsburg, 1733.

VI. Abridgement, by John Mercer, Williamsburg, 1737, and Glasgow, 1759.

VII. Acts since 1631, folio, Williamsburg, 1752.

VIII. Acts in Force, folio, Williamsburg, 1769.

IX. Acts of 10th George III., W. Rind, Williamsburg, 1770. Acts 2d Sess. 1771.

X. Acts since 1768 in Force, folio, Richmond, 1785.

XI. Abridgement by Edmond Randolph, 4to, Richmond, 1796.

XII. Revised Code, 3 vols., 8vo, 1819.

XIII. Statutes at Large, Hening, 13 vols., 8vo, Richmond and New York, 1813–21. Continuation of the same, 3 vols., 8vo, S. Shepherd, 1835.

XIV. Codes of 1849, 1860, and 1873, 8vo

XV. A new revision is now being made.

COLLECTOR

A DINNER WITH PRESIDENT BUCHANAN—At the Soldiers' Home, near Washington, I was invited by the officer whose quarters he occupied to meet President Buchanan at dinner, one day in the fall of 1860. There were some twelve or fourteen persons at the table, including the Bishop of Maryland. In the general conversation that ensued, it happened that the probable action of the Southern states in the pending trouble was discussed. The opinion was expressed that several of them would secede. Already several officers of the army and navy from those States had resigned. Mr. Buchanan seemed to be much annoyed, and said little. Presently some allusion was made to Massachusetts, when the President said, with considerable warmth, "I wish Massachusetts would secede; she is practically already out of the Union by her action in the fugitive-slave matter." Now, I being a Massachusetts man, felt rather awkwardly at this. Questions as to what I ought to do coursed rapidly through my brain. Suddenly an inspiration seized me. Looking up at the President, who was directly opposite me, I said with mock humility, "Mr. President, if Massachusetts should secede, would it be my duty to resign from the army, sir?" There was a dead silence. The President looked a little confused and asked, "Are you from Massachusetts?" "Yes, sir," said I; "but I have been a good deal in California, and became very fond of that state, which makes me feel like saying of it as the Irish soldier did, when asked where he came from, 'I was born in Ireland, sir; but I call Illinois my native State.'" This created a good laugh, and the conversation afterwards took a more general turn.—*Townsend's Anecdotes of the Civil War.*

QUERIES

COOL AS A CUCUMBER—Is this expression an Americanism? I have repeatedly heard it in the United States, but never in London.

PICCADILLY

FIRST AMERICAN EDITION OF BURNS—The first edition of the poems of Robert Burns was printed at Kilmarnock by John Wilson, in 1786. It is exceedingly scarce, selling as high as $500 per copy. What was the date of the first American edition, and where can a copy be examined?

COLLECTOR

THE SWORD OF UNCAS—At a *conversazione* in the home of Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell, March 8, 1823, the following minute was made of an interesting relic exhibited to the company: "The real Sword was produced that is alleged to have been worn by Uncas, the famous Sachem of the Mohegans. This powerful Chief, as the annalist Dr. Holmes relates, in the year 1638 went to Boston, professed allegiance to the government of the new settlers or whites, and was ever afterwards faithful to them. This weapon is a dirk, whose blade resembles a Malay creese, and is fifteen inches long. The hilt, scabbard, and outer-guard, are hard wood. It is of European manufacture, and was probably presented to him by some person of high authority in Massachusetts."

Is this interesting weapon preserved in any public or private collection?

PETERSFIELD

REPLIES

O. K. [xiii. 598]—The earliest use of "*O. K.*" of which I find trace was said to have been General Jackson's fashion of indorsing applications for office—he having been a bad speller and intending the abbreviation as the initial letters of "*oll korrect.*" This attributing the origin of the long familiar equivalents in popular parlance of "all right" to Jackson is said by Schele de Vere (in his "*Americanisms*," N. Y. 1872, p. 277) to have come from Major Jack Downing (Seba Smith), but I have not found it in the Jack Downing Letters, first published in 1833.

Mr. Geo. Bancroft (to whom I put the query in a two-hours' saddle trip on Sunday) says that some time in the 40's the Democrats, twitted by the whigs with illiteracy, adopted the "O.K." phrase thrown at them in scorn, and laughed it into general vogue.

A. R. SPOFFORD

WASHINGTON, *June* 1, 1885

PATRICK HENRY [xiii. 598]—*Editor of Magazine of American History:* In reply to the inquiry of R. W. Judson in your June number, I would say that Patrick Henry was named after his uncle, Rev. Patrick Henry, of Hanover County, Virginia, and wrote his name with 'junior' attached until his uncle's death.

WM. WIRT HENRY

RICHMOND, Va., *June* 8

FIRST STATE CHARTER [xiii. 598]—The inquiry is made, what state was the first to receive its charter after the Declaration of Independence? States do not receive charters, they make for themselves constitutions. By the Declaration of Independence the "United Colonies" was transformed into the "United States," and each individual colony became a state. The charters which had many years before been given to Rhode Island and Connecticut provided so well for local government that these states used them as constitutions, the former till 1842, and the latter till 1818; but the other states made constitutions very soon after 1776. No one of the United States ever received a charter; no one would take a charter. Nor is there power lodged with any department of our government to give a charter. A.

MARIETTA, Ohio, *June* 5

MOON CURSER [v. 140, 383; vi. 61; viii. 145]—Wreckers were called Moon cursers. In September, 1770, Capt. Biddle, of Philadelphia, while on a voyage from Port-au-Prince, saw a wreck on Watling's Island, "the crew of which had left her, and gone to Providence in what was called one of the Moon cursers or wreckers." Dark nights made business for them. W. K.

MATCH COATS [vi. 60, 225, 382]—Did not this Colonial garment derive its name from the color of the cloth? Chambers' Dictionary, of 1743, describes the manufacture of the military match used for artillery, mines, fireworks, etc., as a rope made of hempen tow, "boiled in the lees of old wine, hence its colour."

MINTO

SOCIETIES.

THE UNITED STATES CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY, incorporated January 1885. New York officers for current year: Cardinal McCloskey, Honorary President; Richard H. Clarke, LL.D., President; General Charles P. Stone, Vice-President; Marc F. Vallette, A.M., Corresponding Secretary; Cornelius M. O'Leary, M.D., LL.D., Recording Secretary; Patrick Farrelly, Treasurer; Charles G. Herbermann, LL.D., Librarian. Trustees, Rev. Richard L. Burtsell, D.D., Rev. James H. McGean, Thomas Addis Emmet, M.D., LL.D., John R. G. Hassard, Charles Carroll Lee, M.D., Franklin H. Churchill.

The first public meeting of this society was held at the University Club Theater, May 14, on which occasion able addresses were made by Fred. R. Coudert, Esq., General Charles P. Stone, and John Gilmary Shea, LL.D. There was a large and appreciative audience.

THE NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY held a meeting May 8. A paper on "Admiral Bailey at Key West" was read by Charles B. Moore, a member of the society. The subject of the address was a native of New York, born in 1803, who at fifteen entered the navy as midshipman. He was second in command under Farragut, where he led the attack and passage of Forts Jackson and St. Philip, and afterwards was most successful in blockade-running on the coast of Florida, the admiral being then in command of a squadron with head-quarters at Key West.

THE NEBRASKA UNIVERSITY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION held its fourth regular meeting May 29. Mr. Ed. Rich, of Nebraska, presented an interesting and valuable paper on the "Jews in America." Professor Jesse Macy, of Grinnell, Iowa, also furnished an interesting paper on the "Relations of the University to Practical Politics." The next regular meeting was appointed for September 17, 1885.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY has had a field day. The steamer *Philadelphia* left its wharf on South Water Street on the morning of June 7, with about eighty passengers, consisting of the Society and its guests. In two hours the party reached Wickford, where it was welcomed by Governor Wetmore and David S. Baker, and taken to many points of great historic interest, and entertained at dinner, after which there were many brilliant speeches.

THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY held a meeting at Newark, May 21, on which occasion Rev. S. Irenæus Prime, D.D., of New York, delivered an able address on the life and character of Hon. William A. Whitehead, the eminent historian of New Jersey. An interesting paper was also read by General James Grant Wilson, of New York, on "Judge Samuel Bayard of New Jersey, and his London Diary of 1795-6." Resolutions were passed expressing the sympathy of the Society with the family of the late Hon. Frederick T. Frelinghuysen in their bereavement.

CONTRIBUTION TO A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES IN THE UNITED STATES

I

In the following list the compiler has included all the titles of publications of historical societies obtainable from an examination of the collections of the Boston Public Library and the Massachusetts Historical Society, as well as the inspection of the printed catalogues of the larger libraries, and from notices found in serial publications devoted to historical subjects. In September, 1868, there appeared in the *Historical Magazine* a bibliography similar in scope to the present undertaking. Since that time the number of historical societies has largely increased, and consequently a much more extended list of publications is now possible. In the report of the Bureau of Education on the Libraries of the United States, there is an account by Dr. H. A. Homes of the principal historical societies, with some notice of their publications. The following special bibliographies have appeared at various times: Baldwin's Notice of Historical and Pioneer Societies of Ohio, forming Western Reserve Historical Society Tract No. 27; Dr. S. A. Green's Bibliography of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in Vol. 12 of the Proceedings of the Society; Paine's Bibliography of the American Antiquarian Society, and Lee's Bibliography of the Maryland Historical Society. The bibliographies of States, such as Gilman's Vermont and Thomson's Ohio, have been consulted with advantage in the preparation of the present list. The admirable catalogues of the Wisconsin Historical Society have also been fruitful sources of information. Acknowledgments are due to Dr. Samuel A. Green and his assistant, Mr. Julius H. Tuttle, for their kindness in facilitating in every way the consultation by the compiler of the Massachusetts Historical Society's Library. Intelligence of omissions in this list will be gratefully acknowledged.

GENERAL.

UNDER THIS HEAD ARE ENTERED THE NAMES OF SOCIETIES, WHICH HAVE NO SPECIAL HEAD-QUARTERS.

American Historical Association.

PAPERS. Vol. 1, Nos. 1, 2. N. Y., 1885. 2 pphs. 8vo. *Contents.* 1—Report of the organization and proceedings, Saratoga, Sept. 9, 10, 1884. by H. B. Adams. 44 pp. 2—On studies in general history and the history of civilization, read before the association, Sept. 9, 1884, by A. D. White. 28 pp.

Historical Club of the American [Protestant Episcopal] Church.

FAC-SIMILES OF CHURCH DOCUMENTS. Papers issued by the Historical Club of the American Church, 1874-79. Privately printed. 188 pp. 8vo.

ALABAMA.

Alabama Historical Society, Tuskaloosa.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE SOCIETY, July 13, 1858. By N. L. Whitfield. *See* Historical Magazine, 3:66 where this title is given, but without imprint.

ALABAMA HISTORICAL REPORTER. Published under the auspices of the Alabama Historical Society. Vols. 1, 2, 3. (Nos. 1-3). Oct. 1879. March, 1885. Tuskaloosa, 1879-84. 3v. 8vo.

CONSTITUTION, July 8, 1850. Tuskaloosa, 1850, 12 pp. 8vo.

TRANSACTIONS AT ITS FIRST ANNUAL MEETING, July 14, 1851. Tuscaloosa, 1852. 55 pp. 8vo.

TRANSACTIONS AT THE ANNUAL MEETING, July 9th and 10th, 1855. Tuscaloosa: pr. by J. F. Warren, *Observer* office, 1855. 65 pp. 8vo. *Contents.*—Abstract of the minutes of the meeting; the claims and characteristics of Alabama history. Address, by A. B. Meek.

TUSKALOOSA. THE ORIGIN OF ITS NAME, ITS HISTORY, ETC. Paper read before the society, by Thomas Maxwell, July 1, 1876. Tuskaloosa, 1876. 86 pp. map, 8vo.

ARIZONA.

Arizona Historical Society.

CHARTER, CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS. Incorporated and organized, November, 1864. Prescott, 1864. 16 pp. 12mo.

ARKANSAS.

Historical Society of the State of Arkansas, Little Rock.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE LEGISLATURE AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, and the Eclectic Society of Little Rock, Ark., fixing the pronunciation of the name Arkansas. Little Rock, Arkansas, 1881. 8vo.

CALIFORNIA.

California Historical Society, San Francisco, California.

NOTICIAS DE LA NUEVA CALIFORNIA, escritas por el Rev. Padre Fr. Francisco Palóu. [1776-83]. California Historical Society's publication. San Francisco, Imprenta de Edouardo Bosqui y cia., 1874. 4v. Photographs, 8vo. One hundred copies printed. Edited, with an introduction, by John T. Doyle.

REGLAMENTO GENERAL PARA EL GOBIERNO DE LA PROVINCIA DE CALIFORNIAS, aprobado per S. M. en el Real orden de 24 de Octubre de 1781.

Historical Society of Southern California, Los Angeles, California.

CONSTITUTION, STANDING RULES AND LIST OF OFFICERS AND MEMBERS, with the inaugural address of the president [J. J. Warner]. Hartford, Connnecticut. 1884. 18 pp. 8vo.

THE WARM AND THE COLD AGES OF THE EARTH IN THE NORTHERN LATITUDES, by J. J. Warner. Read before the society, May, 1884. Hartford, Connecticut, 1884. 16 pp. 8vo.

Society of California Pioneers, San Francisco.

THE ANNALS OF SAN FRANCISCO; containing a summary of the history of the first discovery, settlement, progress, and present condition of California. By Frank Soulé, J. H. Gihon, and J. Nisbet. N. Y., 1855. 824 pp. Folded map, 8vo. Dedicated to the society.

CELEBRATION AT LAYING OF THE CORNER-STONE OF THE NEW PIONEER HALL, July 7, 1862. Oration by W. B. Farwell; poem by Miss E. A. Pittsinger. San Francisco. 1862. 8vo.

CELEBRATION OF THE ADMISSION OF CALIFORNIA INTO THE UNION, Sept. 9, 1853. Oration by W. Van Vorhies. San Francisco, 1853.

SAME, 1854. Oration by E. J. C. Kewen; poem by F. Soulé. San Francisco, 1854. 24 pp. 8vo.

CELEBRATION OF THE SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ADMISSION OF CALIFORNIA INTO THE UNION. Oration by T. W. Freelon ; ode by E. Pollock. San Francisco, 1857. 8vo.

ORATION BEFORE THE SOCIETY, ON THE NINTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ADMISSION OF CALIFORNIA. by W. B. Farwell. San Francisco, 1859. 8vo.

CELEBRATION OF THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ADMISSION OF CALIFORNIA INTO THE UNION. Oration by E. Randolph. San Francisco, 1860. 8vo.

CELEBRATION OF THE TWELFTH ANNIVERSARY, [ETC]. Address by E. H. Washburn. San Francisco, 1862. 8vo.

CELEBRATION OF THE FOURTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOCIETY. Oration by H. W. Bellows ; poem by F. B. Harte. San Francisco, 1864. 8vo.

CELEBRATION OF THE FIFTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOCIETY. Oration by H. Stebbins; poem by J. F. Bowman. San Francisco, 1865. 8vo.

CELEBRATION OF THE SIXTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ADMISSION OF CALIFORNIA INTO THE UNION. Oration by J. W. Dwinelle. San Francisco, 1866. 8vo.

CELEBRATION OF THE SEVENTEENTH ANNIVERSARY. Oration by W. H. Clark ; poem by C. W. Stoddard. San Francisco, 1867, 8vo.

CELEBRATION OF THE EIGHTEENTH ANNIVERSARY. Oration by E. D. Wheeler ; poem by Ira D. Colbrith. San Francisco, 1868. 8vo.

CELEBRATION OF THE NINETEENTH ANNIVERSARY. Oration by J. S. Hittell. San Francisco, 1869. 8vo.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS, AS REVISED AND ADOPTED October, 1866. San Francisco, 1866. 12mo.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS, AS REVISED AND ADOPTED April, 1869. San Francisco, 1869. 12mo.

CONSTITUTION, BY-LAWS AND LIST OF MEMBERS, since its organization, as revised Aug. 1874. San Francisco, 1874, 12mo.

CONSTITUTION, BY-LAWS AND LIST OF MEMBERS, since its organization, as revised May, 1881. Organized August, 1850. San Francisco, 1881. 91 pp. 12mo.

INAUGURAL CEREMONIES AT THE OPENING OF THE NEW PIONEER HALL, Jan. 8, 1863. Inaugural address by O. P. Sutton ; oration by E. Liés. San Francisco, 1863. 8vo.

ORATION AT TWENTY-FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOCIETY. By E. W. McKinstry. San Francisco, 1870. 8vo.

POEM by Washington Ayer, M. D., delivered at the 33d anniversary of the Society, celebrated at Monterey, Sept. 10, 1883. San Francisco, 1883. 19 pp. Illus. 8vo.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS ON THE STATE OF THE SOCIETY, Jan. 1, 1869. San Francisco, 1869. 8vo.

TRANSACTIONS, Jan. 1 to May 7, 1863. San Francisco, 1863. 8vo.

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOCIETY. Oration before the Society by L. B. Mizner ; poem by T. G. Speer. San Francisco. 1870. 25 pp. 8vo.

TWENTY-THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOCIETY. Oration by J. W. Winans ; poem by J. G. Severance. San Francisco, 1873, 8vo.

Society of First Steamship Pioneers, San Francisco.

FESTIVAL IN CELEBRATION OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ARRIVAL OF THE STEAMER "CALIFORNIA" AT SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 28, 1849, given by the society, Feb. 28, 1874. San Francisco, 1874. 8vo.

FIRST STEAMSHIP PIONEERS. Edited by a committee of the association. San Francisco, 1874, viii. 393 pp. 4vo. Biographical sketches, with photographs.

CONNECTICUT.

Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford.

ACCOUNT OF THE SOCIETY. By H. Barnard. (In American Quarterly Register. Vol. 13, pp. 284–292.)

THE CHARTER OF INCORPORATION AND BY-LAWS. With a list of the officers. and an address to the public. Hartford, 1839. 11 pp. 8vo.

COLLECTIONS. Vols. 1, 2. Hartford, 1860, 70. 2v. 8vo. *Contents*. 1. Charters. By-laws; List of officers, 1850–60; Thomas Hooker's letter to Gov. Winthrop, 1638; Abstract of two sermons, by T. Hooker, 1638, 39; Trial of Ezekiel Cheever before New Haven Church, 1649; Letter from Gov. Winthrop respecting the charter of Connecticut, 1662; The people's right to election, by G. Bulkeley, 1689; Their Majesties colony of Connecticut vindicated, 1694; Roger Wolcott's journal at the siege of Louisburg, 1745; Connecticut officers at Louisburg; Papers relating to the Ticonderoga expedition, 1775; Major French's journal, 1776; D. Putnam's letter relative to the battle of Bunker Hill, 1825; The public seal of Connecticut, by C. J. Hoadly; Correspondence with the British Government, 1755–1758. 2. On the composition of Algonkin geographical names, by J. H. Trumbull; Papers relating to the controversy in the church in Hartford, 1656–9; Correspondence of Silas Deane, 1774–76.

THE COMPOSITION OF INDIAN GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES, illustrated from the Algonkin languages, by J. H. Trumbull. From the Society's collections. Hartford, 1870. 51 pp. 8vo.

DISCOURSE ON THE EARLY CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF CONNECTICUT, before the Society, May 17, 1843. By Leonard Bacon. Hartford, 1843. 24 pp. 8vo.

HISTORICAL DISCOURSE BEFORE THE SOCIETY, 26th December, 1843. By Thomas Day. Hartford, 1844. 36 pp. 8vo.

HISTORICAL NOTICES OF CONNECTICUT. Nos. 1, 2. Hartford, 1842. Elihu Geer's press. 2 pphs. 12mo. No. 1. Hartford in 1640, by W. S. Porter. 12 pp. 2. Hartford and West Hartford, by W. S. Porter. 13–48 pp.

HISTORY OF THE INDIANS OF CONNECTICUT FROM THE EARLIEST KNOWN PERIOD TO 1850. By J. W. De Forest. Published with the sanction of the Society. Hartford, 1853. xxvi., 509 pp. Folded map. 8vo.

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A LETTER FROM THE REV. THOMAS HOOKER OF HARTFORD, IN ANSWER TO THE COMPLAINTS OF GOV. WINTHROP, OF MASSACHUSETTS AGAINST CONNECTICUT. From the first volume of the Collections. Hartford, 1859, 18 pp. 8vo.

ORIGIN OF THE EXPEDITION AGAINST TICONDEROGA, IN 1775. Read before the Society, January 5, 1869, by J. H. Trumbull. Hartford, 1869. 15 pp. 8vo.

Fairfield County Historical Society, Bridgeport, Connecticut.

ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION, BY-LAWS, LIST OF MEMBERS AND FIRST ANNIVERSARY MEETING, April 14, 1882. Bridgeport, 1882, 38 pp. 8vo.

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF ROGER MINOTT SHERMAN, THE EMINENT CONNECTICUT JURIST, 1773–1845. By W. A. Beers. Delivered before the Society, November 28, 1882. Bridgeport, 1882, 48 pp. 8vo.

SKETCH FROM THE LIFE OF REV. JAMES BEEBEE, soldier and preacher, who, from May 8, 1747, to September 8, 1785, was pastor of the church of Christ at North Stratford, (now Trumbull, Connecticut), written by R. C. Ambler. Added Mr. Beebee's address to the people in 1758, when they departed with him to Fort George to fight the Indians and the French. Read before the Society, September 8, 1882. Boston, 1884. 32 pp. 8vo.

Litchfield County Historical and Antiquarian Society.

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS, April 9, 1856, before the society, on the occasion of completing its organization. By G. H. Hollister. Hartford, 1856, 24 pp, 8vo.

Appleton P. C. Griffin

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.

(*To be continued.*)

BOOK NOTICES

THE CENTENARY OF CATHOLICITY IN KENTUCKY. By Hon. BEN J. WEBB. 8vo, pp. 580. 1884. Louisville, Kentucky: Charles A. Rogers.

In addition to the history of the Church in Kentucky for the century of its existence just closing, the volume contains the details of Catholic emigration to the State from 1785 to 1814, with life sketches of the more prominent among the colonists as well as of the early missionary priests of the State and very many of their successors.

This large mass of more or less skillfully arranged records will be of great service to future historians of the Roman Catholic Church. The compilation has evidently been a labor of love, and has received the willing assistance of many clerical gentlemen who induced the author to enter upon it. So very much alike are the artificial divisions of humanity, and so close are their essential resemblances, that it would be an easy task to strip the denominational garb from one author, and by simply putting on other ecclesiastical vestments completely transform him. Mr. Webb is an illustration of the fact. He conscientiously believes that his is the true Church of Christ: so does the Campbellite or Disciple of Christ of his church. He holds that the past era of his body in Kentucky is one of grand Christian heroism: so does the Methodist of his body. He recounts the deeds and sufferings of the past to increase the zeal of his co-religionists in the service of God: so does the Presbyterian. He delights to relate the details of theological encounters between Roman Catholic priests and preachers of other sects, in which the former are always victorious: the Baptists have a peculiar knack of triumphing in the same way. He recounts the particulars connected with the organization of his church—its seminaries, colleges, charitable institutions, convents, etc.: the Protestant Episcopalian fully equals him in love of organization and faith in machinery. There is oneness in human nature after all; a oneness that points to a possible unity in Christ. The points of agreement in the different members of the body are more than the points of disagreement. Whatever the ecclesiastical or theological prepossessions of the readers of this book may be—that is to say, if they do read it—they cannot fail to recognize in the patient zeal, loving toil, and confident hopefulness of the characters recorded, the elements of genuine discipleship to the Lord and Master of us all.

The book itself, in respect of materials, literary style, and arrangement, is in thorough harmony with the persons and period of which it treats.

HISTORY OF THE MANUFACTURE OF IRON IN ALL AGES, and particularly in the United States for three hundred years, from 1585 to 1885. By JAMES M. SWANK. 8vo, pp. 428. Published for the Author. Philadelphia.

This work embodies the results of an intelligent and leisurely study of a most interesting and important subject. The author traces the use of iron to the earliest ages of antiquity. The seventh great-grandson of Adam was "an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron," as described in the fourth chapter of Genesis. The early Egyptians were familiar with its manufacure, as were the Arabians, the Chaldeans, and the Babylonians. At Babylon iron was used in the fortifications of the city prior to its capture by Cyrus in the sixth century before Christ. In a celebrated inscription Nebuchadnezzar declares, "With pillars and beams plated with copper and strengthened with iron I built up its gates." His daughter, Nitocris, built a bridge, the huge stones of which were held together by bands of iron fixed in place by molten lead. The Phœnician merchants obtained iron from such distant countries as Morocco and Spain. The iron ores of Elba were worked by the Greeks as early as 700 B.C. Some of the swords and javelins of the Romans were made of iron and steel in the fourth century before the Christian era. The iron industry in Spain was the first in the world for many hundred years after the Romans obtained a foothold in the country. For a hundred years after Cæsar's time only faint glimpses are furnished of an iron industry in France: that of Sweden had an existence as early as the thirteenth century. Mr. Swank then proceeds to give the characteristics of early iron manufacture, particularly in America: and the progress of the industry is treated with a skilled hand. We learn also of the impediments to the cheap production of iron and steel in this country, through high wages and the high cost of transportation. "We are today," writes the author, "the second iron-making and steel making country in the world." A more useful or interesting book could hardly be conceived or produced.

LETTERS FROM HELL: Given in English by L. W. J. S.; with a preface by GEORGE MACDONALD, LL.D. 12mo, pp. 300. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Very singular productions these are. Imagination has been subjected to high pressure in order to produce them. Yet the author has not lost

sight of the spirit and letter of the Holy Scriptures in composition. They have the color of probability. This is all that could be expected in view of our exceedingly limited knowledge of the condition of the lost. Weird, somber, and terrible, it is well-nigh impossible to read them without sensations of shuddering horror. If such be the feeling in dim prospect, what must experience of reality be? No harm can come from reading this book. On many temperaments its influence will be wholesome, and stimulative to diligence in making one's calling and election sure.

George Macdonald's preface is worthy of his reputation. The book itself, originally written in Danish, then translated into German, and from the German into English, possesses many affinities with his peculiar characteristics. That, in the order of Providential arrangement, man makes his own future, is very clear to him; nor does he deny that persistence of moral character necessarily implies persistence of sequence. Where the element of hope enters into the eschatology of the lost he fails to point out. Inscrutable mystery, freezing dread appertain to the whole subject. The Judge of all the earth will do right.

LOUIS PASTEUR. His Life and Labors. By his son-in-law. Translated from the French by LADY CLAUD HAMILTON. 16mo. pp. 300. 1885. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

The fashion of writing ante-mortem biographies has been condemned in many quarters, but whatever may be alleged of it as an offense against what we call good taste, it has at least this recommendation—the subject of the memoir can revise the proof sheets, and if he chance to be blessed with common sense, can revise them to good advantage. M. Pasteur's remarkable investigations and discoveries have occupied so large a place in the scientific world of late that an authentic account of their inception and development must be acceptable to a large number of readers.

"You should postpone that until I am no longer here," said Mr. Pasteur when the author first proposed his plan.

"Why so?" was the reply. "No; it's you living that I wish to paint—you in full work, in the midst of your laboratory."

An introduction by Tyndall greatly adds to the value of the work, and shows the estimate formed of the Frenchman's discoveries by his great English contemporary. In the text of the book itself, all the processes of thought and experimental work are set forth in a style which is free from pedantry, and which nevertheless will command respectful attention from the hypercritical professional world in which M. Pasteur has met so much criticism, as well as so much appreciative consideration. His remarkable conclusions regarding the germ theories of disease are daily gaining strength, and whatever may be the final verdict concerning them, they mark an epoch in the progress of exhaustive scientific research.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLT. Its Causes, Condition, and Prospects. By EDMUND NOBLE. 16mo, pp. 269. Boston, 1885: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

By "the Russian Revolt," Mr. Noble means the spirit of reform which had its birth under the iron rule of Peter the Great, and has continued with various interruptions and side issues to the present day. The analysis of Russian characters and customs is very searching and peculiarly timely at this period of diplomatic history. The curious survival of Nomadic instincts, the influences of climate, association with Byzantine traditions, the gradual influx of western civilization, mysticism, religion, and the modern outcome of all these in the present condition of Russia and her dependencies, are discussed in most entertaining and instructive style. The last chapters are devoted to the general relations of Europe to the future of the vast Empire, and while the author is manifestly disposed to look favorably upon what he finds to admire in the Russian, he is still severe enough when he touches upon the Siberian question and upon the maladministration of justice, and upon the underlying principles of absolutism which form the foundation of imperial rule. The revolt, he says, is the protest of eighty millions of people against a principle and method of government hostile to the common weal. That Russia has a great destiny and is steadily developing a capacity to be worthy of it, he firmly believes.

PARADISE FOUND. The Cradle of the human race at the North Pole. A study of the prehistoric world. By WILLIAM F. WARREN, S.T.D., L.L.D., (with original illustrations). Second edition. 12mo, pp. 505. 1885, Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

If the Garden of Eden was really located at the North Pole, the students of history, literature, and religion have the study of some very curious problems in prospect. This work is, to all appearances, a thoroughly serious and sincere attempt to present what is, to the author's mind, "the true and final solution of one of the greatest and most fascinating of all problems connected with the history of mankind." Dr. Warren claims that until the location of the starting point of the human race is settled, the historian, the archæologist and the paleontological anthropologist are all working in the dark, and none of those interested in ethnology, philology, theology or sociology, can construct a theory not liable to overthrow or serious modification when any new light shall be thrown on

the mother-region of the race. His chapter on the testimony of astronomical geography, to sustain his hypothesis, is curiously interesting. He says, "whoever seeks as a probable location for Paradise the heavenliest spot on earth with respect to light and darkness, and with respect to celestial scenery, must be content to seek it at the Arctic Pole. Here is the true City of the Sun. Here is the one and only spot on earth respecting which it would seem as if the Creator had said, as of his own Heavenly residence, 'There shall be no night there.'" The imperfect character of the evidence he brings forward to prove his position through Japanese, Chinese, Hindu, Babylonian, Ancient Egyptian, and Ancient Greek thought is such, however, as to expose it to refutation at innumerable points. From the mythical or sacred geography of the Old Persians Dr. Warren succeeds in making his case tolerably clear—that the world of living men was originally the northern circumpolar hemisphere. The book is instructive, even to those who fail to be convinced of the truth of the theory advanced, that the cradle of the human race, the Eden of primitive tradition, was situated at the North Pole in a country submerged at the time of the deluge. It will aid theologians in meeting some modern objections to the biblical history of the race. The author's view of the ancient cosmology, originally presented four or five years ago in the Boston University Year Book, attracted the attention of scholars in every part of the world, among whom were Mr. Gladstone, Professor Tiele, of the University of Leyden, and many others. Great industry, ingenuity and scholarship are evinced in the production of this volume; and we commend it to the careful attention of the cultivated reader.

VOLTAIRE'S ROMANCES. Translated from the French. With numerous illustrations. Complete in one volume. 12mo. pp. 448. New York, 1885: Peter Eckler.

The recent popular demonstration in Paris at the obsequies of Victor Hugo recalls the day, when after the success of the French Revolution, to which his genius had largely contributed, the remains of Voltaire were removed to the Pantheon by order of the National Assembly, and deposited between Descartes and Mirabeau. With them now are the ashes of as great a genius as any of them, and the protest of Romanist prelates against this last interment in the Pantheon shows that the bigotry against which Voltaire so earnestly fought is not yet dead. The present edition of the romances is timely, and appears in very creditable shape, though the titular claim of completeness for the volume is hardly to be reconciled with certain omitted passages, marked by asterisks in the text. These passages, however—which we have not taken the pains to look up in the original—were no doubt omitted out of a very judicious consideration for the more fastidious taste of the day, and of the American public. While Voltaire's satire was as keen and fine pointed as a rapier, the influences of the age coarsened his wit. If modern French wit is not admissible in English, what shall we say of that current two centuries ago? These objectionable passages have been in the main, eliminated, leaving the romances all the better for the pruning. Still, we cannot avoid the conviction that if these tales were offered nowadays to a first-class magazine, they would be possibly returned to the author with the editor's thanks.

BERMUDA. An Idyl of the Summer Islands. By JULIA C. R. DORR. 16mo. pp. 148. 1885. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

This pleasant record of life in the sub-tropic islands, now so well known as a sanitarium, grew out of an "Atlantic" paper published a few years ago, and substantially incorporated in the present work. Miss Dorr is too well known to the American public to need an introduction, and it is enough to say that she has a genuine love of the subject, of Nature and of the even poetic atmosphere which surrounds the "Summer isles of Eden" to call out her best descriptive powers. The narrative is sprightly, and seems unconsciously to carry a certain plot of its own which makes it very agreeable reading even for the summer tourist who can only look forward to Bermuda as a possibility for next winter. A small general map of the Atlantic, and a detailed map—the best we remember having seen—of the islands themselves, add greatly to the value of the volume.

AMERICAN LANGUAGES, and Why We Should Study Them. AN ADDRESS delivered before the Pennsylvania Historical Society, March 9, 1885. By DANIEL BRINTON, M. D. Pamphlet. 8vo. pp. 23. 1885. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company.

Dr. Brinton makes an eloquent plea in this little work for a neglected branch of learning—that of American aboriginal languages. He admits that it is a study usually considered hopelessly dry and unproductive. At the same time he presents some cogent reasons why we should have fellowships and professorships for instruction in the tongues of our own land as well as for teaching the dead languages and dead religions of another hemisphere. He says this knowledge is as important to the philosophic study of speech as that of the structure of any of the dialects of Greece or India.

Dissatisfied with the decision of the President not to direct Major Anderson to return to Fort Moultrie, the evacuation of which Mr. Floyd insisted was a direct infraction of an agreement of the administration with the authorities of South Carolina, as well as an act that could only serve to widen the breach between that state and the Federal Government, without any possible compensating military result, that gentleman resigned his portfolio as Secretary of War on the last day of the year. Thereupon Mr. Joseph Holt, of Kentucky, Commissioner of Patents, was announced as Secretary of War *ad interim*. The day before this change took place, however, General Scott had addressed directly to the President a singular appeal to be permitted, without the knowledge of the War Department, to send "as secretly as possible, 250 recruits from New York to re-enforce Fort Sumter, together with some extra muskets or rifles, ammunition, and subsistence stores." He also asked that a sloop-of-war and cutter should be sent with this expedition. Mr. Buchanan promptly acceded in the main to this urgent suggestion of the General-in-Chief of the Army, and Lieutenant-Colonel Lorenzo Thomas, of the Adjutant-General's Department, attached to General Scott's staff, was detached and specially charged with the organ-

plished subalterns of the same corps for most of the time, and provided with ample funds, was directed to place all the works in that harbor in "as good a defensive position as possible." Under these instructions he employed 109 men, including fifty skilled mechanics from Baltimore, in preparing Fort Sumter for a defensive and offensive contingency with unceasing activity. At the same time 120 to 137 hired men were energetically engaged in putting Fort Moultrie in condition for an effective defense up to the very day it was evacuated, including a wet ditch fifteen feet wide dug around the fort; two flanking caponieres; a bastionette for musketry at the north-west angle; a picket fence around the fort bordering the ditch, together with Machiouli galleries and other engineering devices materially strengthening the work against a landward approach and attack, designed solely for such an event, and making Fort Moultrie defensible by a small garrison such as that which occupied it on the 26th of December. Castle Pinkney was likewise put on a thoroughly defensive basis by thirty-four mechanics and laborers. The official reports of Captain Foster, written at the time, leave an intelligent, honest mind no room for doubt on this question (*see War of the Rebellion. Official Records*, series i., vol. i., *particularly pages* 4, 5, 72, 90, 92, 98, and 106. Moreover, on the 24th of November, Adjutant General Cooper told Major Anderson, that Mr. Floyd desired to be informed "whether, in view of maintaining the troops (in Moultrie) ready for efficient action and defense, it might not be advisable to employ reliable persons, not connected with the military service, for purposes of fatigue and police." Finding that he might hire eight or ten good men, discharged Federal soldiers, and "as that would give one relief for 'his' guard," Anderson asked for authority to hire them, which was promptly accorded by Mr. Floyd on the 6th December. As the *employment of other than enlisted men upon such service was without precedent*, this incident should be accepted as proof that the one who suggested and authorized it could not be contriving to have Fort Moultrie fall into the hands of the Carolinians (*Reb. Recs.*, series i., vol. i., pp. 76, 84, 88). Even as late as the 21st of December, Floyd directed Anderson over his own signature to hold possession of the forts, and if attacked to defend himself to the last extremity, defining properly, however, that this did not involve a "useless waste of life" (*Reb. Recs.*, series i., vol. i., p. 103).

STREET SCENE THE NIGHT OF JEFFERSON DAVIS' INAUGURATION, FEBRUARY 18, 1861, MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA.

[*Engraved for the Magazine from the Original Sketch made at the time by the distinguished artist, Theo. R. Davis.*]

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* *Reb. Recs.*, series i., vol. i., p. 114.

† The story of these inchoative days of the War of Secession would not be properly told were I to fail to note that this bootless expedition was assented to, outfitted, and dispatched without the knowledge of at least one member of Mr. Buchanan's Cabinet, namely, Mr. Jacob Thompson, who must have been given to understand that no such expedition was intended by the Administration of which he was a member, for he telegraphed Mr. A. N. Kimball, Jackson, Mississippi, on the 4th of January, 1861 : "*No troops have been sent to Charleston, nor will be while I am a member of the*

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Meanwhile, the Carolinians, correctly understanding the gravity of their attitude, or at least what was essential on their part to shield it from the least semblance of comedy or triviality—lost not an instant of time after Anderson's abandonment of Sullivan's Island in selecting proper positions upon the northern end of Morris Island, upon which they set about constructing batteries that would help to enable them to repel any effort on the part of the United States to re-enforce or provision the garrison of Sumter. They also with prodigious, well-directed activity began repairing Fort Moultrie. Consequently when the steamer *Star of the West*, at early dawn on the 9th of January, crossed the bar of Charleston harbor, and steamed up the ship channel to within a mile and three-quarters of Fort Moultrie, the two "well-placed" batteries on the northern end of Morris Island opened upon her at a distance of about five-eighths of a mile. The first shot fired was in the manner usual in such cases, one of warning in front of the vessel's bow, to which, however, no heed was given except to hoist a "full-sized garrison flag," as we are told. Pursuing her course toward Sumter, a shot soon struck her in the fore chains—a sufficiently dangerous quarter to satisfy the captain of the *Star of the West* of the folly of his errand, and the ship promptly brought about, sped rapidly back over the bar, happily without harm, though under a sharp fire. Thus the undertaking was abandoned. Any more favorable issue of such an expedition ought not to have been expected; under no aspect was its dispatch a sound adventure. Considered as a military operation, it is difficult to understand how so sagacious a soldier as the one who planned and executed the brilliant campaign for the capture of the City of Mexico in 1847, could have projected an enterprise so wanting in the elements of success as well as of sound military reasons for undertaking it. Even had the recruits on this steamer been successfully thrown into Fort Sumter, they could not have increased the period of resistance of that fortress one day against the only character of attack to which it could be exposed.* On the other hand, politically,

Cabinet." From my intimate knowledge of Mr. Thompson I am satisfied his dispatch was an answer to one of inquiry from Mr. Kimball, and was designed to allay apprehensions in Mississippi of an active coercive course toward South Carolina, and with the further purpose of swaying the Organic Convention of Mississippi, about to assemble at Jackson, to delay secession. Mr. Thompson, a man of large wealth, was conservative by nature. He had moreover the strong material tie to the Union of valuable real estate in Chicago. Disunion was clearly against his interest.

* In this relation I may adduce an extract from a paper submitted by General Joseph G. Totten, Chief Engineer of the Army, to the War Department on the 2d of April, 1861: "In addition to what I have heretofore said as to the impracticability of efficiently re-enforcing and supplying Fort Sumter, I will now say only that if the fort was filled with men and munitions, it could hold out only but a short time. It would be obliged to surrender with much loss of life, for it would

JEFFERSON DAVIS.
President of the Confederacy.

the attempt, whether successfully executed or not, could but work harmfully in the Southern states, and the conception of it must be regarded as altogether out of character with the political and diplomatic ability and skill shown by General Scott several times previously in his long, useful career

be obstinately defended, and the greater the crowd within the greater the proportionate loss. This issue can be averted only by sending a large army and navy to capture the surrounding forts and batteries."—*Reb. Recs.*, series i., vol. i., p. 232.

as a National servant, when intrusted with the successful conduct on the part of the United States of most delicate international controversies.*

The very day, at the dawn of which the effort to re-enforce Fort Sumter was thus brought to signal miscarriage so easily and naturally, the State of Mississippi severed her connection with the Union; Alabama did likewise on the 10th, and Florida on the 11th of January. That these states were materially as immediately influenced to take this course, at that time, by the untoward overt act in Charleston harbor on the night of the 26th of December, 1860, coupled with what happened there on the morning of the 9th of January, 1861, would seem to be the true historical conclusion. The Senators of these states, however, retained their official seats until the 21st of January. On that day, five Senators took formal leave of the Senate.† I heard the set oration of Mr. Davis—a well-digested, temperately conceived statement of the causes which had brought five of the cotton-producing states to resort to the sovereign right of secession from the Union. His words were uttered with such evidence of profound emotion and coupled with the immeasurable significance and moment of what those words announced, that when I saw Senators sitting at their desks affecting either to be writing or reading, I could but call to mind the story of the Roman Emperor who fiddled while his imperial city was in flames around him.‡

In the alarming position of the country, or on the 19th of January, 1861, the General Assembly of my native state, Virginia, adopted a series of resolutions, with a preamble, deploring disunion and inviting all her sister states to send special commissioners to Washington on the 4th of February, "to consider and, if practicable, agree upon some suitable adjustment." At the same time John Tyler, an ex-President of the United States, and so distinguished and notably conservative a citizen as William C. Rives, were two of the five delegates selected by Virginia to represent her in that "Peace Congress"—as it came to be designated. Meeting on the same

* I refer, of course, to his masterly management of the North-eastern boundary question; his delicate course on the Lake frontier at the time of a menaced Fenian invasion of Canada; and to the consummate skill with which he averted trouble with Great Britain about the Island of San Juan on the Pacific Coast.

† The five members of the House of Representatives from Mississippi, Wm. Barksdale, Reuben Davis, L. L. C. Lamar, John McRae and Otto R. Singleton, retired on the 12th of January. The members from Alabama, David Clayton, J. L. M. Curry, G. S. Houghton, Sydenham More, James L. Pugh, James A. S. Stallworth and W. R. W. Cobb, at the same time with the Senators from that state (January 21st), as also did G. S. Hawkins, member of the House from Florida.

‡ As Mr. Davis was speaking, I saw Senator Doolittle, of Wisconsin, rise from his seat, walk toward one of the doors of the Senate Chamber, there half turn in a theatrical manner for a moment and glance back at Mr. Davis with a mocking incredulous sneer upon his features.

ROBERT TOOMBS.

Secretary of State of the Confederacy.

day that the congress of the six seceded states assembled at Montgomery, delegates took part in its sessions ultimately from twenty-one states, of which but seven were slave-labor states. This body, composed largely of men distinguished in the political and judicial history of the country, well entitled in the main to be regarded as *patres conscripti*, was presided over worthily in the interest of a united country by ex-President John Tyler. However, among the members were a few who undoubtedly were present with the sole object of preventing any healing results, any fraternal settlement of sectional discord —instruments of that hateful spirit boldly voiced by a Senator of Michigan on the 11th of February, after this congress had been in session a week: "Without a little *blood-letting* this Union will not in my estimation be worth a rush." *

Meantime the Confederate Congress of a single House, as I have already narrated, having met on the 4th of February, four days later adopted a provisional Constitution to be in force for a year, unless sooner superseded by a permanent organization. And on the 9th of February that body proceeded to elect Jefferson Davis as provisional President, and Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, as Vice-President. On that same day it was conservatively enacted: "That all the laws of the United States of America on the 1st day of November last, and not inconsistent with the

CHARLES G. MEMMINGER.

Secretary of the Confederate Treasury.

* Letter of Senator Chandler to Governor Blair of Michigan, February 11th, 1861.

constitution of the Confederate States, be and the same are hereby continued in force until altered or repealed by the Congress."

It is also worthy of relation that by the sixth article of the second section of the Confederate constitution it was provided:

"The Government hereby instituted shall take immediate steps for the settlement of all matters between the states forming it and their other late confederates of the United States, in relation to the public property and public debt at the time of their withdrawal from them; these states hereby declaring it to be their wish and earnest desire to adjust everything pertaining to the common property, common liabilities and common obligations of that Union, upon the principles of right, justice, equity and good faith."

Mr. Davis was inaugurated as President of the Confederate States on the 18th of February, and delivered an elaborate address on the occasion. His Cabinet was then announced as constituted of ex-senator Robert Toombs, Secretary of State; Charles G. Memminger, of South Carolina, Secretary of the Treasury; Leroy Pope Walker, of Alabama, Secretary of War; ex-senator Stephen R. Mallory, Secretary of the Navy; ex-member of Congress John H. Regan, of Texas, Postmaster-General, and ex-senator Judah P. Benjamin, Attorney General. Thus within a fortnight a new state was launched veritably on waters troubled and turbid, but with all the essential means and appliances—including a large number of trained, able and accomplished public men of wide, varied political experience—for a wholesome, law-regulated government; a state such as is well defined by Sir William Jones:

> "Not cities proud with spires and turrets crowned:
> Not bays and broad armed ports,
> Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride;
> Not starred and spangled courts,
>
> * * * * * *
>
> "No:—men—high-minded men,
> Men who their duties know,
> But know their rights, and, knowing, dare maintain.
> These constitute the State."

With each day thereafter for a fortnight the vortex of dissolution grew wider in its sweep, with few anywhere showing the least insight of the steady drift of affairs. At Washington and to the northward—indeed, also, largely so in the South—all the public men seemed to stand as it were with eyes sealed to the nature and ultimate consequences of what had happened at Montgomery and was going on in Charleston harbor. There

was an incredible unconsciousness that events were fast gathering to a head—as the electric spark that explodes a mine. "A great empire and little minds go ill together," said Edmund Burke—words whose truth was never made more signally manifest than at Washington during the one hundred and fifty days which ended with the 30th of April, 1861.

LEROY POPE WALKER.
Secretary of War of the Confederacy.

Convened, as I have said, on the 4th of February, the "Peace Congress" remained in session for a fortnight, and adjourned with the bare result of proposing seven amendments to the Federal Constitution, which they reported to the National Congress, with the unavailing prayer that that body would adopt and urgently submit them for ratification by the states of the Union. During the presence of this special Congress in Washington I met several, if not all, of the members from Virginia, notably the venerable President, Mr. Tyler, Judge John W. Brockenborough of the U. S. District Court, and Mr. Seddon, afterward Confederate Secretary of War. All impressed me as animated by an earnest desire to preserve the Union intact, but as, also, well-nigh hopeless of that result because of the spirit of sectional hostility which they had encountered in certain Republican members of mark in that body and of great influence at home.* A

STEPHEN R. MALLORY.
Secretary of the Navy of the Confederacy.

* Mr. Tyler on the 7th of February not only invoked by telegram an influential personage at Montgomery to exert himself to avert collision with the Federal authorities, but, on the same day,

"Peace Congress" by name, yet more scenes than one took place and many words were uttered during its sessions which breathed rather of sectional rancor than of fraternal peace. Of one of these inauspicious incidents I remember hearing a graphic description by a Virginia member a few hours after its occurrence.*

A New England member, a Senator, had said in debate that if the Southern states persisted in secession they should be coerced back into the Union. Immediately Commodore Stockton, one of the members from New Jersey, springing to his feet, advanced directly up to the militantly speaking member and declared, in effect, with his extended finger almost in the other's face: "If it be war that you and your people want, war you shall have—but war much nearer your own homes than any of the Southern states, should you attempt to pass across the State of New Jersey with an armed force to make war on the Southern states!"

Mr. Crittenden, of Kentucky, having adopted as his own measure the amendments to the Constitution proposed by the "Peace Congress," made an eloquent speech in the Senate in support of them, but they fell still-born, or failed to bridge the ever-widening chasm between the sections.

appealed to Governor Pickens in these impressive words: "Can my voice reach you? If so, do not attack Fort Sumter. You know my sincerity. The Virginia delegation earnestly unite." Again, on the 9th of February, he urged forbearance by South Carolina, and, yet again, nine days later. (*Reb. Recs.*, series i., vol. i., pp. 253–54–57.) It may further help toward reaching the truth of history here to contrast the spirit which pervaded and animated the fervent appeals of Mr. Tyler for such courses at Montgomery and Charleston as might make it yet possible to re-establish the Union without bloodshed with that of the implacable war-to-the-knife school of politicians of whom Senator Chandler was the exemplar.

* Another juxtaposition of the different feelings which swayed men at the epoch in question I would fain believe to be of historical use and worth here: Those rabid politicians at Washington who habitually scouted all ideas of compromise or of any fraternal settlement of the fretting and clashing relations of the states, regarded the proceedings of the "Peace Congress" with undisguised contempt, and blatantly proclaimed the Union to be like Hamlet's thoughts, "bloody or be nothing worth." As a class, however, these men kept out of battle-fields and never fought for the flag or the Union to which they rendered a perennial lip-service that has known no abatement. On the other hand, those accomplished, intrepid soldiers, such as Anderson and Foster and Crawford, with their comrades in Sumter, when affronting danger like heroes upholding the flag of their country, were anxiously watching the proceedings of the "Peace Congress" with the ardent hope that they would bring forth a re-established fraternal union of the states. These men, each of whom could say, without affectation, of their country—

> "My life I never held but as a pawn
> To wage against thy enemies, nor fear to lose it,
> Thy safety being the motive,"—

felt and uttered great satisfaction at the prospect of a peaceful solution of existing political difficulties. "The cheering news from Washington of the action of the Peace Conference and of the House of Representatives gave us great satisfaction," wrote that resourceful engineer, Captain John G. Foster, to his chief, General Totten, on the 2d of March, 1861. (*Reb. Recs.*, series i., vol. i., p. 189)

At this time of political chaos and uncertainty few men in the country were so solicitously watching the dreary, misguided course of events as the officers of the regular army from the Southern states, not only at Washington but wheresoever there was a military post on our wide frontier. To them disunion and war constituted the most vital of possible questions. For the most part educated, from boyhood, in the service of the Union, and deeply attached to that service, disunion imposed upon them the choice between the sundering of all family ties and relations with those among whom they had been born, on the one hand, and the summary termination of life-long professional associations with the service of the Union. And more than this, disunion exposed them in the near future to a mortal conflict with men embattled under a flag which for years it had been their own highest pleasure also to serve under side by side with these same men since manhood. To this class of Americans generally all these days were a period of concern and inquietude naturally known to the same degree to none others of their countrymen; while to some, however, it was a period of great incertitude, as I may illustrate:

Soon after my arrival at Washington I called at one of the leading hotels to deliver to the wife of an officer, my junior in my own staff department of the army, a message from her aunt, the wife of an officer of high rank on duty in Oregon at the time. Soon the conversation turned upon the one absorbing topic of the hour for army people. Perforce, I was led to say I felt that but one course was open to me—that of following the fortunes of the State of Virginia. The lady in question, a soldier's daughter, born at a military post, sharply arraigned me for entertaining such a thought. With a woman's latitude of speech she reminded me that I had taken an "oath" which, she asserted confidently, would be violated were I to resign and enter the service of the seceding states. In this position her husband, in more guarded terms or with studious courtesy of manner, coincided. Such indeed was her warmth regarding the binding force of an officer's oath at this juncture that I was forced, in order to stop the subject, to say: That it was a question each one of us must settle with his own conscience, and that I certainly should not suffer any one to decide it for me. And yet the husband, though born in Maryland, and his wife was of New England and New York origin, resigned before I did, and was commissioned in the Confederate service before I left Washington.*

* One day as I was about to enter the western door of the War Department, on my way to the Quartermaster-General's office, about the 21st of April, 1861, I met this same officer coming out, and who, extending his hand, said: "Good-by, Jordan; what shall I say for you at Montgomery?" At Montgomery? I echoed, with an air of interrogation. "Yes," he rejoined, "I am off for Mont-

How far the minds of the leaders of the Republican party were from crystallization into any definite policy with which to meet and deal with the secession movement, even so late as the 18th of January, when it had taken such proportions as to embrace 244,146 square miles, or how absolutely foreign to them was the idea of employing the national army and navy if need be for the restoration of the integrity of the Union, is made apparent in the explicit words of Mr. William H. Seward on the floor of the Senate on the 12th of January. "The Union," he declared, "is not worth preserving at the expense of a civil war." That is to say, that great chief of his party, on the eve of becoming the Premier of the incoming Federal Administration, tersely enunciated the same idea acting upon which, just a month before, the Cabinet of Mr. Buchanan had advised against any effort on the part of the outgoing President to increase the military force in Charleston harbor.* Moreover, as is notorious, immediately after the election of Mr. Lincoln, the acknowledged leader of Republican journalism, the most authoritative exponent of Republican political sentiments, aims and aspirations in the country, Mr. Greeley, through the *Tribune* of the 9th of November, 1860, declared, with characteristic precision and force of language: "Whenever a considerable section of our Union shall deliberately resolve to go out, we shall resist all coercive measures designed to keep her in. We hope

gomery; I have resigned." Resigned? I again echoed, in sheer wonderment, recollecting his previous position and that of his wife. "Yes," he answered, "I was ordered to go to Annapolis as Quartermaster to Butler's column, and I could not serve on such duty and therefore resigned." I was too much surprised at the suddenness of his change of views to say more than that I was pleased by his course, and we parted with a shake of the hands.

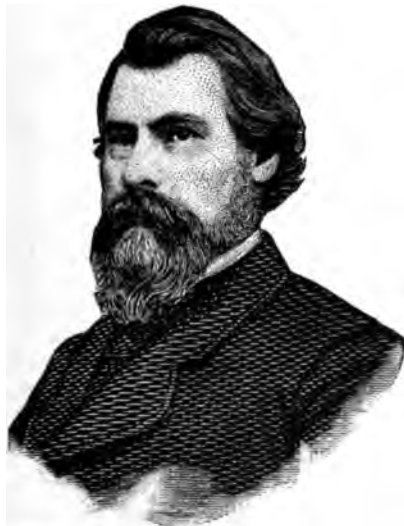
* I must here mention as a part of the history of the times, previously overlooked in this narrative, that on the 14th of December, 1860, Mr. Lewis Cass availed himself of the opportunity of this decision of Mr. Buchanan's Cabinet, to parry future responsibility for the course of that administration in this particular, by resigning his high office of Secretary of State. Weighed in the scales of history, this action is not to be reconciled with his immediately anterior approval of Mr. Buchanan's declaration, in his annual message, that there was no constitutional power under the Federal compact to coerce a state to remain in the Union against the clear wishes of the people. If the Federal authority could not be constitutionally exerted to keep South Carolina from quitting the Union and setting up a government disassociated with that of the United States (which in effect Mr. Cass had accepted as sound doctrine), certainly no legitimate or moral end was to be served or attained by holding fortified places within her boundaries, supported by ships of war anchored in her waters. As for the crotchet which found expression in some quarters, at the time that the Federal authorities, while not using the national army and navy to coerce South Carolina to remain federally associated, might, however, lawfully use such abnormal or extra-constitutional appliances to collect revenues from foreign merchandise landed in Charleston harbor—when no longer a part of the United States—it serves to show of what nebulous ideas and chaos of incidents the War of Secession was finally born—leading to:

"Red ruin and the breaking up of laws."

never to live in a republic whereof one section is pinned to the residue by bayonets." Somewhat later the New York *Herald*, with remarkable accuracy of statement, said to its large audience: "Each state is organized as a complete government, holding the purse and the sword, possessing the right to break the tie of the Confederation as a nation might break a treaty, and to repel coercion as a nation might repel invasion. Coercion, if it were possible, is out of the question." And although he had been urgently recommending that the fortresses on the Atlantic seaboard should be strongly occupied by Federal troops, nevertheless, General Scott not only on January 14, 1861, disclaimed all idea of proposing an invasion of the seceded states, but as late as March 3d, 1861, addressed Mr. Seward, already announced as Secretary of State in Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet, in these terms:

JUDAH P. BENJAMIN.
Attorney General of the Confederacy.

* * * * "adopt the conciliatory measures proposed by Mr. Crittenden or the Peace Convention, and, my life upon it, we shall have no new case of Secession; but on the contrary an early return of many, if not of all the states which have already broken off from the Union. Without some equally benign measure, the remaining slave-holding states will probably join the Montgomery Confederacy in less than sixty days—when this city, being included in a foreign country, would require a permanent garrison of at least thirty-five thousand troops, to protect the government within it."



JOHN R. REGAN.
Postmaster General of the Confederacy.

The alternatives to this proposition as the soldier-statesman concisely depicted them were, first:

"Collect the duties on foreign goods *outside* the ports of which this government has lost the command, or close such ports by act of Congress, and blockade them."

This of course was coercion if of the milder type, yet none the less coercion in effect than that involved by his next proposition:

"Conquer the seceded states by invading armies. No doubt this might be done in two or three years, by a young and able general * * * with 300,000 disciplined men (kept up to that number), estimating a third for garrisons, and the loss of a yet greater number by skirmishes, sieges, battles, and southern fevers. The destruction of life and property on the other side would be frightful—however perfect the moral discipline of the invaders. The conquest completed, at the enormous waste of human life to the North and North-west, with at least $250,000,000 added thereto, and *cui bono!* Fifteen devastated provinces! not to be brought into harmony with their conquerors; but to be held for generations by heavy garrisons, at an expense quadruple the net duties or taxes which it would be possible to extort from them, followed by a Protector or an Emperor."*

Senator Douglas, addressing the Senate sixty days earlier, presented so vivid a forecast of what coercion involved that the substance of it should not be omitted here:

"There is no other way or recourse left, to enforce the law in a seceding state, except to make war and bring the state within your possession first and then enforce the law afterward. A war between eighteen states on the one side and fifteen seceding states on the other, is, to me, a revolting thing. For what purpose is the war to be waged? Certainly not for the purpose of preserving the Union. I have too much respect for gentlemen on the other side of the chamber, collectively and individually, to believe there is one among them who does not know what war is. You cannot expect to exterminate ten millions of people, whose passions are excited with the belief that you mean to invade their homes and light the flames of insurrection in their midst. You must expect to exterminate them, or subjugate them, or else, when you have got tired of war, to make a treaty with them. No matter whether the war lasts one year, or seven years, or thirty years, it must have an end at some time. Sooner or later both parties will become tired and exhausted; and when rendered incapable of fighting any longer, they will make a treaty of peace, and that treaty will be one of separation. The history of the world does not furnish an example of a war of sections or between states of the same nation, where the war ended in reconciliation. Such a war always ends in a treaty of peace, and a final eternal separation. I don't understand, then, how a man can claim to be a friend of the Union, and yet be in favor of war upon ten millions of people in the Union. You cannot cover it up much longer under the pretext of love for the Union. Now the question must be met, and whatever concessions I am called upon to make, I choose to make voluntarily, before blood is shed, and not afterward. No man has more pride of country than I. It humbles my pride to see the authority of the government questioned, but we are not the first nation whose pride has been humbled. Republics, empires and kingdoms alike in all ages, have been subject to

* General Scott's final alternative was one that attracted most attention at the time and some derision among those who were for blood-shedding in which they took no direct manual part. I refer to his well-known phrase, "Wayward sisters, depart in peace."

[*Through the courtesy of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet we are permitted to copy from his priceless collection the above authenticated copy of the Louisiana Ordinance of Secession, with its notable signatures.*—EDITOR.]

the same humiliating fact. But when there is a deep-seated discontent ***pervading ten millions of people***, penetrating ***every man, woman and child***, and involving everything dear to them, it is time for inquiring whether there is not some cause for the feeling. *

In citing these historical facts it is not my purpose to revive the discussion of the question of the right of secession or that of the opposite dogma of an irrevocable Union created by the Constitution of 1787. My only object is to recall the truth that at bottom the sentiments so clearly expressed by Senator Douglas must have been shared generally by the leading public men of the North and West up to the time that the Montgomery government fatuously threw the sword into the scales at 4.30 in the morning of the 12th of April, 1861, by making war upon the Federal garrison in Fort Sumter, in Charleston Harbor. Up to the moment of that act of open war really no name of note in the history of the country can be found attached to the opposite opinion that the Constitution of the United States carried with it that high doctrine of irrevocable allegiance such as was once generally held in Europe in behalf of monarchical régimes, with the logical corollary of a code defining and punishing treason and rebellion—a doctrine that never found distinct expression by any American statesman of leading rank until after the war had been practically opened on the part of the seceded states.

As already mentioned, the portfolio of the War Department resigned by Mr. Floyd, had been intrusted to Mr. Joseph Holt, of Kentucky, for whom great loyalty to the Union is claimed in the history of that epoch. Nevertheless, no careful reader of his official correspondence with the loyal conscientious soldier of the Union, Robert Anderson, can fail to find in almost every communication passages that had they emanated from Floyd would be characterized as steeped in duplicity and casuistry, as abounding in sheer juggling with words, and as conceived in the spirit of a political

* In directness and precision of statement of the right of secession from the Union by the people of any state so minded, no Southern statesman ever surpassed the distinguished Pennsylvania lawyer Mr. William Rawle, who wrote in 1825 :

"If a faction should attempt to subvert the government of a state for the purpose of destroying its republican form, the paternal power of the Union could be called forth to subdue it. ***Yet it is not to be understood that its interposition would be justifiable if the people of a State should determine to retire from the Union.*** It depends on the state itself to retain or abolish the principle of representation, because it depends on itself whether it will continue a member of the Union. To deny this right would be inconsistent with the principle on which all our political systems are founded, which is, that the people have, in all cases, a right to determine how they will be governed. * * * ***The secession of a state from the Union depends on the will of the people of such state.*** But in any manner by which a secession is to take place, nothing is more clear than that the act should be deliberate, clear, and unequivocal." (See *Essay on the American Constitution by William Rawle*, pp. 288, 296.)

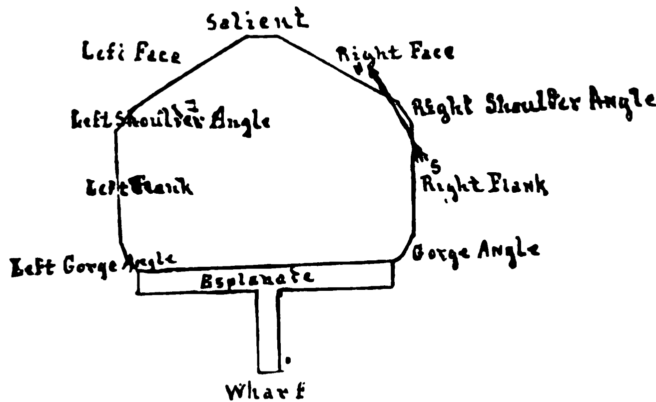
Mephistopheles. Be this as it may, Mr. Holt on the 16th of January, or a week after the misadventure of the *Star of the West*, informed Major Anderson that it was not the present purpose of the Government to make another attempt to re-enforce Fort Sumter, unless in the judgment of the major, "additional supplies or re-enforcements are necessary for the safety or successful defense of the fort"—in which case "a prompt and vigorous effort will be made to forward them."*

Nevertheless, on the 16th of January also the Secretary of State or Premier of Mr. Buchanan's Cabinet, Judge Black, a statesman of unquestionable candor and high intellectual power, wrote an argumentative letter to General Scott with the object of inducing him to answer that Fort Sumter could and should be immediately re-enforced at all costs. These letters are now chiefly of historical interest, as showing not only the uncertainty of purpose that existed at Washington, but also the confusion of ideas which possessed the mind of even so exceptionally able a public man as Judge Black, and one of such courage in the formation and expression of his opinions. In one who had held that neither the Constitution nor that fundamental principle of our policy which makes political authority depend for force and existence "on the consent of the governed," gave the Federal

* In this letter of the War Secretary, the spirit to which I have referred effuses from such paragraphs as these: "You rightly designate the firing into the *Star of the West*, as 'an act of war, and one which was actually committed without the slightest provocation. Had their act been perpetrated by a foreign nation, it would have been your imperative duty to have resented it with the whole force of your batteries. As, however, it was the work of the government of South Carolina, which is a member of this confederacy, and was prompted by the 'passions of a highly-inflamed population of citizens of the United States,' your forbearance to return the fire is fully approved by the President. Unfortunately, the Government had not been able to make known to you that the *Star of the West* had sailed from New York to your relief, and hence, when she made her appearance in the harbor of Charleston, you did not feel the force of the obligation to protect her approach as you would naturally have done had this information reached you." That is to say, Anderson is told in one breath how fully the President approved his forbearance from firing upon the South Carolinians and from bringing on civil war—and at the next instant he is admonished that it was considered "*unfortunate* that he had not been apprised of the real mission of the *Star of the West*," in which case he must have been under the "*obligation*" to protect that vessel by firing upon those who obstructed her entrance! *Reb. Official Recs.*, series i., vol. i., p. 140.

In another letter of February 23, after Mr. Lincoln's arrival in Washington, in reply to a proper request on the part of Anderson for instructions as to his course should the floating battery known to be under construction be brought into menacing proximity, Holt, evading direct orders, indulges in this undisguised sneer: "If you have reason to believe that it is approaching merely to take up a position *at a good distance, should the pending question be not amicably settled*, then, unless your safety is so clearly endangered as to render resistance an act of necessary self defense and protection, you *will act with that forbearance which has distinguished you heretofore in permitting the South Carolinians to strengthen Fort Moultrie and erect new batteries for the defense of the harbor.*" (*Ibid*, p. 182). I might multiply examples from his correspondence were it necessary.

Government the power to *coerce* a state to remain in the Union—it could only be the result of a mental epidemic for him to write gravely as he did to General Scott, of the duty of the United States to hold by force of arms at the risk of bloodshed, a fortified portion of the State of South Carolina on the pretext that it was the public property of the Government—ignoring the material thing that the property in question had its origin in a grant from that same state to the Federal Government, for a specified purpose and for none other; with the provision that when no longer used for that purpose, by the very terms of the cession, it must revert to the *grantor*.



That is to say, the sites of Forts Sumter and Moultrie were granted for the purpose of erecting fortifications thereupon for the defense of the state and people of South Carolina against invasion; and it ought to be unnecessary to say that to hold and use the fortifications thus erected for any purpose hostile to the wishes and political independence of South Carolina by the very letter and spirit of their deed of concession terminated all property rights of the United States in them.*

Although events were fast speeding in the quarter of Charleston harbor to the crisis which soon aroused into fierce action all the bad passions of civil war over 1,600,000 square miles of territory, exclusive of the states and territories of the Pacific coast, it is a part of the history of these days which should not go unmentioned, that the authorities of South Carolina

* "It seems to me settled," wrote Judge Black, "that Major Anderson and his command at Fort Sumter are not to be withdrawn. The United States Government is not to surrender its last hold upon its own property in South Carolina. Major Anderson has a position so nearly impregnable that an attack upon him at present is wholly improbable, and he is supplied with provisions which will last him very well for two months. In the meantime Fort Sumter is invested on every side by the avowedly hostile forces of South Carolina. It is in a state of siege. They have already prevented communications between its commander and his own Government, both by sea and land. There is no doubt that they intend to continue this state of things as far as it is in their power to do so." (*Reb. Official Recs.*, series i., vol. i.

were at special pains as early as the 19th of January to make it the duty of an officer of the state to see that the garrison of Fort Sumter, whose position was a constant menace, should be regularly supplied not only with fresh meat and vegetables, but with the delivery and transmission of their official as well as personal mail matter. Undeniably, in this way, the period of Federal possession of Fort Sumter was materially prolonged, for without the subsistence freely supplied from the city of Charleston as late as the 7th of April, that work must have fallen into the possession of the state without the discharge of a gun. Moreover, as mail communications between Sumter and Washington remained uninterrupted until the 9th of April,* the daily letters and drawings thus transmitted to the Federal War Department, furnished complete information to the Government at Washington not only of the precise situation of the Federal garrison but of all the preparations that were being made on the part of the Confederates for the dispossession of the Federal authority in that quarter as well as to resist any attempt to re-enforce Sumter. Several of the intelligent officers of Anderson's command, also, were allowed to pass to and fro between Sumter and their seat of government. Or, in fine, the utmost latitude was afforded to the authorities at Washington in learning the exact situation of that command and for arranging with its officers for an intelligent plan for its relief.† Regarding the fullness of the information at Washington of the condition of affairs in Sumter I, also, may bear personal testimony.

My most intimate army associate during all these days was an aide-de-camp on the staff of General Scott, Lieutenant-Colonel George W. Lay. Our friendship, of long date, was based on social and literary tastes that had led us toward the same objects, and he was also the godfather of my oldest son. One of the most accomplished of the officers either of the staff or line of the army, my predilection for his society carried me on occasion to the head-quarters of the army, where I met not only my friend, but also Lieutenant-Colonel E. D. Keyes, the military secretary of the commanding general, and also Lieutenant-Colonel Lorenzo Thomas, the adjutant-general, with both of whom I was on a friendly, social footing of some years, and from whom I did not disguise my ultimate purpose to re-

* Even then official mail communications was stopped for the reason that Captain Fox, who had been permitted to visit Major Anderson under a pledge made to Governor Pickens that his object was not to acquire or impart information upon which to base or concert an expedition, had clearly violated that pledge.

† One of these officers was Lieutenant Norman J. Hall, whose notes drawn up in Washington, as to the best manner of relieving Fort Sumter, will be found pages 201-202, *Reb. Official Recs.*, series i., vol. i. For that matter the Federal War Department had a written plan of relief from every officer in Fort Sumter sent through the mails or conveyed by some officer of the garrison.

sign from the Federal service in the event of the secession of Virginia. On one of these visits toward the end of February, I found Colonels Lay and Keyes in the staff room, Colonel Thomas at the moment being with General Scott. Soon, however, the colonel came forth from the office of his chief with an open sheet of paper in his hand, from which he soon proceeded to read aloud to Keyes, Lay, and myself. It was a graphic private letter to Colonel Thomas from Doctor Crawford,* the surgeon at the time of the garrison of Fort Sumter, describing the military situation of the little force, already an object of general interest, and included a specific statement of every pound of subsistence in its commissariat. According to that pregnant letter, Fort Sumter could not be held much longer unless its store of provisions was soon replenished. The knowledge of such a situation was one of vital political importance to the Southern leaders at that instant—for knowing it, as clearly told in that letter, they need only quietly await until the early exhaustion of so scanty a larder should force Anderson to surrender his position to avoid starvation. This fact was freely discussed by all of us—but neither to Thomas nor to Keyes, while aware that both Lay and myself were Virginians, did the thought occur which came however to the lips of Colonel Lay—before the subject was dropped—nearly in these words: "Gentlemen, of course it is *understood that the information given in Doctor Crawford's letter must not go out of this room.*" †

I have already related how Secretary of War Holt, as early as the 16th of January, had placed upon Anderson the onerous responsibility of deciding whether it was necessary or not for the safety of the fortress he held in Charleston waters that he should be re-enforced, but I did not mention that, at that time, he must have been aware of Anderson's official opinion, conveyed to the War Department under date of January 6th, by the hand of his brother, Mr. Larz Anderson of Cincinnati: First, that it "would be dangerous and difficult for a vessel from *without* to enter the harbor, in consequence of the batteries which are erected and being erected." And, secondly, that communications by sea, with him, could only be had "*by means* of a powerful fleet, which should have the ability to carry the batteries at

* Afterward General Samuel W. Crawford.

† I have narrated this incident for the special reason that Colonel Lay having resigned his commission in the army on the eve of the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, to accept the Superintendency of the Military Academy of the State of Louisiana, a position that had just been vacated by my class-mate at West Point, William Tecumseh Sherman, it was at once charged, in that epoch of uncharitableness and of detraction, that he had resigned to carry over to the Confederate Government the military secrets of General Scott's head-quarters, to which he had been so long attached most intimately, and I may add most usefully and loyally, in the highest sense, to the last instant that he held a Federal commission.

the mouth of that harbor!" Therefore, after the practical fashion of the soldier that he was, in view of these plain conditions and unaware of "the ultimate views of the Government, he should not ask for any increase of his command.* As Anderson did not ask for or mention re-enforcements in his subsequent reply to Mr. Holt's ill-inspired letter, it may be assumed that he properly decided what was professionally apparent: That environed as Fort Sumter was by admirable positions for fatally hostile land batteries her powers of resistance to any attack from them would not be increased by any number of troops thrown within her walls; an opinion shared, I am sure, by all his subordinates as well as by his chief, the veteran engineer, General Totten.† But the politicians seemed devoid of the least insight of these things—or were all weltering, as it were, in a bottomless quicksand. Moreover, as is apparent from the tenor of Judge Black's letter to General Scott of the 16th of January, some ambitious naval officers had been seized with the *cacoethes advisandi* and thus added to the confusion and the perplexities of the situation by the introduction of pseudo-professional opinions at variance with those of the army, touching the purely military not naval problem involved. Evidently Captain Ward of the navy was one of these naval experts who fancied it to be "practicable to supply the fort with men and provisions to a limited extent without the employment of any very large naval and military force."‡ It is of record that even General Scott was transiently led to accept this scheme and to set about the organization of an expedition to be intrusted to Captain Ward for throwing troops and provisions into Fort Sumter, for as may be seen in a letter from the General to his aide-de-camp, Colonel H. L. Scott, and the replies of that officer—Captain Ward on the 20th of February, or a fortnight before the installation of Mr. Lincoln in the White House, had at his disposition a "squadron," which he was requested by General Scott to "get ready as soon as he can," for such an undertaking.§ As early as the first week in February a somewhat similar undertaking had been proposed by an ex-naval officer, G. V. Fox (a connection of the influential Blair family), whose plan involved the employment of several commercial ships under the direct command of Mr. Fox, as well as some naval vessels which he was substantially to con-

* *Reb. Official Recs.*, series i., vol. i., p. 133.

† Later on this distinguished officer (April 3d) stated to Secretary Cameron that if Fort Sumter "were filled with men and munitions it could hold out but a short time," and that its "surrender could only be averted by sending a large army and navy to capture all the surrounding forts and batteries, and to assemble these now there is no time. If we do not evacuate Fort Sumter it will be wrested from us by force!" (*Reb. Official Recs.*, series i., vol. i., pp. 232, 233.)

‡ *Reb. Official Recs.*, series i., vol. i., p. 197

§ *Reb. Official Recs*, series i., vol. i., pp. 177–180.

trol, a feature that must have assured its failure even had it not been otherwise a mere "cast of the net for fortune." This project, also, seems at first to have met some encouragement from General Scott, but it was ultimately set aside for that of Captain Ward, which certainly was under preparation in New York and Philadelphia, by the army and naval authorities, I repeat, on the 22d of February, with the consent of course of the President and War Department. So much, however, was to be done evidently for the equipment of such an expedition that its departure from New York before the close of the Buchanan administration had been hardly practicable, even had it been proper for that administration to bequeath the consequences of so uncertain, not to say gravely exceptional an exercise of the presidential power over the army and navy of the country as it would have been at a time when the Federal Congress was in session.*

Fort Moultrie

In the mean time a considerable force of regular troops and marines had been assembled at Washington, including several batteries of field-artillery, as a precaution against the possibility of any attempt by the partisans of the secession movement to seize upon the Federal seat of government, and to be present for police purpose on the day of the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln. However, no such wild idea ever had lodgment in the minds of any of the leading public men of the South, who, I repeat, at that time really desired and still hoped for a reintegration of the Union. There is

* It is noteworthy that in fitting out this relief expedition, Lieutenant Hall, one of the officers belonging to Fort Sumter who had gone thence to Washington, was freely consulted as to its feasibility. He also supplied the list of supplies most needed or requisite to be sent. I have found it in the service of the truth of history to speak as above of the failure to dispatch the Ward Expedition during the last fortnight of Buchanan's administration because an effort has been made to prove (see letter of Secretary of War Cameron, p. 197, *Reb. Official Recs.*, series i., vol. i.), that that expedition would have gone forth successfully but for the interposition of Mr. Buchanan.

not a scintilla of evidence going to show that the idea of interfering with the installation of Mr. Lincoln had any existence elsewhere than in the form of a hysterical apprehension in the minds of certain persons at Washington conspicuous for their opposition to every measure of compromise with the Southern states. All suspicion of such a scheme should disappear before the fact that the Southern leaders left for their homes without making those arrangements which intelligent forethought should have dictated, for gleaning and transmitting from the Federal Capital regular news, military and political, of what was going on there. This I state as a matter of history not to be disproved.

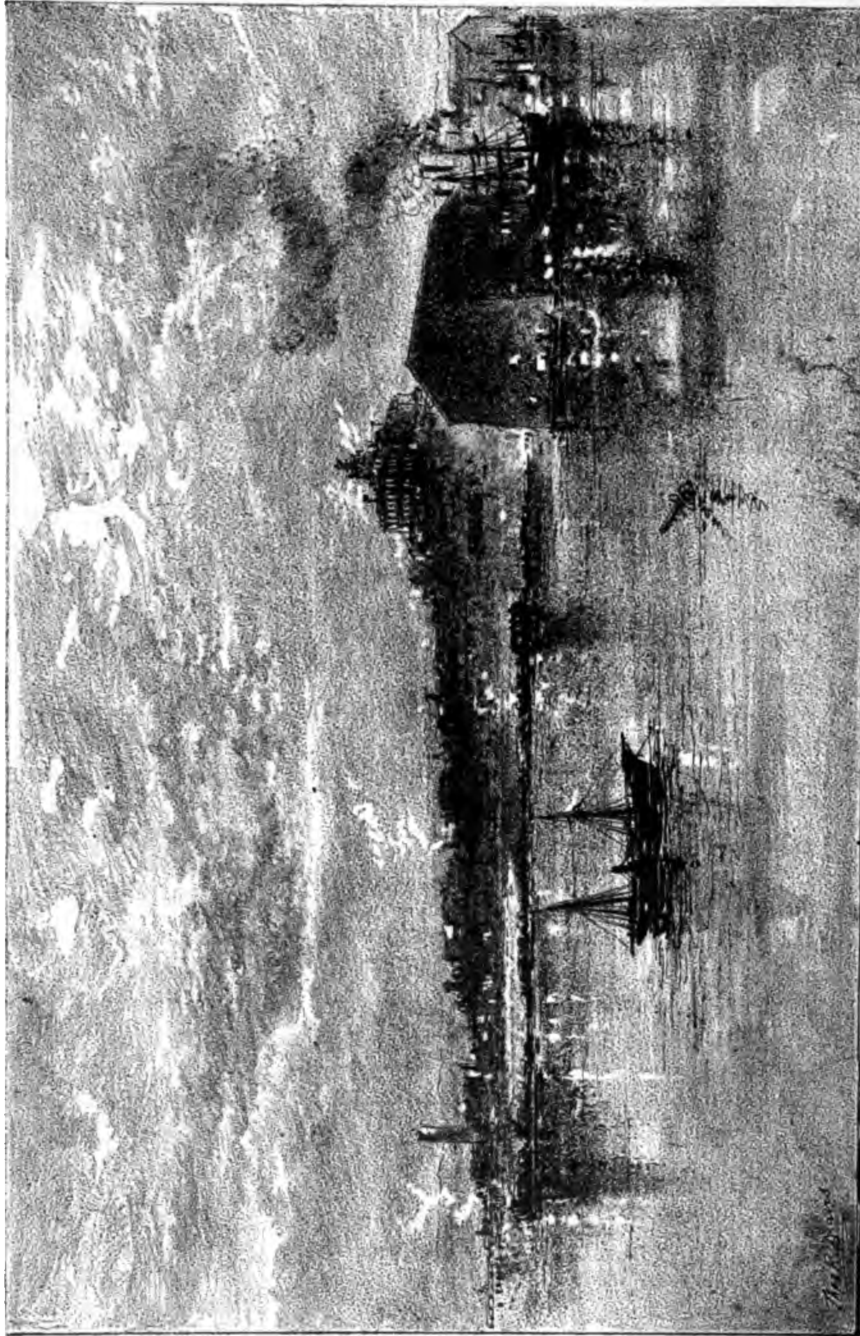
More than a fortnight before the day for his inauguration, Mr. Lincoln wisely left Springfield, Illinois, his home, for the Federal seat of government. On the way thither he was received with much enthusiasm or favor and made from twenty to thirty short, pithy speeches, for which he became subsequently so famous, *but nowhere* is to be found enunciated in them, in the direct manner characteristic of his habitual utterances, the doctrine of coercion! However, the day before his arrival at Washington, or on the 21st of February, Texas seceded from the Union with her 274,376 square miles of territory.

It was in the early morning of the 23d of February that the President elect reached Washington.*

There he at once entered into consultation not only with the chief men of the Republican party but with General Scott, and being on the ground it is fair to assume that if the Ward expedition had been in readiness to set out for the relief of Fort Sumter, before the 4th of March, and yet did not do so, it must have been with his knowledge and probably approval. Be this as it may, for the fortnight preceding the inauguration, that near event and all the vast political changes which marched directly in the rear of it, absorbed the attention of everybody at Washington rather than what was going on either in Charleston harbor or at Montgomery.

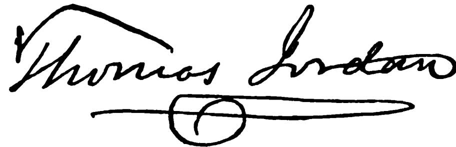
In the ceremonies of the inauguration, which I witnessed from a balcony surmounting the portico of Brown's Hotel, there was a much larger military element than had ever before taken part on such occasions. There was a large military guard of honor, carefully selected from the troops of the regular army and the marines. And the carriage bearing both the outgoing and incoming Presidents was so closely and densely environed by cavalry

* It is a characteristic feature of the anomalous situation of affairs in Charleston harbor that the Confederates having fired a salute of 13 guns in honor of General Washington at sunrise on the 22d of February, 1861, Major Anderson fired a precisely similar salute from the guns of Fort Sumter at midday.



THE CAPITOL AND CITY OF WASHINGTON IN 1861; NIGHT VIEW FROM THE OLD NAVY YARD (*See Explanatory Note page 137*).

and marshals that it could hardly be seen from the street. Troops, regulars and volunteers, not only marched in the procession but detachments were posted at frequent intervals along Pennsylvania Avenue, from the White House to the Capitol; and I remember to have seen several batteries of field artillery ready for action in the vicinity of the Treasury building before the procession was formed. As the Presidential carriage passed the position I occupied, I could distinctly see Mr. Buchanan, who sat upright very grave and silent as if deeply absorbed by somber thoughts, but I was unable, from his somewhat lounging posture, to see the face of Mr. Lincoln, though I stood above the level of his head and of the mounted men who surrounded him. The Avenue was thronged with people, yet very little enthusiasm was evoked, while from the procession was absent, be it noted, any representatives from 616,000 square miles of the territory of the United States whose numerous people had just severed political relations with the Government about to be installed. Taking the constitutional oath of office and delivering the address that had come to be usual on such occasions, Mr. Lincoln spoke gravely, eloquently, under the influence evidently of strong emotion, and animated by lofty aims, neverthless there is nothing in the language of that address to show that Mr. Lincoln any more than the other ablest statesman of his party, comprehended that the country of which he stood that day the Chief Magistrate, was like unto "a drift log on the Ocean of Accident."



NOTE.—In the picture upon the preceding page Mr. Davis gives us an entirely new and authentic view of the Capitol and City of Washington, taken from the old Navy Yard at night in 1861, and never before published. On the extreme left may be seen the long bridge that joins Maryland Avenue near the unfinished Washington monument—dimly recognized through the mist; immediately to the right of it is the Smithsonian, while back and to the right, a principal group of buildings comprise the Treasury, War, Navy, and Executive Mansion; still to the right are the Post Office and Patent Office. The prominent building discerned between this group and the Capitol, is the Old Coast Survey. The East and South front of the Capitol is presented to the eye, and we believe, for the first time given prominence pictorially. The Navy Yard is in the near view with its ship-houses and workshops, and with the *Pensacola*, on which work was being pushed by night and day shifts of men. Different New York Militia Regiments were quartered at this old Navy Yard during the early period of the war, which was located on the eastern branch of the Potomac. At the end of the point of land jutting to the left from the Navy Yard is the Washington Arsenal, to the right of which is the Penitentiary, which visitors will remember as being at the foot of 4½ Street. Here Booth and his four co-conspirators met their fate. Between the Penitentiary and the Navy Yard is the Old Tobacco Warehouse. Far in the distance may be seen vaguely the heights of Georgetown; and in the foreground the steamship *Harriet Lane*.—EDITOR.

CINCINNATI WITH THE WAR FEVER, 1861

Geographically, Cincinnati is a northern city. Prior to 1861 nearly every element in its composition classed it as a southern rather than a northern city. Various causes led to this. Large numbers of the earlier settlers were from the South. Many of the leading families came from Virginia and Kentucky, and their descendants growing up, were united by ties of blood with the residents of these and other southern states. Then very many of the business men of Cincinnati, prior to 1861, resided with their families across the Ohio River in the neighboring cities of Kentucky—Covington and Newport, which were in fact simply large suburbs of Cincinnati. The great bulk of the trade of the city was with the South. Southern produce was extensively dealt in by many of the merchants to the exclusion of everything else, and Cincinnati manufacturers depended for their main market upon southern patronage. The numerous products of the hog, for which this city was famed, were shipped to all southern states, both by rail and river, and thus not only by ties of blood but by intimate business relations Cincinnati was united to the South prior to 1861.

Among the leading men of the city could be found many apologists for the South and for her "peculiar institution," and many there were who defended the right of the South to visit with violence any attempt on the part of northern men to interfere with slavery in any of its phases. As early as 1836, one of the most violent mob outbreaks occurred against the negroes in the western part of Cincinnati, whereby several colored families were burned out of house and home. The same year James G. Birney's office of the *Philanthropist*, an anti-slavery newspaper and printing establishment, was broken into by the mob, and its contents, presses, type and office furniture destroyed, the larger articles thrown into the river and never recovered. Mr. Birney was driven from the city to Buffalo, New York. Trouble between the different classes of citizens occurred at periodical intervals from time to time up to 1861, resulting in several attacks on the negro residents of the city. This was owing in part to the large foreign population of Cincinnati, and to the floating element from Kentucky surging over the border, bent on mischief. Public sentiment of the city was against any agitation calling in question any rights of the slaveholders and loudly against any restrictions of the same under the laws. Compromise was the order of the day, and any reasonable settlement of

the slave question satisfactory to the South would have met with hearty accord in Cincinnati, so that nothing was done to injure the trade of the city through its merchants with the South. The Democratic party was largely in the majority at the polls, and as late as 1861 this party elected a violent ultra party-man as mayor of the city; and when, in the month of March, 1862, Wendell Phillips was mobbed at Pike's Opera House, the finest hall in Cincinnati, driven from the stage and waited for in the streets to be "strung up" by a howling anti-abolition mob, this same mayor refused to permit the police to appear and aid in suppressing the riot.

On the other hand, Hon. W. L. Yancey, of Alabama, in October, 1860, delivered in this same Opera House, in the presence of over three thousand people, a bitter tirade against the Government, the northern people and abolitionists generally, presenting, in a speech of over two hours, the slave-holder's position in the most audacious and arrogant demands, with open threats as the result of non-compliance with the requirements of the South, and avowed sentiments of disloyalty. Not a voice was raised in the entire audience against any one of Mr. Yancey's threats or theories.

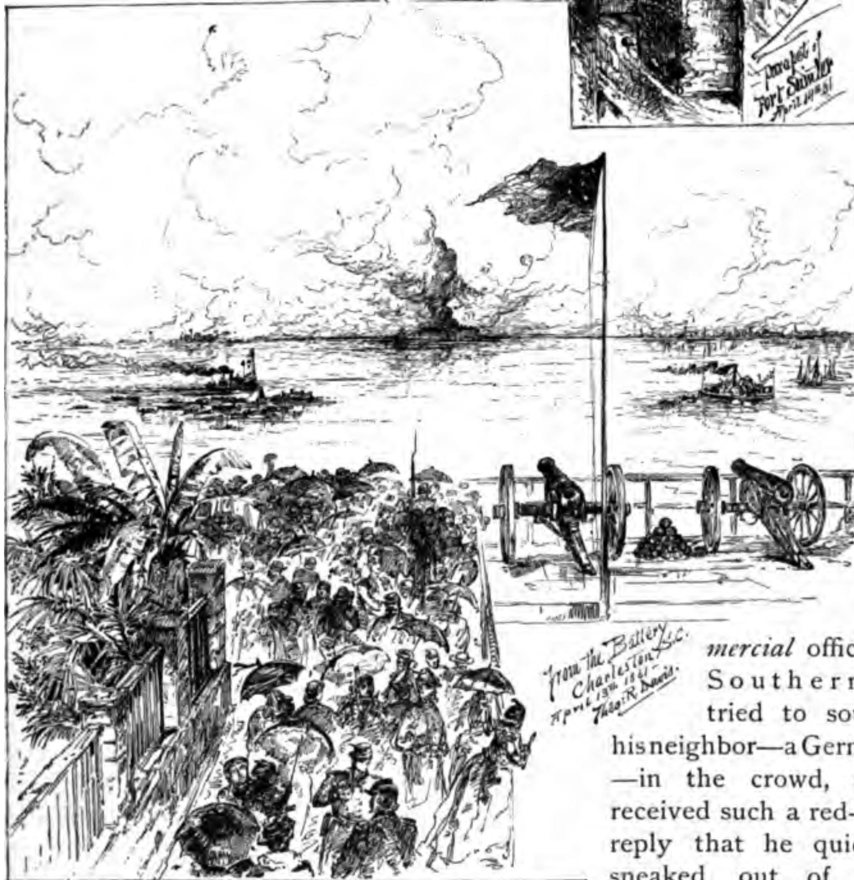
This feeling among the better classes, especially the merchants and manufacturers, was not one of fear of any open outbreak resulting in personal harm to them, or of any injury to the city, but arose from the desire to protect the business interests that would suffer from the results of carrying out the warlike threats of the Southerners. Even the close proximity of the city to Kentucky caused no fear that any disaster would overtake it, by reason of overt acts of treason on the part of the "Fire-eaters" of the South. Southern bluster was nothing new to them. Many conventions had been held in years gone past in which the representative men of the South were accorded an attentive hearing. It is true that on these occasions there was frequently a very considerable amount of "gush," both from residents of the city and from the visiting guests. This was especially the case in gatherings of delegations from the states of Kentucky and Tennessee, invited to the city, that the pet project of Cincinnati might be successfully presented, viz.: The building of the railroad through these states which was to increase the facilities for trade to a still greater degree with the South, and which was to be the potent factor in the development of the resources of the South, thereby resulting in good to both. But the feeling of dread of personal harm, or of the destruction of the city, owing to its exposed situation, did not enter into the minds of the residents of the place. The desire was simply to protect the "pocket nerve."

The cannon that opened upon Sumter on April 12, 1861, swept all thoughts of trade and money-getting as completely from the minds of the

citizens of Cincinnati as in any northern city of the Union. No city of the North was more decided and pronounced, upon the receipt of the first news of the attack upon the flag, that the insult should be avenged, than Cincinnati. Rumors had for days been floating in the air that an attack on the forces under Major Anderson, hemmed in on the island fort, floating the old flag, was threatened. "The wish was father to the thought," that this would end in words, and every dispatch received that encouraged this wish was hailed with cheers, when read by the assembled crowds around the bulletin boards. The following incidents indicate the temper of the people at that time in Cincinnati. On April 5, only one week before the attack, three pieces of cannon, with accoutrements complete, manufactured at Baltimore, passed through the city, without question, *en route* for Jackson, Mississippi, marked for the "Southern Confederacy." Incredible as it may now appear, only the day before that 4th of April a negro slave was remanded into the custody of his master by a United States Commissioner in this city, to be taken back to Virginia as a chattel of the Old Dominion.

The first authentic dispatch reached Cincinnati Friday evening the 12th, and was posted on the bulletin boards a little before nine o'clock. The crowds around the newspaper and telegraph offices at once took the news and spread it to the outlying portions of the city, so that by midnight the attack on Sumter was known throughout the town. Immense concourses of excited people surged around these offices until after midnight, waiting for additional news. With the early dawn of the 13th, the streets began to fill, and around these centers of news the masses grew so dense that it was impossible to pass. The sidewalks were blocked and the streets taken up by the waiting multitudes. It was as of old, "The people waited for the moving of the waters," and now the cry went up for a leader to direct and control the impulse of the hour. Not a voice in the vast throng of the populace was heard but that the South should pay dearly for the insult to the flag, and that South Carolina should the most of all; that the duty of every man of the North was to his country to this end, and every dollar needed to accomplish this object should be expended. Business was almost suspended—the young men being up town after the news and consulting with friends in reference to hurrying "off for the war." *There was no talk of trade and no question of compromise.* Every one was eager to aid in wiping out the insult to the flag, which was felt to be a personal disgrace to all. The thought that pulsated through the masses was, what did the Administration contemplate doing, what would the leaders say, and how would President Lincoln act? But little

of the peaceful business of trade was transacted that day. All through the hours men were showing their colors, and the stores and warehouses before night were gay with beauty, decked with the Stars and Stripes, in which very many of the private dwellings throughout the city shared. At the *Commercial* office a Southerner tried to sound his neighbor—a German—in the crowd, and received such a red-hot reply that he quietly sneaked out of the



This picture was sketched from the balcony where Governor Pickens and his friends watched the progress of the bombardment of Fort Sumter.

throng, without saying more. At the *Gazette* office a man had his sentence in favor of the South cut short before it reached the middle by an egg striking him fairly in the open mouth, and amid the jeers of the crowd he disappeared. In this manner the only two known open expressions in favor of the South were met the first day of the excitement, and Southern sentiment received no encouragement. Afterwards but little of the sort was heard upon the streets of the city for months, and then with personal risk to the speaker.

There being no daily paper on Sunday the 14th, the general public only knew of the call for 75,000 men by the President to put down the rebellion by the bulletins at the newspaper and telegraph offices. The war fever was at its height in Cincinnati on that noisy Sunday evening. During the day the churches were nearly deserted, and evening services were held to empty benches. Good order prevailed among the immense throngs upon the streets, and mutual pledges were made by friends to go to the aid of the country and "see the thing through." Very many of the younger men had cast their first vote for President the November before. To them the attack of war fever took this form. They considered that as they had voted for the Lincoln and Hamlin electors, which resulted in the election of Mr. Lincoln, the "*casus belli*" of the South and the pretext for breaking up the Union, that it was clearly their duty to themselves and to their country to back up their votes by their own personal efforts to suppress the attempt to destroy the Government; an attempt inaugurated by the South, because the North had elected Mr. Lincoln. Their services might be very feeble and of but little value in the great mass, but such as they were, they were fully and completely at the call of the nation.

There was no quiet on the streets of Cincinnati morning or afternoon; surging masses swept to and fro and crowded down upon the centers of news, eagerly waiting for the receipt of further intelligence from the seat of war. Major Anderson was personally known to many of the leading citizens and their families. The brother of Major Anderson was a very prominent and most highly esteemed citizen, with an extensive family connection. There was no distrust of the Major in the minds of those who knew him. Born and raised in Kentucky, his early manhood had been spent at West Point, in gaining for his country that education and training which rendered his service of such value to that country in her hour of need; and no fear was felt but that Robert Anderson was all that a true and loyal son to his native land might be. The feeling in the minds of the people was that Anderson should have been re-enforced with men, provisions, and materials of war, that would have enabled him to have

successfully resisted the attack. Then there would have been no lowering of the flag, no surrendering of the fort to the traitors.

As the dispatch was received announcing the fact that the fort was untenable, and that the walls were honey-combed as the result of the rebel cannonading, the intense strain of the excitement was temporarily relieved by a small boy shouting at one of the offices, "Bully for the honey-comb;" and as the ludicrous side of the extensive bombardment appeared in the dispatch, "that not a man was killed," after all the firing and destruction of the fort, a quiet feeling of relief settled down upon the people, that things were not as bad as they might be.

The week that opened with Monday the 15th was one of intense activity all over the State of Ohio. The legislature of the state early in the week appropriated $1,000,000 to arm and equip and render ready for the field the 10,000 soldiers her governor telegraphed the administration were subject to orders. This was known as the "War Bill," and received the hearty indorsement of all the Republican members of the legislature, including General Garfield and Mr. Cox, and which passed with only one dissenting vote by a Democrat, who later changed, making the vote adopting the measure unanimous. The city of Cincinnati by its Council voted an appropriation of $200,000, to aid in properly equipping the troops. These sums appear at this time comparatively insignificant, yet they were fully up to the view of the situation in Washington, as shown by Mr. Lincoln's call for 75,000 troops and Mr. Seward's prediction that the "war would be over within ninety days."

A very large and enthusiastic meeting of the citizens was held early in the week in the city, participated in by leading Democrats both as officers of the meeting and as speakers. Every voice rang clear in the support of the Government. Later in the week a conference was held with some representative business men of Louisville and other points in Kentucky, during which they protested against the refusal of the Cincinnati merchants to trade south of the Ohio, except with pronounced Union men. At this conference a letter from Governor Dennison of Ohio was read, suggesting that conciliatory measures be taken and that business relations continue with Southern merchants until overt acts of the states showed they had joined in the rebellion. The leading speakers at this meeting said "No." They insisted that Kentucky should declare and show her colors. If for the Union, then all was well. If not, then proper measures should be taken for self-protection. The sense of the meeting was clearly and unequivocally expressed in the following resolution, which was adopted "amid a whirlwind of applause":

"*Resolved*, That any men or set of men in Cincinnati or elsewhere, who knowingly sell or ship one ounce of flour or pound of provisions or any arms or articles which are contraband of war, to any person or any state which has not declared its firm determination to sustain the Government in the present crisis, is a traitor and deserves the doom of a traitor."

No large Northern city was so exposed—and none so inviting—to an attack as Cincinnati. The wealth in the banks and in the hands of public and private corporations, as well as that in the possession of individuals; the immense amount of provisions of all kinds and of materials available for war supplies for the Southern armies, invited the attack. The exposed situation of the city, with only the Ohio River separating it from Kentucky soil and the heights adjacent to Covington and Newport, upon which batteries skillfully handled would completely command the city, rendered the situation of Cincinnati early in 1861 peculiarly interesting. Of course, if Kentucky should firmly declare for the Union and refuse to go with the South, then Cincinnati could be defended from the Kentucky hills, in fact the only point from which any defense could be successfully made. With Kentucky hostile and menacing, it was a very different matter. The course of events during the spring and summer of 1861 developed that curious mixture of Union and disunion elements known as Kentucky's "Armed neutrality." While it lasted Cincinnati was comparatively secure. If the South, in the hope of ultimately securing Kentucky, should humor its whim, recognizing its position as a sovereign state and refuse to march Southern troops over her border, then the entire state served as a bulwark of defense to Cincinnati.

The student of history is commencing to see that the mysterious doctrine of "armed neutrality" between Kentucky and her sister states, adopted and adhered to by her in 1861, was of the utmost importance not only to the Union and to Kentucky, as a loyal state, but also to Ohio and all loyal states north of the Ohio River. While the Southern leaders and the Kentucky disunionists were deluding themselves with the barren idea of neutrality, the Union men of Kentucky, acting in conjunction with General Nelson, aided by the loyal men of the North and the administration at Washington, perfected their plans, so that when Buckner crossed the Tennessee line and occupied Bowling Green the voice of the old Commonwealth declared for the Union, and called upon General Anderson to assume command of military affairs. When the Stars and Stripes were again unfurled from the State-House at Frankfort, the Union men of Kentucky knew that, so far as their state was concerned, the battle was won.

Cincinnati was reminded many times later during the war, however, that it was "on the border" by John Morgan's raids and Kirby Smith's threatening movement in force. Kirby Smith's favorite remark was that he could very easily have taken his army into Cincinnati, but "that all —— could not have gotten them out again," so that the city suffered on this occasion nothing worse than an attack in force by the "Squirrel Hunters" to the rescue. After the exchange of mutual courtesies between the citizens of the place and their visiting friends, a hearty farewell was had as Kirby Smith's forces—

> "Folded their tents like the Arabs,
> And silently stole away."

When the storm of war broke upon the country there was in this city a quiet gentlemanly individual pursuing the even tenor of his way by attending to his own business. At that time he was comparatively unknown. Within a year from that time his name was a household word in every home of the land and in many across the broad Atlantic. He had been educated by the country at West Point, and had received flattering testimonials of the esteem in which he was held by those high in authority in the nation. Preferring other pursuits, he had resigned his commission of Captain and engaged in railroading in Illinois. From there he came to Cincinnati, and at the breaking out of the rebellion was superintendent of the Ohio and Mississippi Railway. When the war cloud was yet a great way off, he had been elected major of the Guthrie Gray battalion—three companies of state militia composed of the society young men of the city—the crack military organization of that day. This he declined. After the call for 75,000 troops was announced, the Guthrie Grays completed a full regimental organization and elected this young ex-captain to the colonelcy. A deputation of the officers waited on him to tender him the position, which was very gracefully done, with many flowery compliments. The ex-captain quietly remarked that he would have been proud to have taken the regiment to the field, and would have done so, but for one thing. He had just received a commission from the Governor of Ohio as major-general in the state service, and that he felt it his duty to accept.

George B. McClellan was the name of the officer. He acted with the governor in arranging for the enlistment and care of the troops, under the three months' call, giving him the benefit of his judgment and advice, and aiding in every way in the pressing work of the hour, until he left the state, in the month of May, for West Virginia under his United States commission as Major-General in the Regular Army.

During the first week after the fall of Sumter active work was done in

all directions in the city and throughout the state, in recruiting and drilling companies, and in perfecting regimental organization. On Thursday, the heart-strings of mother, relatives and dear friends received the first strain of the war. When the three companies of Rover Zouaves and La Fayette Guards left the city under order, to report at Columbus to take their place in a regiment *en route* to the defense of Washington, these companies were escorted by the Guthrie Grays and the Continentals to the depot, and there, amid the tears and farewells of friends, the soldier boys started, all aglow with martial ardor, for the fields of glory. During the week four regiments were started in the city and recruiting was so active that it became a question who was *not* to go. The Germans turned out with a magnificent soldierly body of men over 1,000 strong, and the regiment known as the famous 9th Ohio, under Colonel R. L. McCook, came into existence. The Irish element of the city was not far behind them, and the well-known regiment, the 10th Ohio, that did splendid work under Colonel W. H. Lytle, was ready for camp. The 5th Ohio, under Colonel J. H. Patrick, with many of the most promising young men of the city as members, formed during the week, and the ranks of the Guthrie Grays—the 6th Ohio—were well filled, over 1,000 strong, with the most prominent young men in all branches of society and business in the city, under Colonel W. K. Bosley. The latter part of the week orders were received by General Lytle to establish a camp of instruction for these regiments, which was done at the Cincinnati Trotting Park, some six miles north of the city and named Camp Harrison. To this camp these regiments marched, with the music of bands and the waving of flags, and amid the applauding cheers of the vast crowds lining the streets, bidding them God speed.

From this camp came to their friends in the city rumors of great privations and hardships among the soldier boys. If the night proved a little cold the boys were "freezing." If the weather was stormy and friends with baskets of all sorts of knick-knacks were not able to come to the camp, then the boys were "starving." As the weather cleared the camp grounds were filled with anxious friends bearing bundles of extra clothing and blankets, with sundry and divers boxes and baskets of delicacies and home cooking, that the boys might not think they were altogether forgotten. In the mess I was in, after a storm of nearly two days' duration, during which we partook of and enjoyed the hearty, wholesome fare furnished by the Government, we were so overwhelmed with supplies of all kinds—roast turkeys, chickens, hams, cakes, pies, rolls, jellies, preserves, canned fruits, etc., etc., that for over a week not a single ration was drawn from the commissary.

And thus at Cincinnati all hearts were "enlisted for the war," each vieing with each to perform some service for the cause of Freedom and the Union, and many a quiet heart that remained at home suffered far more for the cause than the loved one who so proudly rode or marched away, to do battle for the old flag. But all were benefited by the War Fever of 1861. The nation to the American people of 1885 is a very different thing and regarded with a very different view from that in which it was held in 1861. The life-blood of the idol of many a northern home has rendered unspeakably dear to those remaining the cause for which he died, and which has given a new meaning to this Union of American States.

CINCINNATI, *July* 9, 1885.

THE CHARLESTON CONVENTION

It was my fortune to mingle with the actors upon the stage of affairs, transacted in evident premonition of the Rebellion. The Charleston Convention assembled in the month of May, 1860, for the purpose of nominating a Democratic presidential ticket. The vicissitudes of Southern politics had, in later years, been developing into formidable antagonism two well-defined classes of Southern politicians. The distinctions and rewards within the gift of the Federal government had uniformly been at the command, and were parceled among the traditionary leaders of Southern politics. Their consequent attraction to the Federal center qualified, if it did not withdraw, their attention from local interests, and the husbandry of local popularity. In the meantime another growth of aspirants had appeared and began to assert with vehemence their title to public consideration. The rivalry thus started was at no loss for nutriment. Continual appeals to selfish interests and local pride, fast acquired for the more modern men the usual fruits of subserviency to popular passions. A considerable party soon found itself sufficiently strong to oppose the peaceful conservatism of the party in power; and success was pursued through pertinacious appeals in behalf of Southern rights, artfully ingrafted upon the central idea of Southern aggrandizement. The flame caught; conventions thundered, and state legislatures resolved; the process of "firing the Southern heart" soon elevated the incendiaries of the edifice to the confidence and power previously reposed in its builders. The Federal politicians of the South were at the mercy of the state politicians. The "Fire-eaters" had prevailed over the conservatives—the Secessionists over the Union men. The struggle began prior to Mr. Buchanan's administration. Honorable resistance was made during much of that period by Southern gentlemen in Washington, to the demands for revolution transmitted from the South. The reputation of many of her greatest men had been acquired in the service of the Union, and was intimately entwined with its enduring columns; they, therefore, naturally shrunk from the menace which threatened them, as from a common danger. While they asserted the grievances, the redress of which was the pretext of assault, they hoped to redress them during their continued possession of the government, by its subjection to their immediate purposes.

Events at Charleston soon disclosed the attitude of the opposing

schools of Southern politicians. The one intent upon the enjoyment of slavery, sought their object at the expense of the Union; and the other, though actuated by the same insane idea, proposed to attain it through the government, and not by its destruction. The Northern democracy were confident in their ability to retain the succession of the government, should the convention unite in the nomination of a candidate. That portion of the Southern democracy, therefore, which adhered to the fortunes of the Union, affiliated, to this extent at least, with their northern brethren. When, however, the interest of slavery became involved with the question of a candidate, the Union Democrats of the South, under the strong impulse of protection to slavery, were found to diverge widely from the Democrats of the North, who were mainly desirous of the success of their party. Upon this division followed a brood of dissensions which filled the convention and cheered the Southern ultras with hopes of such a disagreement as would frustrate every effort to co-operate; and their expectations were not disappointed.

In the meantime great exertions were made by various gentlemen from both the North and the South to unite their strength upon some one candidate, and I have reason to think such efforts were sincere on the part of those politicians who, in this conference, represented the South.

It must not be forgotten, that while the South participated in the convention, under the two-third rule, which controlled its ballotings, no candidate could be nominated against their united votes. The effort to prolong its participation could be prompted only by the wish of effecting an ultimate nomination; while the withdrawal of any considerable number of Southern delegations could, as the signal of defeat to the South in the convention and at the polls, be attributed only to a determination to destroy the unity of the Democratic party. Now, it was confidently supposed that the nominee of the Charleston Convention could be successfully elected by an undivided party vote; and the event justified the supposition. In the unity of the convention, therefore, it was understood, consisted Democratic success; while disaster, it was believed, would ensue upon its rupture. But the Southern destructives had once before been thwarted in their nefarious purposes, when the election of Mr. Buchanan unexpectedly seized from them the excuse of a sectional President, for premeditated revolt. The possibility of impediment was now to be peremptorily excluded. No chance was to be permitted against the election of a sectional President. The bond was to be taken of fate, and the secession from the Charleston Convention, which rendered secure Abraham Lincoln's election *against all the Southern votes* in the electoral college, was a foregone conclusion of the

ultras of the South, and upon which rested their revolutionary hopes. While the general complexion of events at Charleston denoted that this inexorable purpose distinguished the Southern secessionists from the Southern Union men, an anecdote of the times will the more effectively demonstrate that the Union men steadfastly opposed any division of the convention, and confidently labored for a nomination in which, as has been shown, consisted both the success of the Democratic party and the perpetuity of the Union. At the head-quarters of the Southern Union men, late one night, I was with a number of gentlemen who discussed with solicitude the rumors of the purposed secession of various state delegations. The convention was carefully canvassed, and the satisfactory conclusion was unanimously approved, that while the South adhered, no nomination could be made without her co-operation. Among those present were Hon. John Slidell, and Hon. James A. Bayard, the father of our present Secretary of State. Presently Hon. William L. Yancey and Hon. Knox Walker were announced. Upon request of Mr. Slidell the two last named retired with him into an adjoining room. After a prolonged absence, Mr. Slidell returned and said, "Our calculations were so convincing to Messrs. Yancey and Walker, of the control of the nomination by the South, that they left with the assurance that Alabama would not withdraw from the Convention." This gratifying information relieved the prevailing anxiety, and the party separated in the belief that an imminent danger was averted. Yet, the business which first engaged the attention of the convention the next day was the withdrawal of Alabama from its deliberations, upon the announcement of Hon. Knox Walker!

Two conclusions are allowable from this statement. The one affirms the earnestness with which the Union men of the South labored against a fracture of the Convention, and the other confirms the supposition that the Rebellion received its first impulse from the "Fire-eaters," with whom the explosion of the Charleston Convention had been fully predetermined, as indispensable to successful revolt. The great Southern Rebellion was the portentous offspring of but a portion of the political leaders of the South.

The Convention adjourned to Baltimore without having made a nomination. The seceding delegations having, in the first instance, adjourned to Richmond, eventually reassembled at Baltimore, on the same day to which the Convention was adjourned from Charleston. I was then in Washington, attending Congress as a member from New York; and I recollect on the evening prior to the assembling of the Convention to have had a casual conversation with Hon. Robert Toombs of Georgia, and

Hon. John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky, of relative significance to current events. I called at Mr. Toombs' house, where he happened to be entertaining a company of friends at dinner. At the announcement of my visit, he, with Vice-President Breckinridge, left the table, and accosting me in the hall, both immediately directed their inquiries to the next day's Conventions, expressing the utmost solicitude in relation to the dissensions and the earnest hope that the two Conventions might be reunited, and effectuate nominations which could receive the common support of the Democratic party. They said that Hon. John Slidell would be in Baltimore, with full authority from the South, and to him they referred me. I was impressed with the fervor and cordiality of these gentlemen, and left the next day for Baltimore, trusting that patriotic counsels would prevail against the destructive artifices of the Secessionists.

While at the Eutaw House, in Baltimore, a few hours before the appointed time for the assembling of the Convention, I received information that Mr. Slidell, who had arrived in Baltimore that morning, upon review of the situation of affairs, despaired of any mutual accommodation, and was on the point of returning to Washington. He was with difficulty prevailed to postpone his departure until the evening. In the meantime, and at the first recess of the Convention, Mr. Dean Richmond and myself, of the New York delegation, called upon him at the house of Mr. Bruin. At this interview, it was distinctly proposed by Mr. Slidell, assuming, and unquestionably empowered with authority, that if the New York delegation would cast their votes for Horatio Seymour, as candidate for the Presidency, the seceded states, together with the whole South, would return into the Convention, and make him the candidate of the party. Mr. Richmond acceded to the proposition, but referred his power to execute it to the single condition of his ability to prevail upon his friends in the delegation to accept it. He and I returned forthwith to the Eutaw House, the head-quarters of the New York delegation, where he, having had an interview with his friends in the delegation, returned to me with the report that their rejection of the proposition rendered it impossible. Negotiations ceased. Further concessions seemed to be useless. The remaining Southern delegations withdrew from the Convention, when Hon. Caleb Cushing abdicated the presidential chair. A Northern and a Southern Democratic Convention having, thereupon, each nominated a Presidential ticket, and adjourned, the election of Abraham Lincoln, the nominee oi the Chicago Convention, to the Presidency of the United States, without the affirmative record of a single Southern electoral vote, was secured.

The Thirty-fifth Congress was the one most eventful since the adoption of the present Constitution. The Republican party controlled it; but by a meager majority. The effervescence of the Southern conspiracy, which was perceptible to the experienced observer in its earliest stages, burst through all constitutional restraints at its second session, and culminated in treason. State followed state in the march of secession from the Union. The valedictories of seceding delegations glistened with the mock heroism of the hour. The Houses were oppressed by the magnitude, and arrested by the novelty of the crisis; and the whole sense of the country was stunned by the audacity which boldly essayed to sever the ligatures of the government. The fourth of March came. The Congress, which two years before had represented all the states, beheld the vacated places of eleven of them, when it expired. James Buchanan retired into private life, and Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated to the supreme direction of a government, agitated with turbulence, assailed by sedition, and dissolving with internal disorders.

Of all the Southern states Virginia alone remained. Her Convention was in session at Richmond, and Union men hoped that her temperate wisdom would allay the heats of secession, and ultimately restore the integrity of the Union. Very much of national destiny depended upon the action of Virginia; and, with the approbation of President Lincoln and his Cabinet, I went to Richmond soon after the expiration of Congress. On the day of my arrival I was involved by Governor Henry A. Wise in an earnest discussion of the absorbing theme of the times, as I casually stood in the hall of the Richmond House. The concourse of listeners sympathized with the disunion sentiments of the governor, and it was obvious that powerful influences were at command to drag Virginia from the Union of states. A loyal majority, however, it was supposed still controlled her convention. It so happened that Colonel Lay, a Virginian, having resigned his commission in the United States Army with reference to the anticipated secession of Virginia, was to be serenaded by his friends that same afternoon. I was told by the Union members of the convention that their adversaries claimed that the popular voice was largely for secession, and, as the serenade to Colonel Lay would furnish an opportunity for disproving it, I was the only person who could serve the occasion. Having ineffectually represented my aversion to making a speech at such a time in opposition to the sentiment which had inspired the serenade in Colonel Lay's honor, I so far yielded to their importunities as to consent to address the audience should a very general call for me be made after Colonel Lay retired. I was accordingly called for and spoke. An anonymous dis-

patch to a northern paper arbitrarily characterized this as a disunion speech. But, on the contrary, I had hardly retired when I was accosted by several of the Union members of the convention, with whom I was personally acquainted, with thanks and congratulations on the service I had rendered them, and with assurances that the reception of my remarks had demonstrated that the populace of Richmond was for the Union.

I had intended to remain in Richmond several days; but at a consultation that evening of the Union members of the convention, and where were present Hon. George Summers, Hon. Mr. Willie, Hon. Mr. Baldwin, Hon. Mr. Lewis, and others, it was judged to be highly important that I should return forthwith to Washington, with their representations to the President, Secretary Seward, and General Scott, that if the Government would refrain from reinforcing the garrison at Fortress Monroe Virginia might be held in the Union.

The suggestion, however, was considered whether I had not better remain to reply to Hon. Roger A. Pryor, who, it was understood, intended in a few days to answer me in a public speech. But the majority decided that my immediate return to Washington with their message to the President was more important, and I left next morning, bearing a letter of credentials from Hon. George Summers to Secretary Seward. I communicated to President Lincoln, Secretary Seward, and General Scott, the message with which I was commissioned, and delivered to Secretary Seward the letter of Judge Summers.

Thus as early as the 8th day of March, 1861, was the Government in Washington placed, through my mediation, in confidential communication with the Union members of the Virginia Convention. I was unexpectedly recalled to New York. But, subsequently, Judge Summers being prevented from going to Washington, the Hon. Mr. Baldwin was delegated to go in his place, at the request of Secretary Seward—borne to him by a special messenger. On his arrival there occurred the conversation between him and President Lincoln, relative to the action of the Virginia Convention, which Mr. Baldwin has published, and through which my vindication was complete as regarded any complicity with the secessionists of Virginia.

On the 12th of April, 1861, a bullet's flight against Fort Sumter proclaimed the consummation of the work inaugurated at Charleston. Twelve states had withdrawn from the National Congress. The Rebellion was a fact. The loyal North sprang to arms; hostile armies were confronted on Virginia soil, and War—Civil War—raged.

John Cochrane

MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN A. DIX

Biography is always of interest. In connection with the actors in public affairs of moment it possesses a charm rarely if ever eclipsed by the most vivid creations of fiction. The knowledge of biography is more limited in America than in any other country in the world. And yet it is essential to a proper understanding of history—as necessary, indeed, as the engine to successful steam navigation. It is our misestimate of the motives, opportunities and influence of individuals, studiously fomented and strengthened by partisan newspaper writers, that confuses our general conclusions. The great men of our country are placed at a disadvantage through the noisy efforts of small men to bring them down to their level. In connection with our late gigantic Civil War the personal sketch will unfold much that is unknown, or at best dimly understood, and serve the double purpose of a light to illumine the page already written, and a lens for the more perfect view of important proceedings and events under consideration.

Among those who were found equipped at the outbreak of the Rebellion to do good service for the Union was the scholar, statesman, and soldier, John Adams Dix. He was in the full maturity of his remarkable career, a well-known and thoroughly respected public character. He was nearly sixty-three, of erect figure, quick, energetic movements and exceptionally dignified presence, with a clear blue eye, fair complexion, and regular, handsome features expressive of great firmness and decision. One cannot regard his fine speaking portrait even now without a touch of that confidence in his integrity and discretion which he in his life-time commanded among his contemporaries. He resided in New York City. On that never-to-be-forgotten Monday, April 15, when President Lincoln's call for 75,000 troops to recover and protect the property of the Government was thrilling the whole country with a new sensation, John A. Dix was one of the first to act. In a building in Pine Street a few of the principal men of New York were summoned together early in the afternoon and chose a committee of ten, with Charles H. Marshall chairman, to call a public meeting of the citizens. This committee met the same evening at the dwelling-house, in Fourteenth Street, of the great merchant, Robert H. McCurdy, one of the principal leaders in the movement, on which occasion a sub-committee was appointed, with John A. Dix chairman, to draft resolutions and provide speakers for the contemplated mass meeting; the call was published Tuesday, April 16, signed by seventy-three gentlemen, the name of John A. Dix being the first on the list.

A special sub-committee was also chosen to raise funds in aid of the volunteers of the city and their families, of which William E. Dodge was made chairman, and at its first meeting $21,000 were subscribed on the spot. Another committee of influential capitalists was associated to secure the immediate taking of the remaining nine millions of the Government loan. These committees were intensely industrious. They worked day and night. Meanwhile the distracting events of the week, as recorded in our July Magazine, were precipitating results. The Sixth Massachusetts Regiment passed through the city for the seat of war, on Thursday, April 18,* and the Seventh Regiment of New York departed on Friday, April 19.

The original intention to hold the mass meeting in Cooper Institute, at evening, was abandoned through the general opinion that its space would be inadequate for the accommodation of but a mere fraction of the host who would clamor for admittance. An open-air meeting was finally decided upon, and the time fixed for Saturday afternoon, April 20. At a meeting of the Executive Committee on Thursday, Robert H. McCurdy chairman, it was unanimously resolved to invite Hon. John Adams Dix to preside over the vast assemblage.

It is interesting, after the lapse of a quarter of a century, to pause a mo-

* Rev. Morgan Dix, D D., writes: "Never to my dying day shall I forget a scene witnessed on Thursday (April 18) of that week. A regiment had arrived from Massachusetts on the way to Washington *via* Baltimore. They came in at night; and it was understood that, after breakfasting at the Astor House, the march would be resumed. By nine o'clock in the morning an immense crowd had assembled about the hotel; Broadway from Barclay to Fulton Street and the lower end of Park Row, were occupied by a dense mass of human beings, all watching the front entrance, at which the regiment was to file out. From side to side, from wall to wall, extended that innumerable host, silent as the grave, expectant, something unspeakable in the faces. It was the dead, deep hush before the thunder-storm. At last a loud murmur was heard; it sounded somewhat like the gasp of men in suspense; and the cause was, that the soldiers had appeared, their leading files descending the steps. By the twinkle of their bayonets above the heads of the crowd their course could be traced out into the open street in front. Formed, at last, in column, they stood, the band at the head; and the word was given: "March!" Still dead silence prevailed. Then the drums rolled out the time—the regiment was in motion. And the band, bursting into full volume, struck up—what other tune could the Massachusetts men have chosen?—"Yankee Doodle." I caught about two bars and a half of the old music, not more. For instantly there arose a sound such as many a man never heard in all his life and never will hear; such as is never heard more than once in a life-time. Not more awful is the thunder of heaven as, with sudden peal, it smites into silence all lesser sounds, and, rolling through the vault above us, fills earth and sky with the shock of its terrible voice. One terrific roar burst from the multitude, leaving nothing audible save its own reverberation. We saw the heads of armed men, the gleam of their weapons, the regimental colors, all moving on, pageant-like; but naught could we hear save that hoarse, heavy surge—one general acclaim, one wild shout of joy and hope, one endless cheer, rolling up and down, from side to side, above, below, to right, to left; the voice of approval, of consent, of unity in act and will. No one who saw and heard could doubt how New York was going."—*Memoirs of John A. Dix.*

ment as the eye rests upon the names of the men who served on these various committees or as vice-presidents of the greatest meeting that was ever held on this continent, knowing as we do at this date the spirit that animated them "irrespective of former political opinions or organizations" —"Names," said the *New York Herald* of April 21, 1861, "as familiar as household words, every one of which is a pledge that they are ready to form a rampart of fire around the Union." Here was Moses H. Grinnell, of the famous firm, Grinnell, Minturn & Co., that probably built more ships prior to 1861 than any other house in the country, a man who was forty-eight years a member of the Chamber of Commerce, at one period its president, also collector of the port, a member of Congress, and a presidential elector. Here was Alexander T. Stewart, the merchant prince, whom everybody knew; and here were Moses Taylor, the capitalist, and Daniel Lord, the great lawyer. Here were Peter Cooper, the philanthropist, Luther Bradish, the accomplished scholar, and the able and influential Simeon Draper. Here we find Frederick A. Winston, late President of the Mutual Life Insurance Company, Hugh Maxwell, former collector of the port, and John J. Cisco, assistant treasurer of the United States; also George Opdyke, the prominent banker, James S. Wadsworth, who the following year was killed in battle in Virginia, leaving a brilliant name in our national annals, and Judge Edwards Pierrepont. Here were Richard M. Blatchford, Charles H. Russell, Royal Phelps, James Boorman, Abiel A. Low, Greene C. Bronson, Isaac Bell, Alonzo C. Richards, John Jacob Astor, jr., William Curtis Noyes, Seth B. Hunt, Le Grand B. Cannon, S. B. Chittenden, and Stewart Brown. Whole chapters may be read between these lines. Here was Jonathan Sturges, whose mercantile honor and business sagacity taught a lesson and a moral in more than one state in the Union; and Robert B. Minturn, distinguished for his public spirit and practical philanthropy. Here were Prosper M. Wetmore, ex-Governor John A. King, William H. Aspinwall, John A. Stevens, Judge James T. Brady, James Gallatin, James De Peyster, William H. Appleton, Amos R. Eno, James B. Varnum, Robert L. Stuart, William Cullen Bryant, Frederick A. Conkling, August Belmont, Morris Ketchum, John Cochrane, Peter Lorillard, John Bigelow, Joseph Seligman, Augustus Schell, William B. Astor, Robert Ray, A. S. Hewitt, I. N. Phelps, William Butler Duncan, Samuel B. Ruggles, Pelatiah Perit, Erastus Brooks, H. B. Claflin, and William F. Havemeyer. And here too were ex-Governor Hamilton Fish and William M. Evarts, both of whom afterward occupied successively the high post of premier of the nation. In one way or another these New York patriots had almost without exception a national reputation. And they represented an amount of wealth

which if expressed in actual dollars and cents would read like a stupendous fable.

Five stands were erected for the speakers, the first on the east side of Union Square, fronting the equestrian statue of Washington, which was in charge of Robert H. McCurdy. The second was in front of the Everett House, in charge of Samuel Sloan. The third was on the Broadway side of Union Square, near Seventeenth Street, in charge of James A. Harrington. The fourth was on the Broadway side also, near Fifteenth Street, in charge of Royal Phelps. The fifth was on the east side of the square, midway between the Washington statue and the Everett House. At the first stand Mr. McCurdy introduced Hon. John A. Dix, as presiding officer, to the audience, and Rev. Gardiner Spring, D.D., of the Brick Church, opened the exercises with prayer. Among the speakers were Hon. Daniel S. Dickinson, Judge Brady, Mayor Fernando Wood, William M. Evarts, S. B. Chittenden, Robert J. Walker, ex-secretary of the treasury, Senator Edward D. Baker, and ex-Governor Ward Hunt. At the second stand Hon. Hamilton Fish presided, and Rev. Dr. Francis Vinton, of Trinity Church, offered the opening prayer. The resolutions were read by William E. Dodge. Among the speakers were Henry J. Raymond, Richard O'Gorman, General Ira P. Davis, John Cochrane, Professor Mitchell, and William Ketchum. At the third stand Hon. William F. Havemeyer presided, and prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Preston. The resolutions were read by John C. Hamilton, the son of Alexander Hamilton. At the fourth stand Moses H. Grinnell presided, prayer was offered by Rev. Thomas E. Vermilye, D.D., and the resolutions were read by Judge Pierrepont. At the fifth stand ex-Alderman Benson presided. The speakers at the last-named stands were David Dudley Field, Theodore Tilton, William Curtis Noyes, Senator Spinola, David S. Coddington, Frederick Kapp, Oswald Ottendorfer, Abbott Perkins, General James Appleton, of Ipswich, Massachusetts, who commanded a regiment in the war of 1812, and a score of others. The presence of Major Robert Anderson and his staff, from Fort Sumter, who accompanied President Dix to the stand, produced a frenzy of enthusiasm. The gallant officer was escorted from stand to stand as the hours wore on, and at every point was greeted with shouts of applause.

It was estimated that upwards of one hundred thousand people were congregated in Union Square on that occasion—with one voice and one purpose. The newspapers said that half a million of human beings were in the streets. Such a spectacle as they presented in their red, white and blue adornments is beyond description; for nearly every man, woman and child

wore the national colors in some form. From every window, every awning, from the trees in and about the square, from every house-top, every passing stage, carriage, or street-car, from every dwelling, every hotel, every liberty-pole, and from the church spires floated the star-spangled banner. Old Trinity displayed the emblem of American nationality at an elevation of two hundred and forty feet. One writer said "Broadway was hidden in a cloud of flaggery." And the roll of drums, the booming of cannon, gorgeously dressed soldiers parading the streets in every direction, and music bursting upon the ear in unceasing strains, gave to the scene a character which the present generation can scarcely comprehend.

As far as practicable, considering the magnitude of the audience, all sounds were hushed when Rev. Dr. Spring invoked the divine blessing. Hats were removed and men stood in devout attitude, a long, long distance from the reach of his voice. The opening address of President Dix was one of burning eloquence. He said: "The time for action has come. Practical issues are upon us, to be dealt with under a just sense of the responsibilities they have brought with them. The Constitution of the United States has been spurned and repudiated. The authority of the government has been resisted by military force. The flag of the country has been insulted, in more than one instance torn down and trampled under foot. Let me say in a word that no respectable defense of the right of secession has ever fallen under my notice. No man contends that there is any warrant for it in the Constitution. There is but one way for a State to go out of the Union—the way in which all came in—by the concurrence of the common authority."

His recent connection with Mr. Buchanan's administration gave to his further words a force and significance of which he was hardly at the moment conscious, as he exclaimed: "I violate no confidence in the assertion that if South Carolina had tendered war to the late administration, as she has to this—I mean by a hostile and deadly assault—it would have been unanimously accepted."

Senator Baker, of Oregon, spoke with great fervor, and was cheered at almost every paragraph. He said: "Even while I speak, the object of your meeting is accomplished upon the wings of the lightning; it goes through the world that New York, the very heart of a great city, with her crowded thoroughfares, her merchants, her manufactures, her wealth—that New York by one hundred thousand of her people, declares to the country and to the world that she will sustain the Government to the last dollar in her treasury—to the last drop of her blood."

William M. Evarts said: "I regard this as a business meeting commencing the greatest transaction that this generation of men has seen. Gentlemen, you have something more to do than you have done hitherto—something more than merely to read the glorious history of the past; you have to write a history for the future that your children will either glory in or blush for."

Hon. Robert J. Walker said: "This greatest popular meeting ever assembled in the history of the world has a deep significance. The hundred thousand freemen whom I now address, have assembled here for a great and glorious purpose. It is a sublime spectacle, and the greatest epoch in the history of the world. The question is, Shall this Union be maintained and perpetuated, or shall it be broken and dissolved? [Cries of 'Never, never.'] No question so important has ever before arisen in the history of our race."

The exercises continued until nearly night-fall. It was indeed a demonstration such as was never before witnessed. Prior to the dispersion of the immense assemblage, a resolution was adopted for the appointment of a permanent committee of twenty-five to represent the citizens of New York in the collection of funds and the transaction of other important business in aid of the movements of the Government. These gentlemen met at the Chamber of Commerce on Monday morning, April 22, and organized under the name of the "Union Defence Committee," with John A. Dix, President, Simeon Draper, Vice-President, William M. Evarts, Secretary, and Theodore Dehon, Treasurer.* A letter written

* The members of the Union Defence Committee were:

John A. Dix,
Simeon Draper,
William M. Evarts,
Theodore Dehon,
Richard M. Blatchford,
Edwards Pierrepont,
John Jacob Astor, Jr.,
Charles H. Marshall,
William E. Dodge,
Hamilton Fish,
John J. Cisco,
James T. Brady,
Samuel Sloan,
Isaac Bell,
William F. Havemeyer,
Augustus C. Richards,
Prosper M. Wetmore.
Abiel A. Loew,
Robert H. McCurdy,
Alexander T. Stewart,
Royal Phelps,
Moses Taylor,
Greene C. Bronson,
Rudolph H. Witthaus,
Charles H Russell,

Ex-officio Members.

Fernando Wood, Mayor.
Robert T. Haws, Comptroller.
Henry W. Genet, President of Aldermen.
Morgan Jones, President of Councilmen.

The "*Minutes, Reports, and Correspondence of the Union Defence Committee of the City of New York,*" *with an Historical Introduction*, by John Austin Stevens, was a few days since issued from the press, in a handsome quarto volume.

to President Lincoln, on Sunday, the 21st, signed by William M. Evarts, Richard M. Blatchford, and Moses H. Grinnell, and dispatched by a private messenger, was read, and by vote approved and adopted as the act of the committee. It contained the following passage: "Whatever force of men or supply of means is needed to occupy and control the necessary points in the State of Maryland can be furnished from or through New York." The work subsequently accomplished by this committee was of the utmost consequence to the state and the Nation. Its proceedings were in the main confidential. Further than that its members were overwhelmed with varied and arduous duties the general public knew little. "The sequel shows," writes Mr. John Austin Stevens, "that the greater part of the financial aid came from their purses, and that they never wavered in support of the Government until its authority was restored."

But little more than two weeks had elapsed ere John A. Dix accepted the appointment contained in the following official order, dated:

"General Head-quarters, State of New York,
"Adjutant-General's Office,
"Albany, May 8, 1861.

"General Orders No 33.

Under the provisions of the act of April 16, 1861, and of General Order No. 13, issued pursuant thereto, John A. Dix, of New York, is hereby appointed a Major-General of the volunteer force called for from this State in compliance with the requisition of the President of the United States.

"General Dix is, until further orders, assigned to the command of the volunteer troops in and about the City of New York.

"By order of the Commander-in-Chief

"J. Meredith Read, Jr., Adjutant-General."

His military duties requiring his entire attention, he resigned his position as President of the Union Defence Committee, on the same day, and ex-Governor Hamilton Fish was chosen in his place. General Dix, however, continued a member of the committee until he was ordered to the front.

No man of his time was better fitted by training and experience for the command to which he was chosen, than General Dix. He had successively filled the offices of adjutant-general of New York, secretary of the state and superintendent of public instruction, member of the state legislature, senator of the United States, assistant treasurer of the United States, postmaster of the city of New York, and secretary of the treasury in Mr. Buchanan's Cabinet. At a later date he was appointed minister to France, and elected Governor of the State of New York. As a scholar he had

ready achieved an honorable name in letters. But his chief qualification for the post was in his military knowledge. He was a born soldier. Military tastes were in a certain sense his inheritance. His father, Timothy Dix, died in 1813, Lieutenant-colonel of a New Hampshire regiment on duty in the war of 1812: and both his father's father and his mother's father were patriots in the army of the Revolution. When only fourteen, John Adams Dix was appointed a cadet in the service of the United States, and became an aide to his father. He was a lad of such promise, and had already progressed so far in a classical education, that he had obtained the parental consent to turn his attention to military tactics and service only after repeated solicitations and the promise on his part to continue his studies with every and any opportunity.

In the spring of 1813 he accompanied his father to Washington, and relates in his autobiography: "He presented me as a newly appointed cadet to General Armstrong, the Secretary of War, who said to me, 'So you are going to the military academy; what preparations have you made?' I told him what my studies had been during the two preceding years, and what progress I had made in French, Spanish, mathematics, and the classics, when he said, 'Well, young gentleman, I think there is not much for you to learn at West Point, except military tactics. How would you like to go to the frontier?' I replied of course that I should be delighted. 'Then,' said he, 'if your father will consent, I will give you an ensign's commission.' The consent was obtained, and on the 8th of March, 1813, when I lacked four months of being fifteen years of age, I was appointed an ensign in the Fourteenth Regiment, United States Infantry; and the following April joined the army at Sackett's Harbor, a few days after General Jacob Brown, then a militia officer, and afterward commander-in-chief of the army, repulsed an attack by the British forces."

Shortly after the death of his father the lad was appointed adjutant of a battalion; and during the year 1814 was on garrison duty at Fort Constitution, at the entrance to the harbor of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. He served as an adjutant until the garrisons were put on a peace establishment, and was then assigned to company duty. Meanwhile, unlike most boys of his age, he was a persistent student chiefly of history and the classics. His faculty for utilizing time was one of his greatest elements of success in life. In 1818, at the age of twenty, he was given for a few months the command of Fort Washington, on the Potomac, opposite Mount Vernon; and in January, 1819, received another staff appointment—that of regimental quarter-master—which took him to Fort Columbus, in the harbor of New York. In March of the same year he was appointed aide-de-camp to Major-

General Brown, then in command of the Northern Department of the United States, and became one of his military family. Henceforward he was brought into contact more or less with all the great men of the country. The General spent his winters in Washington, and his young major, having already made considerable progress in the study of law, with a view to resigning his military commission some day for civil pursuits, took advantage of the opportunity to continue his legal studies under the direction of William Wirt, then Attorney-General of the United States.

In 1826 President John Quincy Adams instructed Secretary Clay to offer Major Dix the post of special messenger to Copenhagen, for the purpose of delivering to our representative in that country the treaty concluded at Washington, between the United States and the Kingdom of Denmark. He accepted, and combining pleasure with business made this European trip his wedding trip as well. He had been for some months engaged to Miss Catharine Morgan, the adopted daughter of Hon. John J. Morgan, of New York; they were married, and his bride accompanied him not only to Copenhagen but, after the object of his mission was accomplished, on a tour through the Old World. When Major Dix returned to America he was ordered to Fortress Monroe. In the course, however, of a few months he retired from the army in consequence of ill health, having been in the service of the United States sixteen years. The resignation of his commission was dated July 29, 1828.

About this time his active political life began. He had been already within the charmed circle to some extent for half a dozen or more years. He had written brilliant and critical essays for the press on a great variety of topics, political and otherwise, and under many signatures. He had shown such positive ability in every line of mental labor which he had undertaken that his future might easily have been predicted. He took up his abode at Cooperstown, and entered upon the practice of law. But he was soon made chairman of the Republican Committee of Otsego County, and proved a power in the Jackson movement.

He was still young, only thirty-two, when in 1830 he was appointed adjutant-general of the State of New York, under Governor Throop, and found himself in a position of the first importance. He was equal to the trust, and was noted, as in later life, for his tireless industry and conspicuous good-breeding. His versatile genius and literary attainments were quickly called into exercise. He made a report on the militia system of the state to the Legislature, which was an unanswerable argument in favor of making ample provision for a National Guard, and for the education of officers to take men into the field whenever it might be necessary. There had

been a tendency in high places to depreciate the value of the militia system, and certain bills had been introduced into the legislature treating it as superfluous and burdensome. The views presented in his able report of that early date were more than vindicated in connection with subsequent riots where the uniformed troops of the city proved the most efficient part of the municipal police, and also during the late Civil War. He was appointed secretary of the state on the 15th of January, 1833, and held the office six years. When he took in hand its manifold duties, William L. Marcy was governor and John Tracy lieutenant-governor of the state, Azariah C. Flagg was comptroller, Greene C. Bronson, attorney-general, and Abraham Keyser, treasurer. The practical control of affairs in New York was then in the hands of a group of Democrats, prominent among whom were Silas Wright, Edwin Croswell, Benjamin Knower, James Porter, and General Dix, to whom Thurlow Weed gave the name of "The Albany Regency." But although ever an honest and vigorous political opponent, Mr. Weed was often heard to declare that he never knew a body of men who possessed so much power and used it so well; that there was no flaw in the characters or blot on the names of those who comprised it, hence it was not easy to gain any advantage over them.

The secretary of the state at that time was also superintendent of common schools, and in this department General Dix displayed characteristic sagacity and energy. It was well that he had given his boyhood's leisure so indefatigably to learning. He was now not only a trained army officer, a skilled lawyer, and master of three or four languages besides his own, but his scholarship covered everything taught in the schools, and much that he esteemed essential to common-school instruction. His educational reports to the legislature were models in their way, and all his recommendations were eminently practical. He saw, what many have seen since his day, that the teacher needed teaching, and he labored to bring about the establishment of separate seminaries for the training of teachers. "Practical usefulness," he wrote, "is the great end of intellectual discipline; it should be kept steadily in view by the teacher, who will soon learn that his lesson, when its reason and its object are presented to the mind of his pupil, will arouse an interest. * * * The teacher should be made to feel so sensibly the importance of his position, that it may be continually present to his thoughts, and become the guide and rule of his actions. He should bear perpetually in mind that he is the center of a little system, which, as time advances, is destined to spread itself out and carry with it, for the benefit or injury of all whom it reaches, the moral influences imparted by himself." He was also intimately associated with the projection of that

great work known as the "Natural History of the State of New York." It was the report of General Dix to the legislature on the most expedient method of obtaining a complete geological survey of the state, with all its natural productions taken into account, that was the veritable corner-stone, so to speak, of that important enterprise.

The residence of General Dix in Albany covered a period of some twelve years. His political career is so well known that it is unnecessary to dwell upon it in this connection. He took a prominent part in all the questions of the hour, and he shared in the fortunes and misfortunes of his party. Good men and true were horrified at each other's opinions, and each called the other black. The period was full of bitterness and excitement. At the turn of the political wheel through which the famous Albany Regency was overthrown, and William H. Seward and Luther Bradish elected governor and lieutenant-governor of New York, General Dix retired to private life. About the same time a literary and scientific journal was established, called the *Northern Light*, and General Dix became its editor, assisted by such men as Dr. Romeyn Beck, Gideon Hawley, and Amos Dean. In 1841 the election of General Dix to the Assembly of New York terminated his editorial labors, and the publication itself soon after ceased to exist. The following winter he spent in Madeira with his family, and the summer of 1842 in Spain and Florence. On his return to America he published a pleasant little book of travels.

Presently he was drawn again into the vortex of politics. He was in 1844 elected to the Senate of the United States, and henceforward, during five years of intense intellectual activity, his voice was heard on every momentous question that came before the national legislators; and momentous questions were the order of the day. The Oregon dispute, the annexation of Texas, the Mexican war, and slavery in the territories, were each before the public to be treated with consummate skill. General Dix ranked among the foremost in debate and in historical knowledge, and in clear perception of the law of nations he had no superior among the statesmen of the period. He was no abolitionist. He did not believe in disturbing the institution of slavery where it existed. But he was a powerful opponent to its extension into free territory. He expressed the views of the Free Soil Democrats—who made him their candidate for Governor of New York in 1848.

In the Presidential election of 1852 the Democratic party were, however, reunited; and General Dix exerted his influence to the utmost to secure the election of the Democratic candidate. President Pierce soon after coming into office was in great embarrassment about the Sub-treasury

in New York, which was without a head, and requested General Dix, whom he had already appointed minister to France, to hold the post for a few weeks as a personal favor to himself, until the time should come for him to sail for Europe. He therefore performed the duties of Assistant Treasurer until—in the early autumn—John J. Cisco received the permanent appointment.

General Dix was happily in Europe while the appalling excitement over the organization of Kansas and Nebraska was at its highest mark. In spite of the great efforts of the administration to ignore the slavery question, it grew rapidly more and more aggressive. Then came the fusion of the political elements, and the struggle of the newly formed Republican party to elect Fremont. It was not until Buchanan had been three years in the Presidential chair that General Dix was recalled into public service. In the mean time he was the President of the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad, actively employed in the gigantic enterprise of uniting the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts by one continuous line of railway. But frauds had been committed in the New York Post-office, and the disclosures caused a terrible sensation. Everybody was accused. Even the general government found itself gravely compromised. It was a crisis where only the appointment of a man whose integrity and ability were above criticism, could allay the popular turmoil. General Dix was selected; his name was sent to the Senate on the 17th of May, 1860, and the nomination was unanimously confirmed without the usual reference.

Toward the close of that year of indescribable tribulation the Secretary of the Treasury, Howell Cobb, abandoned his post and joined the secession movement. Financial ruin threatened the national government. Money was wanted and none could be obtained. The new appointee, Philip F. Thomas, tried in vain to secure loans. The men of Wall Street gave him the cold shoulder. The banks and moneyed institutions of New York were sealed volumes as far as he was concerned. Mr. Buchanan was in despair. He was finally given to understand that he must place a man in his Cabinet in whom the community had confidence before one dollar would be forthcoming. He asked counsel, and was advised through the results of a meeting held at the Bank of Commerce that the condition on which the administration might count on the support of Wall Street, was the appointment of General Dix to the secretaryship of the Treasury. Mr. Buchanan was impressed with the force of the argument, and within a very few hours the change was made, and General Dix's name sent to the Senate, and instantly confirmed. All parties rejoiced; and the Government was immediately in possession of the much needed funds. "A man

has lived to some purpose," it was said, "whose appointment instantly raises the credit of his country, through the simple conviction of his honor and integrity."

General Dix repaired at once to Washington, leaving the New York Post-office in other hands, and was the guest of President Buchanan at the Executive Mansion until the close of the administration—from January 11 to March 4, 1862. He found the Treasury Department in the utmost irregularity. Public business, with all its complex details, had been neglected complaints from every part of the country unheeded, requisitions from the various departments amounting to nearly $2,000,000 on the table, with no funds to meet them, and Treasury notes overdue to the extent of at least $8,350,000. He struggled incessantly to bring order out of chaos, and was marvelously successful. He was able to transfer into the hands of Salmon P. Chase, President Lincoln's Secretary of the Treasury, a balance of $6,000,000, applicable to the current expenses of the Government. It was on the 29th of January that the famous telegram was written referring to the American flag, which made such a profound impression on the country, falling like a live coal of fire upon a mass of material ready to ignite. Its history is contained in his letter to Mrs. William Blodgett, of New York, published for the first time in the volume of Memoirs by his son.*

"Head-quarters, Department of the East,
New York City, March 31, 1865.

MY DEAR MRS. BLODGETT—I fulfill the promise made to you last summer, to give you the history of the order issued by me to shoot any man who should attempt to haul down the American flag. The only request I make is that no publication shall be given to it during my life and Mr. Buchanan's. * * *

I entered upon my duties (as Secretary of the Treasury) on the 15th day of January, 1861, and at Mr. Buchanan's urgent request stayed with him at the President's house. Forts, arsenals, and revenue cutters in the southern states had been seized by the local authorities. No effort had been made by the Government to secure its property; and there was an apparent indifference in the public mind to these outrages which was incomprehensible to me.

On the 18th of January, three days after I entered on my duties, I sent a special messenger, W. Hemphill Jones, Esq., who was chief clerk in one of the bureaus of the Treasury Department, to New Orleans, for the purpose of saving the revenue cutters in that city. He was then to proceed to Mobile and Galveston and try to save the revenue cutters there. My orders were to provision them and send them to New York. I knew if they remained there that the state authorities would take possession of them.

I received from Mr. Jones, on the 29th of January, the despatch published on page 440, vol. ii. of my speeches, advising me that Captain Breshwood, of the revenue cutter *McClelland*, refused to obey my order. It was about seven o'clock in the evening. I had dined, and was at the Department as usual transacting business. The moment I read it I wrote the following order:

* *Memoirs of John Adams Dix.* By Rev. Morgan Dix, D.D. Harper Brothers, 1883.

'Treasury Department, January 29, 1861.

Tell Lieutenant Caldwell to arrest Captain Breshwood, assume command of the cutter, and obey the order I gave you. If Captain Breshwood, after arrest, undertakes to interfere with the command of the cutter, tell Lieutenant Caldwell to consider him as a mutineer, and treat him accordingly. *If any one attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot.*

John A. Dix,
Secretary of the Treasury.'

Not a word was altered; but the original was handed to the clerk charged with the custody of my telegraphic despatches, copied by him, and the copy signed by me and sent to its destination. Before I sent it, however, a question of military etiquette arose in my mind in regard to the arrest of Captain Breshwood, and I took a carriage and drove to the lodgings of Lieutenant-General Scott, to consult him in regard to it. Mr. Stanton was then Attorney-General. My relations with him were of the most intimate character; and as he resided near General Scott's lodgings I drove to his house first, and showed the dispatch to him. He approved of it, and made some remark expressing his gratification at the tone of the order. General Scott said I was right on the question of etiquette, and I think expressed his gratification that I had taken a decided stand against Southern invasions of the authority of the Government. I immediately returned to the Department and sent the despatch. General Scott, Mr. Stanton, and the clerk who copied it were the only persons who saw it.

It was on Tuesday evening, the weekly drawing-room evening of Miss Lane, and before nine o'clock I was with her visitors.

I decided when I wrote the order to say nothing to the President about it. I was satisfied that, if he was consulted, he would not permit it to be sent. Though indignant at the course of the southern states and the men about him who had betrayed his confidence —Cobb, Floyd, and others—one leading idea had taken possession of his mind, that in the civil contest which threatened to break out the North must not shed the first drop of blood. This idea is the key to his submission to much which should have been met with prompt and vigorous resistance. During the seven weeks I was with him he rarely failed to come to my room about ten o'clock, and converse with me for about an hour on the great questions of the day before going to his own room. I was strongly impressed with his conscientiousness. But he was timid and credulous. His confidence was easily gained, and it was not difficult for an artful man to deceive him. But I remember no instance in my unreserved intercourse with him in which I had reason to doubt his uprightness. Tuesdays and Fridays were Cabinet days. The members met without notice at the President's house in the morning. My order was given, as has been stated, on Tuesday evening. I said nothing to the President in regard to it, though he was with me every evening, until Friday, when the members of the Cabinet were all assembled, and the President was about to call our attention to the business of the day. I then said to him, 'Mr. President, I fear we have lost some more of our revenue cutters.' 'Ah!' said he, 'how is that?' I then told him what occurred down to the receipt of the despatch from Mr. Jones informing me that Captain Breshwood refused to obey my order. 'Well,' said he, 'what did you do?' I then repeated to him, slowly and distinctly, the order I had sent. When I came to the words, '*shoot him on the spot*,' he started suddenly, and said, with a good deal of emotion, 'Did you write that?' 'No, sir,' I replied, 'I did not write it, but I telegraphed it. He made no answer, nor do I remember that he ever referred to it afterward. It was manifest,

as I had presupposed, that the order would never have been given if I had consulted him.

It only remains for me to say that the order was not the result of any premeditation—scarcely of any thought. A conviction of the right course to be taken was as instantaneous as a flash of light; and I did not think, when I seized the nearest pen (a very bad one as the fac-simile shows) and wrote the order in as little time as it would take to read it, that I was doing anything particularly worthy of remembrance. It touched the public mind and heart strongly, no doubt, because the blood of all patriotic men was boiling with indignation at the humiliation which we were enduring; and I claim no other merit than that of having thought rightly, and of having expressed strongly what I felt in common with the great body of my countrymen.

It gives me great pleasure, my dear Mrs. Blodgett, to place in your hands this plain history of an official act which has made me so much your debtor. I can never forget that I owe to your kindness the most valuable testimonial of my public services that I have ever received. The obligation is the more grateful to me, because you seem of all others to be the least conscious of the value of what you have conferred.

With the sincerest regard, your friend,
John A. Dix."

The "valuable testimonial" mentioned above, was a beautiful flag of blue silk, the figure of Liberty rising from her seat, grasping the American flag with one hand and holding the thunderbolts with the other, elaborately embroidered on each side with the motto, "IF ANY ONE ATTEMPTS TO HAUL DOWN THE AMERICAN FLAG SHOOT HIM ON THE SPOT." This was presented to General Dix, then President of the United States Sanitary Commission, on the evening of the 23d of April, 1864, the closing day of the New York Sanitary Fair. The flag was designed by Leutze, and made by Tiffany & Co., at the expense of Mrs. Blodgett. The gift was accompanied by an autograph book, bearing on its pages many illustrious names, with that of Abraham Lincoln at the head of the list.

The inquiries naturally arise in the minds of a score of millions of the rising generation of American citizens, "What was done with the order of General Dix? Was there any shooting of the man who hauled down the flag?" The answer lies in these few brief words. The message reached its destination too late; the flag was already down, and the revenue cutter in the rebel service as a vessel of war. At the capture of New Orleans this vessel was abandoned and set on fire; in the midst of the flames a naval officer in the Union service rushed on board and brought away the identical flag *that was hauled down*, and it is still sacredly preserved—a mute witness to the truth of its strange and dramatic history.

When General Dix laid down the burden of official service, on the 4th of March, 1861, and returned to his home and his domestic avocations, he hoped that no exigency of the times would call him again into public life.

But within two months, as we have seen, he girded his armor about him and started for the field. The Civil War, so much dreaded, was a grim and horrible reality. Skilled commanders were needed. The services of such a man as General Dix were of the first consequence to the country. He received his first appointment from the state; but he soon received a Major-general's commission from the United States, and in June was ordered to Washington. July 24, the day prior to the battle of Bull Run, he succeeded General Banks in command of the Department of Maryland. No post at that crisis was more important. The city of Baltimore was like a suppressed volcano; an outbreak was imminent. The loss of Baltimore would be the loss of Maryland, and the loss of Maryland would probably be the loss of Washington, and the Union cause. The leading advocates of secession were influential, and the disaster at Bull Run inspired them with confidence. The Confederate colors were worn in the streets, and Confederate flags were hoisted in many places. Rumors filled the air that aid was coming swiftly to "emancipate" the city from the control of the Government. General Dix ruled with an iron hand, but with all his soldierly qualities his statesmanship was even more conspicuous in the wise measures adopted for keeping Baltimore quiet. This subject will in the course of our war studies form a special chapter of itself. It is true that he saved Maryland to the Union. He was transferred to Fortress Monroe in May, 1862, and July 18, 1863, just after the draft riot, he was ordered to New York to relieve General Wool of his command of the Department of the East. Under his able management the draft was completed in August, and the violent classes dared not move in opposition.

After the war General Dix was appointed Naval Officer of the port of New York; an office he presently resigned to accept the appointment of minister to the court of Napoleon III. He sailed for France in November, 1866, and spent two and one-half years at the French capital. In 1872 he was elected Governor of New York. One of the curious facts in this connection was that while he was as notably a Democrat as he had ever been, his nominatian to the gubernatorial chair came from the Republican party —through the counsels of Thurlow Weed, it was said, his former political adversary in the days of the "Albany Regency."

General Dix was in active public service sixty-three continuous years, and was called to almost every office that a citizen can fill. Such a record is rare, if indeed it has its parallel in any other instance in American history. And he was one of the few whose acts will bear the closest scrutiny, and whose private life was without a blemish.

THE REVOCATION OF THE "EDICT OF NANTES" *

Mere difference of opinion has ever been a fruitful source of strife.

Especially have those cherishing religious dogmas entertained feelings of hostility toward those who would not be convinced.

Even men, wise and humane, will join in a bitter hue and cry on questions, the truth or falsity of which is not susceptible of proof, and the truth or falsity of which is of no real concern to humanity.

There is no injustice so great, no prejudice so bitter, no hate so lasting, no enmity so unrelenting as that which has its foundation in sectarian opposition.

No deeds have been so bloody, no persecutions so cruel, no wars so terrible, as those instigated by differences of religious credence; and, it may be said, that no acts have been more shameful to humanity than those that make the ecclesiastical history of civilized Europe.

Races, nations and individuals resolved theological questions by mutual slaughter—the Christian dove, surviving the attacks of Paganism, as it sailed down the tide of centuries, became as a vulture smeared with gore; and the blood of Christian sectaries flowed from wounds, mutually inflicted, as deep as those ever made by a Nero or a Diocletian. The theological variation of the numerous sects, even of Christian belief, that have been and are, astonish, confound and confuse us—not only those of semi-barbarian periods but among the enlightened. Looking back, from apostolic time, the schisms and sects have followed in a continuous and turbid stream.

The Gnostics with their *æons* and *demi-urge*, the Manichæans with their dualism and paraclete—the doctrines of Sabellius with his one essence, balanced by Arius and his triple division—the doctrine of the "*Omoousios*" affirmed as a fundamental truth under Constantine, and the

* There is no feature of our Colonial history more interesting than the various causes which led to the successive migrations from Europe of the colonists who peopled our sea-board States. Of these causes Religious persecution was perhaps the most prominent. While the English Puritan took refuge in New England, the French Huguenots flocked to the shores of New York, at a later period; and their descendants form a large and esteemed portion of our population. The history of the exodus of the Huguenots from France under the unwise and cruel persecution of the French rulers, who sought to render abortive and finally revoked the great civil and religious compact called the "*Edict of Nantes*," is replete with interest. The above article will form one of the chapters of a historical work on "*The Treaty of Utrecht*" now in press.—EDITOR.

"*Omoiousiose*" upheld under Valens—the "double incarnate nature" of the Nestorians, maintained as an article of faith by the Council at Seleucia, and overthrown by the Eutychians, at the Council of Ephesus—the Pelagians with their innate goodness of man, condemned as a heresy by the Councils of Carthage and Ephesus, and upheld, as true doctrine, by the Council of Diosipolis—Cassian and his followers denying the necessity of "inward preventing grace," and his opponents upholding that it was a *sine qua non.* The *Iconolatræ*, or image-worshipers, on one side, and the Image-breakers on the other, discussing the matter in blood.

Arminius and his free-will thinkers with one view, and the Gomarists and Superlapsarians with the opposite: Calvin's grim doctrine of predestination, and Luther's of the action of the Will. The great schism of the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, as with the Latin, or without him, as with the Greek. The theories of Transubstantiation, Consubstantiation or Symbolism of the Eucharist, as upheld by this or that sect with fire and axe.

The Divine prerogative of Kings, or the higher prerogative of the Pope; the Socinians and the Trinitarians—the broad church and the narrow church—and the phantasies of Swedenborgian, the Self-inspiration of the Quaker, and the illusions of hundreds of other metaphysical enthusiasts.

The Pagans, when they had the upper hand, slaughtered Christian and Jew; the Jews, when they had the power, persecuted Christians; and the latter, in their turn, attacked Jews—and then persecuted each other. The orthodoxy of the moment burned schismatics, and schismatics heretics. Ecclesiarch opposed Heresiarch; and both of them used, as arguments, steel and fire against each other and their mutual opponents. The sacredness of human life, all liberty of body and spirit, were put at the mercy of the imaginings of the day and hour. The great cardinal virtues seemed lost in the maniacal excesses of sectarian jealousy; and the very foundations of religion were sapped by the spirit that sought to sustain it, as each sect denounced all others and claimed the prerogative of thinking for the rest of the world.

The sixteenth and even the early part of the seventeenth centuries witnessed but little diminution of religious intoleration, although civilization, in other respects, had made progress out of the gloom of the dark ages. The violence and inhumanity that prevailed, during the period of the Reformation in Germany, are familiar to all who read; and, even in England, the history of the origin and progress of the Reformed religion is not more grateful to the Christian mind. Religion was enlisted, in turn, by king, prelate

and zealot, as an auxiliary to gratify lust, ambition, hate or revenge; and as an instrument to grasp or strengthen political power. The despotic monarchs, Henry the Eighth, Mary, Elizabeth, James and Charles—ambitious prelates like Wolsey and Pole—obsequious tools of tyranny, like Cromwell under Henry and Strafford under Charles—arbitrary primates, like Cranmer and Laud, and bloody bishops like Gardiner and Bonner—unseated abbots, unfrocked priests, deprived curates, and the martyred laity—Romanist and Protestant, Conformist and Dissenter, Puritan and Malignant—pass along the tide of History the actors in a great drama of blood!—The Reformed Prelacy became a mere part of state machinery, of which the Crown was the head: and any question of spiritual as well as civil supremacy of king or queen was visited as a felony. Religious opinion became not a matter of faith, but of treason or allegiance. Not only were outward acts criminal, but the conscience was dragged out and shackled; for even silence became a crime, and oaths were applied to test those who maintained their opinions in secret.

Theretofore dubbed "*Defensor Ecclesiæ,*" as a faithful son of Rome, little was required to change the creed of the vacillating tyrant, Henry VIII., since upheld by history to the scorn and contempt of posterity. For the first twenty years of his reign the Tower was filled with Protestants—for the next ten, with Papists—and, for the remainder, the Reformers bowed beneath the arch of the Bloody Tower.

The horrible incidents of the succeeding reign are familiar. In the three years of Mary's persecution three hundred victims perished at the stake. Archbishop and bishop, priest and layman, lordly prelate and humble worshiper, men stout of heart and limb, who cursed the she-devil as they died, and trembling women and harmless boys—all, alike, yielded their lives at the mandate of this royal Fury, whose commission for the suppression of heresy made short work of those who did not bend to her relentless fanaticism. "Good Queen Bess" used also to hang people for their religious abstractions, even although unimpeachable in their loyalty. Under the tender reign of this virgin monarch, the "Duke of Exeter's daughter" and "the Scavenger's daughter," and the five other deadly racks, were kept busy in the Tower; and men of blameless life were burned for Arian views, or for circulating pamphlets criticising ecclesiastical courts and ceremonies. Under this "glorious reign" the Inquisitorial Court of the High Commission was created; and arbitrary conviction and punishment were enforced by compelling an oath to be taken by parties suspected of so-called *heresy.* Meanwhile, over the water, St. Bartholomew was holding his *festival*—Charles II. was shooting his Reformed subjects from his palace win-

dow; and twenty thousand of them were butchered into eternity, amid the yells and execrations of their dogmatic fellow-citizens.

When the pedant James, the lauded translator of the Bible, became King, he illustrated some of its principles in this wise, when speaking of his Puritan subjects: "I will *make them conform*, or I will harry them out of the land, or else, worse, I will only hang them—that's all." He burned Edward Wightman and Bartholomew Legate, for upholding Unitarian ideas. The opinions of the latter, the royal buffoon tried to overcome by argument, but, being worsted therein, issued against his opponent the writ "*de hæretico comburendo*," which closed the argument at the stake.

Under Charles I., men of high social standing had their ears cut off at the public pillory: or were branded for what were called libels on the established discipline of the Church of England. This monarch's savage Primate, Laud, was as great a tyrant over the mind and conscience, as was his master over the civil rights of his subjects. During this comparatively modern reign, the courts of High Commission and the Star Chamber were used as a standing means of attack against Puritan ministers: and holy and wise men were whipped, pilloried and maimed for any question of the powers of the prelacy. Although the scaffold may be deemed too severe, there is little lament, now, even from English minds, as History analyzes and groups the incidents of this disgraceful reign, that Strafford, Laud and King Charles "*the martyr*," as he is styled in the Prayer-books—all conspirators against the mind and body of the subject—met with the stern retribution that they did from the humanity they had outraged and trampled upon.

What wonder is there, amid these persecutions, that those professing a simple faith, in England, and desiring to be freed from an oppressive hierarchy, should have turned their backs upon their ancient home, and sought, in the wilderness of America, freedom to worship God in peace, and that liberty of thought and action which has always been an aspiration of humanity? Unlike those who settled the Southern American continent—for this mere liberty of conscience and from no hope of gain, the Protestant pilgrims abandoned their native land, battled in frail barks the tempestuous ocean, encountered famine, and fought, for very existence, with the forces of nature and a savage foe. But, it is a strange illustration of human weakness, that these victims of religious persecution should have, in turn, sought to shackle conscience and oppose toleration.

The practice and the principles of the Puritan immigrants became far from harmonious. The rigid lines of their established faith were drawn as strictly, and maintained, almost as ruthlessly, as in the fatherland, and the

governing authority exacted conformity in spiritual matters as the condition of civil freedom. Those who had been branded as heretics stigmatized others as heretics, for differences on theological abstractions, and even for non-conformity to church routine. The persecuted in turn turned persecutors, and visited upon others the treatment against which, as an outrage upon human rights, they had solemnly protested—and maiming, banishment, scourging and the gibbet were the means used to discipline the Church, to prevent religious vagaries, and to cast out offending sectarianism.

Toleration was never allowed in Massachusetts until the declaration of indulgence of James II. established it. It has been remarked, as a singular feature in the history of New England theology, that there was no freedom of conscience and worship there, until it was established by a tyrant and a bigot, who was a Romanist.

During the great thirty years' religious war in Western Europe, in the early portion of the seventeenth century, the enmity between Lutheran and Calvinist equaled their mutual hatred of the Romanist. Incendiarism, robbery and slaughter were the only arguments thought of—religion was used as a cloak for ambition and rapine; and, in its name, all Germany was laid waste. "Soldiers," says a contemporary, "treated men and women as none but the vilest of mankind would now treat brute beasts. Outrages of unspeakable atrocity were committed everywhere—their flesh pierced with needles or cut to the bone with saws—others were scalded with boiling water, or hunted with dogs."

While all this bloody work was going on among the enlightened Protestants of England and her American Colonies, and between the hostile Religionists in Germany, the Inquisition, as a great State Tribunal, was busy with the rack and the stake in Spain, Italy and Portugal. The royal family in those countries respectively, and the dignitaries of the realm, lay and ecclesiastical, felt it a duty to society, and to God, to sit in state, in the public square, as the grim procession of helpless victims filed by—clad in their sheepskin sacks and hideously painted conical caps—guarded by the holy brethren and familiars, who raised on high the cross of salvation in witness of their holy zeal, and sang pæans to the heavenly powers, who were supposed to look down upon the writhing of Jew and heretic at the stake with a peculiar satisfaction.

A new and terrible chapter was still to be added to the long history of crime perpetrated in the name of religion.

After the decease of Henry IV. there became manifest a disposition in the French government, generally under Jesuit influence, to curtail the religious liberty and restrict the political power of the Huguenots—they

having had accorded to them by the Edict of Nantes not only liberty of conscience and worship, but certain special political rights, for their protection.

Not only the government became jealous of the increasing numbers and power of the Protestants, but the Roman Catholic priesthood, from the pulpit, rekindled the ancient sectarian animosity, and finally, a continuous series of encroachments on their rights, under Louis XIII., drove the Huguenots of Bearn, Guienne and Languedoc into open resistance, and subsequently those of Normandy, Picardy and Champagne.

The grand ideas of Richelieu, as Prime Minister, were to concentrate the power of the Crown and strengthen the hand of the Church. To both of these Protestantism was an impediment; and, therefore, both as minister and priest, Richelieu was unremitting in his action to diminish the importance of Protestantism, both as a civil and religious institution. After putting down all resistance and driving thousands into exile from their native land, who flew for freedom and repose to England, Holland and the new settlements of America, Protestantism no longer existed in France, except on the terms of perfect submission to the government. The political rights of Protestantism, under the Edict of Henry IV., were virtually abrogated; and its religious existence was the result no longer of solemn compact but of a frowning tolerance that daily became less inclined to indulgence.

Under the latter part of the administration of Richelieu, in the stormy days of the Fronde, and under Mazarin, there was comparative rest for the persecuted religionists; and they continued to form a large, useful, skilled and industrious part of the great population of France. But the clouds of bigotry were again gathering, soon to burst, in a manner even more terrible and destructive than in the memorable days of St. Bartholomew.

During a few years before Louis XIV. took upon himself the reins of government (viz. 1651 to 1659) various edicts and ordinances were passed, seriously impairing the rights of Protestants in their worship. These measures became more and more intolerant under pressure from the Roman Catholic hierarchy, jealous of the progress of an opposing and intrusive religion; and soon a persistent, active, and in the end a most sanguinary state persecution began against all professing the Reformed faith, contemptuously termed "*heretics.*"

This religious war against a large, well-behaved and useful class of citizens began by the court withholding all places of honor and profit from Protestants, the prohibition of the holding of their national and provincial synods, the punishment of Roman Catholic converts to Protestantism, and

the exclusion of Protestants from industrial guilds. Then came decrees, in 1665 and 1666, allowing Protestant children to change their religion, in spite of their parents; and churchmen became busy in snatching "heretic" children from the "devil." Edicts authorizing priests to go to the bed-side of dying Protestants, when ill, and prohibiting the establishment of academies by Protestants, and regulating the forms of the Protestant religion were also passed.

Restrained by the wise and just counsels of Colbert, Louis refrained, for a time, from further aggression upon his Protestant subjects. In 1674, however, and down to the final revocation of the great Edict, the oppression of the Protestants was resumed and continued in a manner as politically unwise as it was arbitrary and cruel. By various new edicts and decrees, children could be taken from their parents—backsliders were punished with banishment and confiscation—Protestants were excluded from public functions—Protestant chapels were demolished—Reformers were excluded from leasing the Crown farms—mixed marriages were interdicted—troops guilty of barbarous excesses were billeted upon Protestant families—property of the churches was confiscated, and pastors banished: to all this was added the horror of military tribunals and executions without trial.

Those who sought to leave the country were arrested by spies and guards; and terrible penalties were inflicted upon the fugitives when apprehended. All these barbarous measures and the supposed conversion of many to the "*faith*" was considered as adding greatly to the glory of the king's reign; and, indeed, to place a celestial halo around his head.

In the enthusiasm of his bigoted zeal, and to swell the number of converts, Louis devoted one-third of his "economies" to the cause; many were brought to a supposed state of conversion through the golden eloquence of six livres a piece, and the King was as highly extolled for invading and subduing the kingdom of Satan, as for conquests over the Spaniards and the Dutch. These religious triumphs operated as a "*placebo*," also, to his majesty's royal conscience for many and flagrant sins: and the death and ruin of thousands of his subjects innocent of all crime, was the price to be paid for his heavenly absolution and a needful oblation offered to the King of kings!

His religious zeal, in this regard, when flagging, was stimulated by the expostulations of Madame de Maintenon, by whose special direction many of the arrests were made, and by Père La Chaise, the adroit and insinuating Jesuit confessor, and ally of Maintenon; and, even by the virtuous Bossuet, all of whom had combined to set up this new school of

religious reform, assisted by the brutal soldiery directed by Louvois—all banded together in order to obtain the salvation of the King, the aggrandizement of Rome, and their own favor at Court, either by the conversion or destruction of thousands of their fellow-citizens. In 1679 Madame de Maintenon writes: "The King is full of good sentiments; he sometimes reads the Scriptures, and he thinks them the best of all books. He recognizes and avows his weaknesses and faults. We must wait until Grace reaches him. He thinks seriously of the conversion of the Heretics, and soon we will set to work at it."

It is instructive to observe the force of the word "*we*" in the above letter.

"The King," Madame de Maintenon writes, in August, 1681, "begins to think seriously of his salvation and of that of his subjects. If God preserves him to us there will be no longer but one religion in the Kingdom." This, being freely interpreted, meant increasing persecution and the complete interdiction of the Reformed worship. Troops were let loose afresh upon the Protestants in Anjou, Dauphiny, Guienne and Languedoc; and the Court boasted of the so-called conversion of hundreds of terrified Protestants, who were beaten and dragooned and crazed into a temporary apostasy. "There is not a courier," writes Madame de Maintenon, in September, 1685, "that does not bring the King great causes of joy in the news of conversion, by thousands."

The glorification of Louis, at these spiritual triumphs over his feeble subjects, was sounded by prelate and courtier: he began to feel that he was at the head of a holy mission—a crusade to extirpate a great heresy—and the entire and formal Revocation of the Edict of Nantes soon followed—the noblest feature of his grandfather's reign—which was binding in honor and right on his successors, and had been trusted in and accepted by all classes of his subjects. This outrage was perpetrated under the immediate advice of *Père La Chaise*, and the Minister, Louvois, stimulated by the bigot, De Maintenon.

Charlotte Elizabeth d'Orleans, wife of the King's brother and mother of the future Regent, who was behind the scenes at the French court, in one of her letters to a German friend, thus forcibly gives her testimony to these operations of De Maintenon and the Jesuits.

"Before that old hag reigned here, Religion in France was reasonable; but she destroyed all that by her absurd bigotry and foolish devotions; and when people wished to be reasonable, the old woman and the confessor threw them into prison or exiled them. They are, both of them, the cause of all the persecutions in France, directed against the poor Re-

formers and Lutherans. That long-eared Jesuit commenced operations in accord with the old hag, and Father Le Tellier carried it on to the end. By their operations France has been entirely ruined!"

On October 17, 1685, the Revocation was formally signed that made this unholy reign peculiarly infamous—and an order followed for the demolition of all the remaining Protestant churches in France. Reformers were prohibited from leaving the kingdom, under penalty of the galleys for life, and confiscation of all their property: other terrible orders followed, and soldiers were given license, by their brutality, to hasten the making of converts. Torture, imprisonment, robbery, murder and wholesale slaughter were part of the machinery employed, to all which the clergy gave their zealous accord. The Vaudois, who took refuge in Piedmont, were butchered in masses by the troops of France and Savoy, and new pæans went up in praise of the great King. "Let us pour forth our hearts, in praise of Louis," preached the truckling Bossuet, in his panegyric over the remains of Le Tellier, who drew up the infamous Edict of Revocation "let us lift our acclamations to Heaven—and let us say to this new Constantine—to this new Theodosius—to this new Marcianus—to this new Charlemagne, 'you have strengthened the faith—you have exterminated the heretics—this is the meritorious work of your reign—its peculiar characteristic. Through you, heresy is no more!'—God, alone, could have wrought this great wonder!"

Statues were raised and medals struck to this new Pillar of the Faith —Poets twanged the fulsome lyre—Litterateurs and pulpit orators ceased not to exalt his name—and "*Te Deums*" pealed throughout the land, echoing those offered up by direction of the Pope, at Rome, in commemoration of the great work carried on by this (inaptly styled) *Most Christian King!*" *

After the Revocation, the Government redoubled its vigor to prevent emigration. Desolation reigned throughout the persecuted provinces, revolting cruelties were perpetrated, under the orders of the King and his inhuman minister, by *Dragoon* and *Priest*, and new modes of torture were invented by the Intendants of Provinces, seeking thus to curry favor at the court: pastors re-entering the kingdom were punished with death,

* A medal was struck to commemorate, as a great exploit, the revocation of the Edict; the obverse represented a female with a cross in her hand, and her foot on a prostrate Protestant, with the legend, "*Heresy extinguished—Edict of October*, 1685."

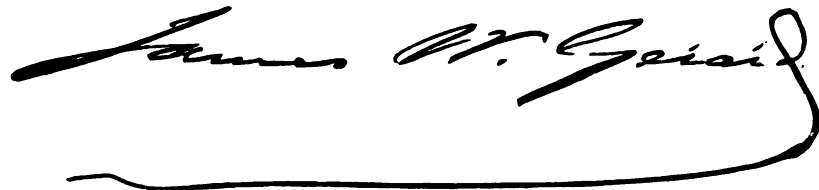
On another, of date 1685, the King is represented as being crowned by Religion, while he is trampling Protestantism under his feet. The motto is, "For having brought back to the bosom of the Church 2,000,000 Calvinists."

and infants were seized at the breast. The Bible was burnt by the executioner—gentlemen of rank and name were sent to the galleys—the heads of ladies were shaved for singing the Psalms of David in French—pastors were broken on the wheel, for not having abandoned their flocks—old men were dragged to the Romish altars by blaspheming soldiers, who ordered them to worship their God—those relapsing were thrown into dungeons—parents were condemned on the charge of their children, and children were torn from parents and died starving or insane—in dungeons or Jesuit colleges and convents. Roman priests were forced upon the dying, and those abetting Protestants in their escape were condemned to death. In ten years' time more than ten thousand persons became the prey of the stake and the gibbet. Under the accumulation of horrors imposed upon them, French Protestants rushed from their native land, in spite of spies and guards. More than 200,000—some estimate the number as high as 500,000—fled into exile, during these twenty years of oppression—and sought refuge in England, Germany, Holland, Denmark, and America, where they became useful citizens, and added the wealth of their skilled industry to the states that sheltered them; and very many turned their arms, in spite of lingering patriotism, against the tyrant who had oppressed them. Large numbers, who remained and adopted, in form, the Roman Catholic faith, became neither actual converts nor contented subjects. This hypocritical conformity was to many the only refuge from the diabolical persecution which followed them even on their death-beds and to the tomb—for this was a part of the Edict of April 29, 1686; "Protestants who are sick and refuse the *viaticum*, are to be considered and punished as apostates, if they return to health—the men are to be condemned to the galleys for life, the women to prison, and to the loss of their property; *in case of death*, their goods are to be sold, their bodies unearthed and thrown into a ditch!" If a converted person refused the Sacrament, when dying, a review of the case was held over the remains, and the body was ordered to be dragged in quick-lime so as to be a terror to others. Through the above emigration the most useful subjects of France, and many good soldiers, were lost to the state; and this extraordinary persecution, unexampled in modern times, has been considered by all modern historians, of every faith, as not only a great moral crime, but an extraordinary political blunder. The loss of so many subjects perceptibly weakened the kingdom, and made it less prepared for the sanguinary war of the "*Spanish Succession*" soon to follow; and the cruelties practiced embittered the Protestant princes of Europe against France, and promoted their alliances to oppose her.

In the mean while, remote from this Golgotha of tears and blood, the festivals, amid the rustic enchantments of Marly and the gilded halls of Versailles, went on; and the jeweled and spangled throng reveled as of yore—the fiddlers of Lulli played their lively strains—opera and mask and theatrical display, gay intrigue, piquant satire, and the lively epigram beguiled the hour—and courtier and smirking jezebel, and debased sycophant flattered, and groveled before the sceptred idol whose fortune was deemed divine, and the Chimera, called "Glory," hovered about his sacred head!

A Moloch was stalking about the land demanding sacrifices of human blood—but a stern *Nemesis*—daughter of Night—the humbler of the proud—the avenger of Crime—held the sword that was soon to smite the King in all that was dear—to strike off his crown of glory for one of shame, and to bring him and his kingdom to sorrow and humiliation!

Could the future be revealed by such as haunted the blasted heath, there would have stood before the King three grim figures—stern ministers of fate, avengers of innocent blood—men of war, who sought not dominion, but who felt it a sacred duty to Europe and humanity to arrest the reckless cause of ambition and bigotry which was desolating Europe, and paralyzing human progress—men who never were to sheathe sword until Europe should breathe free of the incubus that weighed upon its liberties and its repose.—These men were William of Orange, Marlborough and Prince Eugene.



The electoral system is not only involved, but superseded, and, as against a direct vote, is not now recommended by a single reason advanced by the *Federalist*, the authoritative exponent of the Constitution. A leading desideratum, in its view, was to avoid conferring the choice of President upon a pre-existing body, as Congress or the state legislatures. Hence, mistrustful of popular suffrage, as yet not fully confirmed by experience, the Convention of 1787 finally decided upon electors—to be men of learning and wisdom, and appointed, under state authority, expressly and solely to make the choice. The arguments were (1) that the danger of foreign interference would be lessened, especially as the electors were to vote, not in one place or body, but in their respective states; (2) that the President or his partisans would have less opportunity for using corrupting influences to secure re-election; (3) that public sentiment would operate more directly in the choice.

In Hamilton's day and upon the threshold of national existence, when the exhausted country had just entered into the family of nations amid the throes of war, the fear of foreign interference seems to have been general. No such fear is thought of now; and if the above arguments are good for the present system, *a fortiori* are they good for Presidential elections by a direct vote; since the most direct expression of the sense of the people must be by the people themselves; and there is the minimum of opportunity for a President, looking to re-election, to corruptly influence the voters at large.

Hamilton's remaining arguments are nullified by the changes and perversions wrought in the electoral law. In its most essential features the system he defends is not only different from the system of to-day, but contradictory, and what the system was intended to guard against are those very things that are now done under it. "It was desirable," he observes, "to afford as little opportunity as possible to tumult and disorder" by rousing enthusiasm for candidates—an end to be reached, as was supposed, by voting for electors, rather than directly for President; and further, by the electors' voting apart in their several states. The present fact is, that the name of the Presidential candidate, with those of the electors appended, is printed on the ticket; that to the great body of voters the electors are unknown, till the eve of the election and the tickets are in hand; and that the inspiration of orators and of popular plaudits

finds its sole source in the actual aspirants for the office. Everywhere and by all the hurrahs are for Tilden and Hayes—Garfield and Hancock—Cleveland and Blaine.

Especially, it was held that electors would be best qualified to judge the character fittest in a President. To use again Hamilton's language: "It was desirable that the immediate election should be made by men most capable of analyzing the qualities adapted to the station, and acting under circumstances favorable to deliberation and to a judicious combination of all the reasons and inducements which were proper to govern their choice." The theory was that a progressive process of political purification, whereby the electors, separated by their wisdom from the mass of the people, would be a guarantee for Presidents pre-eminent in ability and virtue.

But the electors, to-day, practically have no option. They are chosen to vote for certain candidates, nominated amidst party rivalry and heat before their own selection for appointment. The general election determines the Presidential issue; and the electors meet only to record a result already reached and accepted. A piece of machinery further removed from its original intent it would be difficult to conceive.

A summary of its history is instructive.

In the Convention of 1787 great diversity of opinion prevailed as to the mode of electing the President. Gouverneur Morris advocated a direct vote. Hamilton, illustrating his anti-democratic tendencies, wished to have him "chosen by secondary electors, chosen by primary electors, chosen by the people." The electoral system, as finally framed, had its origin in the conflicting opinions and compromising necessities of the Convention, as well as in a partial view of the President's office. His power of appointment and the enormous influence now derived from this source, and even his negative control over legislation, were comparatively lost sight of. He was mainly regarded as the executive agent of Congress; and such an office, it was supposed, the body of the people were least qualified to choose. Many favored, at the outset, his election by Congress; others, by the state legislatures, or the state executives. In the first draft of the Constitution, as reported by the committee of detail, it was provided, that the Executive should be chosen by Congress, for seven years, and be ineligible for re-election. The sentiment finally prevailed, that the office should be independent of any pre-existing body, especially of Congress, and the electoral law, substantially as it is now, was agreed upon.

The detailed proceedings show rapid changes of sentiment, and great uncertainty as to what was best to be done. "The Virginia plan, as

amended and agreed to in committee of the whole, June 19, retained the election by Congress. July 17, popular election and choice by electors were voted down, and the choice by Congress was again approved, this time unanimously. Two days afterward, July 19, the choice by Congress was reconsidered, and a choice by electors chosen by the state legislatures was adopted. Five days afterward, July 24, the choice by electors was reconsidered and lost, and the choice by Congress revived. In this form it went to the committee of detail, was reported favorably by them, August 6, and again referred to them unchanged, August 31. In their report of September 4, less than two weeks before the final adjournment of the Convention, this committee reported the electoral system very nearly as it was finally adopted, September 6."

An essential point, and one now in controversy, is how or by whom the electoral vote should be officially declared. The history of Congress on this subject is, in our judgment, one of usurpation. The plain interpretation of the Constitution puts the declaration of the vote into the hands of the President of the Senate, in the presence of the two houses as a witness to his action. Congress is to act only when there is no choice by the people—the House of Representatives electing the President; the Senate, the Vice-President. In the earlier days of the Republic this interpretation went unquestioned. Encroachments, however, have gradually been made, until to-day it is widely held, that the sole function of the President of the Senate is to open the electoral certificates, the canvass of the votes being the right of Congress.

Congress has been singularly negligent—and the peace of the country has thereby been more than once endangered—in not exercising its lawful powers in the passage of a general law, under which the certificates of electors would be clearly authenticated, and an unerring guide furnished the President of the Senate. Instead of this, its mischievous—or, as a recent writer styles it its "vicious"—policy has been to enact partial and partisan legislation to meet particular cases, and the electoral system, in the presence of difficulties, is a confused and uncertain procedure. In the absence of general law and full authentication, Congress assumes control over disputed or double returns; yet it is impossible to say what the determining rule should be, whether the vote of a state is to be rejected unless it be concurrently approved, or received unless it be concurrently rejected. The rule is made either way, to subserve party ends; and experience, it has been observed, seems to have demonstrated that the President of the Senate is a more trustworthy agent in the premises, than a Congressional canvass.

A number of bills, from time to time, have been before Congress, to settle definitively the electoral law. Their general character may be gathered from that introduced in 1878 by Senator Edmunds, and, failing to pass, was again introduced in 1881 by Senator Hoar. It enacts that each state may provide by law for the trial of electoral contests, and that its decision shall be determinative of its electoral vote; that, should there be double returns from a state without a law authenticating electors' certificates, or should there be a dispute respecting the lawfulness of any state tribunal, a decision shall be reached by the two houses, acting separately; and that, should exceptions be taken to any single return, it shall not be rejected, save by the affirmative vote of both houses. Against all these proposed changes lies the objection, that they would retain a system, which, unsupported by a single original reason, has been mutilated beyond the recognition of its founders.

The grounds are growing in weight and number for heeding General Jackson's reiterated recommendation, to give the election of President directly to the people. By a direct vote I mean the proximate vote for President by the people *en masse*, or the immediate choice of the nation's representative by a popular majority of the nation's voters. The discussion of details is foreign to this article. This much may be said, that Congress could make a rule establishing uniform qualifications for votes, and ordering, in the event of no choice, a second election between the two highest candidates.

I give the grounds for a direct vote.

1. It would complete the symmetry of the government. Senators are chosen by the legislatures of the states, and symbolize state equality; Representatives, by the people of the states, and symbolize state populousness. It is apparently fitting that the head of the government and representative of the whole, should be chosen by the people *en masse*, and the political edifice crowned and consolidated by a national act in the single instance in which it would be congruous.

2. A direct vote is the truest expression of popular will. It is a blemish upon America's institutions, that the election of the chief magistrate does not illustrate their genius. We are a people governed by majorities; yet, under the electoral law, the popular vote may be on the side of the defeated candidate. Mr. Polk and General Taylor received, each a majority of the electoral votes, but a plurality only of the popular vote. Mr. Tilden received the popular vote; Mr. Hayes the electoral vote.

3. A direct vote is recommended by its practical simplicity. The electoral system—in some of its features already direct, without the once

apprehended evils—is a complicated piece of machinery, which has been wrested from its original purpose, and, so far forth, stands in the Constitution as thoroughly inoperative as it is possible to conceive anything to be. Electors were intended to be independent voters, with absolute power over the nomination and election of the President. But "the organization of parties into nominating bodies now controls in advance their action, annuls their private judgment, and reduces them to ciphers. Before 1801, no one knew positively the vote of any elector until the cirtificate was opened." To-day the person chosen to the Presidency is ordinarily known a few hours after the popular election, and the voting of the electoral colleges a month later is the emptiest of forms.

4. A direct vote would remove the pressure upon "pivotal" states, with the frauds and excitements thence arising. It can be predicted with reasonable certainty, in almost any election, how a large percentage of the states will go. The doubtful states are singled out, and, if calculations show that the result will probably hinge upon them, the most desperate efforts are made to carry them. Each party pours in men and money. Rival orators harangue day and night. Shouting and adverse crowds, with torch and banner, throng the streets. Every possible election device, fair and foul, is brought into requisition. The center of the Presidential contest, the organized resources of powerful parties stream toward it from every quarter, and meet in maddening and perilous struggle. Witness the late October battle in Ohio. For days business was paralyzed, and the nation's gaze intensely turned upon those "heats and ferments," whose voidance was one of the theoretic grounds for the adoption of the electoral system. A direct vote would diffuse political effort, and scatter these centers of inflammation.

5. The execution of the people's will, the corner-stone of republicanism, is less likely in the multiplication of intermediaries. Under the electoral system two are necessary, a third is probable, and a fourth possible—electors, the President of the Senate, Congress, and a Congressional Commission.

In regard to Congress especially, or rather the House of Representatives, there is a growing tendency toward the election's being thrown into it. The varied interests of a country so vast and so powerful, and the political combination, either actual or inchoate, of those connected with them, point in the future to more than two prominent Presidential candidates. In the late election, besides the representatives of the two great parties, the temperance candidate developed a growing strength; and if the nominee of the labor party had conducted a canvass entirely free from

suspicion of insincerity, and had his antecedents and circumstances been more in unison with those of the needy and anxious working-men he addressed, the vote of the party would have been formidable.

It is, therefore, altogether probable that, under the present system, the division of the electoral vote into pluralities among several prominent candidates, will often make the House of Representatives the choosing body. Such a dependence of the Executive upon the National Legislature is counter to our institutions, whose genius requires the three great coordinate departments—Legislative, Executive, and Judicial—to be perfectly independent, and stand rigidly apart. The Constitutional provision for the election of President by the House of Representatives, in a certain contingency, was meant to meet an extreme case. The debates in the Convention of 1787, while they show an early sentiment for the election of President by Congress, show a final conviction, after a thorough discussion of this very point, distinctively the other way. To avoid the danger of corrupting influences, it was held that the election should not be within the power of any pre-existing body, especially of Congress; and if the judgment of the fathers who framed the Constitution is sound to-day, its frequent control by that body, or either branch thereof, would menace American institutions.

6. A direct vote would have a unifying tendency, and bind the sections closer. The country, already vast and powerful, is still growing with phenomenal rapidity. The weight of its members and of its diversified interests is increasing, and it requires, as the condition of stability, a correspondent central authority and cohesive force. This we happily have under our peculiar form of republicanism. The government is a union, formed, not by the states in their political capacity, but by the people of the states. The first words in the Constitution—memorable, too, as the basis of Webster's renowned argument—are, "we, the people of the United States;" in unison with which is the provision that differentiates this instrument from the Articles of Confederation, and renders our form of government unique among republics, either of ancient or modern times—that the enactments of Congress are to be executed, not by state, but by national officers. Political danger lies in weakening central authority.

The indications are that the bands of union will require bracing, and legitimate influence in this direction should be fostered. As great as the country's area is now, it bids fair, at no distant day, to undergo territorial loss and gain, with an immense balance of accession. Through the agency of European powers the aspect of Africa is making rapid change; and it may be that the free states of the Congo, or other portions of that con-

tinent, will prove alluring enough to draw thither our black population. If not, necessity will ultimately require their independent establishment along the Gulf; for, how fair soever the present outlook may be, the two races, standing socially apart, will not peacefully develop together.

But this prospective territorial loss will be far more than balanced by what must one day follow in the natural order of things, the annexation of Canada. However emphatic Canadian loyalty may be in its utterance, union with England (which now adds little to her trade or population) will be severed when interest clearly requires it. The inability of Canada to shape her foreign policy and utilize, to the best advantage, her splendid resources and her onerous debt—relatively greater than our own—which union with England was the occasion of incurring, and contracted for enterprises which scarcely, if at all, pay current expenses—are among the causes weakening the tie to the mother country. When separation comes, annexation to the powerful and overshadowing neighbor, with which Canada, notwithstanding tariff restrictions, has an immense trade, and whose language, laws and political institutions are the model for her own, is morally certain. Whatever may appear on the surface, the annexation sentiment is a growing one in Canada, as has been recently confirmed to the writer by those high in authority in the confederation.

In view of this prospective expansion and consequent increase of centrifugal force, whatever may exert a unifying influence and draw the sections closer, should be welcomed. A direct vote for President would strengthen the sentiment of union and tend toward consolidation, by engaging the entire people in a common national act—national in its mode as well as issue.

7. A direct vote would diminish liability to a disputed election.

De Tocqueville, the acute observer of American institutions, sums up his reflections upon the instability of a democracy in the apparent paradox, that the executive of a powerful state is too splendid a prize to be bestowed upon merit. He declares that an executive invested with real power, and the elective character of the office, are irreconcilable; and points, as an example, to Poland, which, passing, in the 16th century, into an elective monarchy, became a prey to civil dissensions and the conflicting interests of rival princes. The French philosopher is not alone in recognizing a disputed Presidential election as one of the peculiar dangers latent in our system of government, and menacing its stability. The hope for America, in his view, lies in the fact that, the authority of her executive being weak, candidates would be little likely to excite dangerous enthusiasms.

De Tocqueville wrote in 1835. Since then the country has expanded

in area, wealth and power, far beyond his anticipations, or even those of the most sanguine patriot. The influence of the Executive has not only correspondingly grown, but the office to-day occupies what may be called a changed relation to the co-ordinate branches of the government. The country's expansion simply adds to the membership of Congress, without essentially changing the character or gravity of legislative problems, or augmenting the legitimate influence of individual congressmen. The Executive remains one, and, leaving out of view his negative control over legislation, the enormous patronage now centering in his hands renders him a most powerful factor in the government, intensifying his influence, and advancing the weight of his office far beyond that contemplated by the framers of the Constitution. Each candidate is championed by a host of influential men—many of whom have vital interests involved in the issue. Each partisan has his underlings, with like interests involved. The throb of the struggle is powerful through the nation; and Presidential contests are nearing, if they have not already reached, what De Tocqueville calls "dangerous enthusiasms." Happily, Americans are an order-loving people. Happily, too, the aspirants for this office have hitherto been patriots. There has been no case wherein a candidate, to right wrongs, real or supposed, has counseled or intimated force to his followers.

But the past eight years has witnessed severe straining in this direction. In 1876 the Democrats were convinced of what is now admitted, I believe, by unpartisan Republicans, that the rejection, on various pretexts, of many thousand Democratic votes by the returning boards of certain southern states, and giving them and the Presidency to Mr. Hayes—was a fraud. A deep and dangerous sense of wrong pervaded this powerful party; and if the desolations of civil war had not been fresh in the memories of men, and Mr. Tilden had but raised his finger for resistance, who can depict what would have been the more than probable sequence? For weeks a sullen gloom hung over one-half the nation; an anxious expectancy over the other; and the issue was finally left to a special and extraordinary commission, created by Congress, and invested with powers itself could not exercise.

All can recall the profound anxiety of November last, when, after a heated contest—personally conducted by one of the aspirants—it was found that the election turned upon the result in a single state, that each candidate publicly claimed the vote under his own signature, and declared its loss would be due to the frauds of opponents. Happily the doubtful state was a powerful one, the center of the country's wealth and intelligence; and New York vindicated her honor, when her officers, with the

nation's gaze fixed intently upon the scrutiny, announced the result in correspondence with the facts.

The ordinary occasion for a disputed election, is a close vote, and an allegation of fraud by the apparently defeated candidate, sufficient to overcome the adverse majority. As the states now vote independently, there are majorities to be considered in each. The general result may turn upon any one state, and a close vote give rise to a disputed election. To raise such an issue, were the vote direct, not only would a close vote become necessary in all the states, but the states must be equally divided between the candidates. The difference in the probability of a close vote and a disputed election, between the aggregate vote of the nation (now over 10,000,000), and the independent vote of thirty-eight states, choosing electors—is the difference between one and thirty-eight.

We can discern prominent points of resemblance between President Cleveland and the better side of General Jackson's character. Physical antipodes, they approach each other in certain mental characteristics, as well as conceptions of official duty and of public interest. Each is a Democrat of thoroughly national type. They are one in possessing a firm, independent will, combined with complete self-control; for General Jackson was as remarkable for this latter quality as for the display of savage passion, when thought to be necessary. In each we see the full recognition of public office as a trust from the people. And whatever may be Mr. Cleveland's views of civil service reform, they can make no chasm, when the end proposed is considered, between himself and the father of "rotation in office;" since General Jackson advocated short terms for all, not from the mere "spoils" motive, but because he believed that more is lost to the public service by the long continuance of men in office, than is gained by their experience. They, too, are alike in approving one Presidential term. Let us hope the parallel will be maintained by Mr. Cleveland's recommending that the election of President be given to the people. Were the roundabout, superseded, and expensive electoral law replaced by the simple and equitable procedure of a direct vote—and Mr. Cleveland's suggestion adopted, to make the President ineligible for re-election—the office would exert its best effect, and realize what Hamilton observes is the true test of a good government—its aptitude and tendency to produce a good administration.

E. W. Gilliam

JOHN BRECKINRIDGE

A DEMOCRAT OF THE OLD RÉGIME

Late in life Albert Gallatin wrote to a friend: "During the twelve years I was in the Treasury I was anxiously looking for some man that could fill my place there and in the general direction of the national concerns; for one, indeed, that could replace Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison and myself. Breckinridge of Kentucky only appeared and died; the eccentricities of J. Randolph soon destroyed his influence."

It is remarkable how many men once well known in their own states and also in connection with national affairs are now forgotten. Doubtless there are persons, more than ordinarily conversant with American history, who may need to ask the question, "Who was John Breckinridge?" He was a principal actor in some of the greatest events of our national life, and of a large family more than one of whom deserved well of their country. Although the father of a line of descendants who were to play important parts in the various spheres of public life, yet his name outside of his adopted state is either wholly forgotten or at best has become a barren memory that tells no tale. It is plain that one who could be mentioned by Albert Gallatin so favorably in such a connection, should not lightly be forgotten. John Breckinridge was indeed the trusted friend and confidant of all that great Virginian dynasty—Jefferson, Madison and Monroe. Younger than any of them, he was, as Gallatin suggests, the rising star. Unhappily cut off at the early age of forty-six, while attorney-general in Jefferson's cabinet, his career was but half unfolded. "Breckinridge's death and John Randolph's eccentricities," says Mr. Henry Adams, "left Wm. H. Crawford as the residuum of six great reputations;" and Wm. H. Crawford's stroke of paralysis broke the bonds of that succession which seemed confirmed within the Cabinet, and initiated the new era of American politics.

John Breckinridge was not only a member of the House of Delegates and of Congress, but of the House of Representatives of Kentucky and of the Senate of the United States. He was also speaker of the Kentucky House, attorney-general of Kentucky and of the United States, and mover and probably draughtsman of the justly famous Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 and 1799. He was born in Augusta County, Virginia, on December 2,

1760, and died December 14, 1806. It is always interesting to note whence the traits originate that make a man great, and if the ability is permanent in several generations it becomes doubly interesting to trace its sources. Here we find one whose elder brothers, his father's children by a previous marriage, occupied very important posts in their states; the elder, Alexander Breckinridge, in Virginia; the younger, Robert Breckinridge, in Kentucky, where he played a most prominent part in the early constitutional conventions and in the legislature, of which he was speaker. His younger brother, James Breckinridge, was a member of the Virginia legislature and of Congress, and was a candidate for governor against James Monroe. The persistency of John Breckinridge's blood is traceable. His eldest son, Joseph Cabell Breckinridge, speaker of the Kentucky House of Representatives and secretary of state for Kentucky, died at an early age and left an only son, John C. Breckinridge, the well-known member of Congress, senator, Vice-President, candidate for the Presidency, and a major-general in the Civil War, and Secretary of War for the Confederacy. He, in turn, has left a son who has for some time been a member of Congress.

The three younger sons of John Breckinridge were distinguished divines of the Presbyterian Church who achieved a national reputation and have left sons who have kept the family prominent in Congress, upon the bench, in the army, the pulpit, and in every walk of life. The second of these sons was Robert Jefferson Breckinridge, who practiced law and served several terms in the Kentucky legislature before he entered the ministry, and who afterward played a part second to none in keeping Kentucky true to the Union. He presided over the Baltimore Convention which renominated Mr. Lincoln, in 1864.

As we might well suspect the Breckinridges came of sturdy stock. The first we hear of them is in the Wars of the Covenant. They were then settled in Ayrshire. When the tide turned and Charles II. came to the throne, the part they had played was too prominent to leave them secure, and they fled to the Highlands of Braedalbane and thence, after some years, removed to the North of Ireland. In 1728, Alexander Breckinridge moved to America, and after a short delay in Southern Pennsylvania, finally settled in Augusta County, Virginia, on a farm, upon which the town of Staunton has since been built. His son, Colonel Robert Breckinridge, married Lettice Preston, whose father was born in Londonderry during the famous siege of that place, the son of an officer in the army of William III. From this marriage sprang the subject of this sketch. He needed all the hardy vigor of his Scotch-Irish blood to enable him to grow

into a strong character in those rough times. He was but a lad when his father removed to Fincastle, in Botetourt County, then upon the very confines of civilization. The perils and hardships of life upon the frontier were greatly increased by the complications which preceded the Revolution, and as soon as the war began the struggle was made doubly hard. It was just at this period that his father died. The care of his mother, his sisters, and his younger brothers devolved upon him. Nevertheless he found himself able in 1778, at the age of seventeen, to enter the good old college of William and Mary, at Williamsburgh. The autumn of 1780 found him prepared to start again collegeward, with no other thought than that of another year in quiet study. But the election of a representative to the House of Delegates was at hand. No man in the county could have been more surprised than young John Breckinridge, when the result showed that he, a boy of nineteen, had been returned. His name had not been even talked of for the place. It was one of those silent movements that sweep strong and sure to their goal. The sequel proved the depth of the current.

The times were dark. Kings Mountain and the Cowpens had not yet lifted the heavy veil that lay over the South. Men were needed, not only in the field, but also in the council-hall. What, then, did these frontiersmen mean by sending a beardless boy to sit for them among such orators and statesmen? The House treated the election as a jest or worse, and summarily set it aside. They were surprised to see the same boy returned at the next election, and once more set that aside. A third time the same return was made, and this time the lad took his seat. Thus, not at his daily task of Latin and Greek, but as a legislator, John Breckinridge found himself at Williamsburgh. Though he made no mark in that brilliant assemblage (it was not to be expected of one so young), he did his duty faithfully and to the entire satisfaction of his constituents, and at the same time improved the opportunity of making valuable friends for the future.

The years slipped along. The war ended, young Breckinridge studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1785, and removed to Albemarle County, where he commenced practice in its county seat of Charlottesville—the home of Jefferson. He remained here for nearly eight years, until his removal to Kentucky in 1793, and in these busy years laid the foundation of his future career. The best stone in that foundation was a devotion to his profession. This bar was then a brilliant one, numbering among its members many of those who had won high applause in the work of awakening and nerving Virginia to the revolutionary struggle now so happily past.

The tradition is preserved of a meeting with Patrick Henry in an important case, and of much dispute as to which of the two the palm belonged. But although they are many accounts preserved of the power of his oratory, it was probably in the higher walks of his profession that he excelled—in his mastery of legal principles and in close and accurate reasoning. If this was indeed the corner-stone, it will seem to many that he built even better when he laid well the friendship of Jefferson and Madison, and confirmed that of Monroe and of others prominent in the affairs of state and nation. He was admitted into the closest friendship with these leaders, and carried on with them until his death an intimate and confidential correspondence. There are many men who easily win friendship, but he had that happier faculty of stirring the deeper chord of confidence. The same qualities that had first brought him into public life stood him in good stead now, and never deserted him. Men trusted him, not alone as a loyal, but as an able man. In that is summed up most of what bears men upward. Jefferson was not slow to show his own confidence in him. In 1791, without solicitation, Jefferson wrote sending Breckinridge a commission as attorney for the District of Kentucky, under the hand of Washington and his own as secretary of state, urging with much earnestness the acceptance of the post, and emphasizing that the President had heard most favorably of him not only from himself but also from others. However flattering the offer, personal affairs compelled Mr. Breckinridge to decline the appointment. It was some two years before he again appeared in political life. He was then elected to the Third Congress—in December, 1793. He never took his seat, however. The same duties that forced him to decline the attorneyship of Kentucky, then a part of Virginia, now carried him to that state, newly entered upon her career as the fifteenth of the United States. His removal was during the year 1793, and he took up his residence near Lexington, in the central part of Kentucky, on a farm known as Cabell's Dale. Here he at once opened a law-office and was quickly in active practice.

There was no lack of occupation for a man of his attainments at this time in Kentucky. Land titles were the all-engrossing theme. The practice growing out of them was both interesting and lucrative. The wretched system, which Virginia early initiated and long continued, of making vast grants on worthless or mere paper surveys, had made the state one vast net-work of overlapping claims, while over the whole had been thrown an incredible number of "blanket grants" in order to catch any stray corners that might have been left without an owner. Over and above all this there were certain claims which the State of Virginia herself re-

tained, and which led to no small vexation. To this task John Breckinridge gave many years of his life. Virginia sought him as the attorney to press her own claims, but he was then attorney-general of Kentucky. The final solutions owed much to his painstaking care and great resources.

State politics, too, had a claim upon him. It is a very different thing, this launching of a new sovereignty, from the *dillettante* politics of an old and well-tried commonwealth. Strong hands and brave hearts were needed. John Breckinridge had scarcely been in the new state two years when, on December 19, 1795, he was appointed attorney-general, and it was just two years later that he took his seat in the legislature, where he served three terms—the last term, that of 1799 to 1800, as speaker. Already, in 1794, he was the choice of the Republicans in the legislature for United States Senator, but the extraordinary conduct of Genet produced a reaction even in Kentucky (that stronghold of Jeffersonian principles before they had become Jeffersonian), and Humphrey Marshall was chosen by a slim Federalist majority. Six years was not long to wait for such an honor; but six years was a long time in his brief life. It was, nevertheless, a happy fortune that kept him in state politics for the present. The characteristic part of his life-work is bound up in the events that led to and are embodied in the Kentucky Resolutions.

The Spanish intrigues that gave such a romantic turn to the early history of Kentucky, are to-day either forgotten or summarily relegated to the realm of treason and condemned out of hand. In truth, there is no chapter in the early history of any of our states more fascinating than this. The war was over and the British yoke was sundered. The colonies were free and independent. The feeble tie that bound them in the effete confederation was too weak to awaken even a sentimental union. If this was true along the seaboard it was doubly true beyond the mountains. The difficulties of communication, of permanent connection, with the Atlantic states seemed at that time insuperable. Her movement for a separation from Virginia had begun early in the decade of the eighties. That bond was irksome. There was no doubt that it would be soon broken. Where, then, was this little commonwealth to betake itself? If it was difficult to pass the mountains, it was correspondingly easy to send its products to a mart by the waters rolling grandly seaward. The Ohio on the north, the Cumberland on the south, the Kentucky and the Licking from the center seemed to be tempting them to the Mississippi and thence to the Gulf. But at the Gulf was Spain, and Spain eager to add to her possessions did her utmost to win Kentucky to her. Later-day ideas of nationality had not dawned. They were free. Their bourne was where they should find

the greatest profit. But the pendulum swung back. Virginia released them and they entered the Union. The problem now assumed a different aspect. Spanish intrigue had become treason. But it was hard to forget the flesh pots of Egypt! And as the coveted trade began to slip away it is small wonder that there were men ready to open again the old negotiations and try again what magic could be found in the name of Spain. Such was the state of opinion in Lexington when John Breckinridge came thither from Virginia. There was little danger that he would join this Spanish faction. His heart was at the country's head and his eyes already upon the Sun that was wheeling into their orbits about itself state after state. But he was a fine example of that Democracy of the old *régime*, and it is well to remember that it was built upon a fear of encroachment upon personal liberty. The freedom of the individual, alone, had been in danger under British rule. No system ever guarded property rights with more jealous care. It was this that underlay the whole course of this party and is especially to be seen in Jefferson's early phrase, "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and in the intense agitation over the Alien and Sedition laws. These ideas, crystallized into a formula, became a permanent political plea and were preserved long after they had lost all practical utility. But the thing they feared was real enough as yet, and the French Revolution was even now stirring up the old tide afresh Being such a one Breckinridge came to his own. The Spanish faction was small but able. The Anti-Federalists or Democrats were the mass of the people. George Nicholas was then the leader at the Lexington bar and well known in Virginia, but sadly mixed up with the Spanish fiasco. John Breckinridge stepped at once to his side, and unsoiled by intrigue, high in favor with the party leaders was not slow in assuming leadership. Democratic clubs began quickly to spring up throughout the land as if the "blood of the patriots," which Jefferson declared to be the seed of freedom, had been sown broadcast. None of these clubs was more prominent than that of Lexington, and John Breckinridge was before long its president. It was just at this time that John Adams was elected to the chief magistracy of the nation, and the odious Alien and Sedition laws fell like a thunderbolt upon all good Republicans.

What length might not the central government reach if these laws were to stand? Jefferson and his coterie were fairly in a panic. But all the rest of the commotion was as nothing to the grand outburst that broke from Kentucky. Young, and as yet numbering few citizens, she was at least united. From every county-seat remonstrance after remonstrance rolled forth, beginning even before the bills were passed. In this John

Breckinridge was at once in the van. It was midsummer when the laws were enacted; it was winter before the legislature should assemble. In the mean time he went to Virginia and discussed the matter with the chiefs of his party. There is no record of what flowed from his pen. His letters that remain are chiefly family letters and contain no hint of what was passing in the state. It is well known that the suspicion of the management of the public post was so great at this time that none of the plans of the opposition were committed to it except in the most guarded manner. We know, however, from a letter written to J. Cabell Breckinridge, the son of John Breckinridge, in 1821, Mr. Jefferson's version of an interview between Breckinridge, Wilson Corey Nicholas and himself. This letter is the famous "——— Nicholas" letter of Mr. Jefferson's edited works, and is still in existence, on a single sheet bearing the postmark "Charlottesville, Va.," and Mr. Jefferson's frank and the address, "*J. Cabell Breckinridge, Frankfort, Ky.*," all in Mr. Jefferson's handwriting. How this letter came to appear in Mr. Jefferson's works as to "——— Nicholas, Esq.," is only open to conjecture, but it seems most probable that it is there taken from a letter-press copy, to which the address, naturally enough (being on the fourth page of the sheet), was not attached, and the editor inferred from the contents alone that it was addressed to some one of the Nicholas family, the blank awakening no slight suspicion as to the accuracy of his knowledge. However that may be, the letter itself is indubitable evidence of its real address. It relates that in this memorable summer Jefferson, Nicholas, and Breckinridge met at Monticello, and there the draught of the Resolutions of 1798 were drawn. Mr. Jefferson in this letter claims to have himself drawn them, and to have laid upon his *confrères* a strict injunction to keep his part in the matter entirely secret. Upon this letter, and this alone, wholly unsubstantiated, rests Mr. Jefferson's claim to their authorship. It was written on the 11th day of December, 1821, when Mr. Jefferson was in extreme old age, and Breckinridge many years in his grave. There are, moreover, several matters inaccurately stated in it, which seems to show that his memory was none of the best. On the other hand, the claim of the authorship of the Resolutions for John Breckinridge is supported by the unvarying testimony of his whole family, by every authority that is nearly contemporary, and especially and at length by Humphrey Marshall in his "History of Kentucky," who if ever man had opportunity to know the whole truth he certainly had, and by every indication that is to be drawn from contemporary events. It must be confessed that Mr. Jefferson's plain declaration that it was under a pledge of secrecy that the work was done, places a burden of proof upon those seeking to

disprove his authorship that is well-nigh impossible to overcome. The family of Mr. Breckinridge, at the time it was put forth, met this claim with no mild denial, branding it as nothing less than an attempt to filch the fame of his dead friend. Certain it is that if it were true the secret was deeply buried, as not even Mrs. Breckinridge or his dearest friends ever dreamed that Mr. Jefferson drew the paper.

Thus has the authorship of these famous Resolutions become one of the insoluble problems of our early history. Says Mr. Jefferson in the same letter: "That circumstance (*i. e.* the authorship) was certainly of far less merit than the proposing and carrying them through the legislature of his state." By a no less unhappy fortune he has been even robbed of this fame. Turn to any work that treats of the question written in the last fifty years, and almost without exception George Nicholas will be named as the reputed mover of these Resolutions. But this has been inferred solely from the erroneous letter-heading in Mr. Jefferson's edited works. If "your father" was a Nicholas, it must have been George Nicholas, for John did not move to Kentucky. Happily there is no room for doubt here. George Nicholas was not a member of that legislature, and therefore could not have moved the Resolutions. Newspapers, histories, letters, could be quoted *ad infinitum*, were it necessary to show that Breckinridge alone moved them and carried them with only a single dissenting voice, on the 10th day of November, 1798.

It may seem a small matter to many whether one man or another either wrote or moved these Resolutions. But if there ever has been a paper of consummate skill in the drawing, or of deep and wide-reaching effects, presented in any of our state legislatures, it was this. For many years it was enough for any one, challenged as to the source whence he drew his statements, to declare that it was from the Kentucky Resolutions, to have them met with respect or assailed with every power. It is not too much to claim for them that they formulated in a masterly manner the basal facts of American Democracy, and were for many years unquestioned authority. Indeed, they were at once recognized as such. The other states to which they were sent treated them with pronounced approval, or swiftly declared them pregnant with peril to the nation. But there was no doubt in the mind of Breckinridge as to their soundness. In reply to the Federalist states he drew and introduced the Resolutions of 1799 confirming his former position. Whatever may have been potentially in them, the Resolutions of 1798 did not contain that dreadful word, "Nullification;" but in those of 1799 we find it. The whole programme of Democracy, in words if not in spirit, is thus at length enunciated. It is, never-

theless, more than probable that there was no idea in the minds of the statesmen of this epoch at all coinciding with the "nullification" of half a century later. In short, it is a piece of pure anachronism to impute to Jefferson and his compeers such a doctrine. Madison has disavowed it for his chief and himself, and all the evidence seems to point to the true solution of this controversy in their stand as against aggression upon individual rights, not state rights or local or sectional rights. Examine the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions side by side. The one is from the standpoint nearest Federalism; the other from the standpoint furthest removed. Breckinridge had seen less of the old *régime*, had been more fully imbued with the growing idea. To him there had come forth a new interest to be cherished above all, a sectional interest. The Mississippi trade was to Kentucky then what slavery was to the South in aftertimes; was more to *her* in all probability than slavery ever was. This dominant idea quickened in a genial soil the seed that had been sown without stint. Nullification, though it is hard to believe it, meant what it came to mean—meant to Breckinridge a remedy against one section overbearing the interest of another, in a sense beyond anything that Jefferson knew. If this be so, then, indeed, these Resolutions had in them a terrible potency for evil. But while they were an enunciation of a very broad and radical democracy, there is strong ground for believing that they were meant to confine whatever protests should be made upon their sanction against acts of the central government to the powers within and not without its pale, and, as a consequence, that whatever was put upon them by way of construction different from this was an importation, pure and simple. Certain it is that the men who drew and passed this series of Resolutions would have shrunk with horror from their work had they foreseen what should be in future times imputed to them.

In 1801 Jefferson became President and John Breckinridge senator. In no single phase of his life does he appear in a more extraordinary position nor to better advantage. The Senate was now for the first time Republican, and Breckinridge stepped at once, in his first term—his first appearance in national concerns—to the leadership. Such a thing was truly phenomenal. His first act, at the very beginning of the term, was to assail the judiciary and to effect the repeal of the obnoxious law increasing the number of circuit judges. He showed a skill in management, and a vigor in his speeches, that thoroughly justified his party in intrusting to him so important a task. From this time on he continued to be the mouth-piece of the administration. Among his papers are to be found minutes in Mr. Jefferson's own hand of the matters to be brought up, and

suggestions as to the management of them. There was, however, no very important matter in hand till the Mississippi business entered upon its last phase. Here it is natural to find him in the front rank. He led in the Senate in ratifying the treaty, in giving the authority to the President to occupy the ceded territory and all the matters that led to the actual occupation. Mr. Jefferson wrote to him on August 18, 1803, from Monticello:

"Dear Sir: I wrote to you on the 12th inst. on the subject of Louisiana and the constitutional provision that might be necessary for it. A letter received yesterday shows that nothing must be said on that subject which may give a pretext for retracting; but that we should do, sub silentio, what shall be found necessary. Be so good therefore as to consider that part of my letter as confidential; it strengthens the reasons for desiring the presence of every friend to the treaty on the first day of the session. Perhaps you can impress this necessity on the Senators of the western states by private letter. Accept my friendly salutations and assurances of great respect and esteem.

"Th. Jefferson.

"J. Breckinridge, Esq."

Also in Mr. Jefferson's handwriting we find the following amendment:

"*Resolved*, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, two thirds of both houses concurring, that the following amendment to the Constitution of the United States be proposed to the Legislatures of the several states, which, when ratified by three fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the said Constitution.

"Louisiana as ceded by France to the United States, is made a part of the United States."

But not even Mr. Jefferson's great influence sufficed to induce him to offer this amendment. However we may place him under our modern categories, he firmly held to the inherent right of the United States to acquire territory. On this he was immovable, and consequently refused to do anything to forward the contrary opinion of his chief. His defection was one of the main causes in the breakdown of the attempt to set so bad a precedent.

This was practically the end of his career in the Senate. The matters that remained for him to do were of no such import as to affect our history, and even these were few. For on August 7, 1805, he took his seat in the Cabinet as attorney-general. This change was not made without much urging and many misgivings. His own best judgment was against it. He believed his place to be in the Senate. There certainly he found a most congenial sphere. He was eventually overruled. His appointment, no doubt, was the outcome of that search which Mr. Gallatin alluded to. His

mark was plainly set in view of all. The heads of affairs were only anxious to join it to their own and place him in the line of growth and succession; to imbue him with the methods as well as the principles of the great party that was destined to hold office with such extreme tenacity. They planned well, but an unhappy fortune sealed this much of their work with failure. The time was short which Breckinridge spent in the Cabinet, for on the 6th day of December, 1806, he died of the effects of a long and tedious attack of typhus fever.

Such, in brief, was his career in public life. Conspicuous as he was therein there is little reason to doubt that he was still more remarkable for the traits that won the affection and admiration of those who best knew him in his family and social relations. Upon this, however, I may not dwell here. My purpose has been solely to recall the part he played in our political history. In conclusion I cannot refrain from quoting the following words spoken many years ago: "Simple in his manners, grave and lofty in his carriage, no efforts were too great, no labors too protracted, or difficulties too insurmountable for John Breckinridge's indomitable energies. And yet his earnestness and vigor were tempered by a gentleness towards those he loved, so tender that the devotion of his friends knew no bounds."

Ethelbert D. Warfield

MINOR TOPICS

ORIGINAL SETTLEMENT OF THE CITY OF HUDSON

[Errors usually travel with much greater celerity than the truth; but we have an instance, in the following clipping from the *Hudson Gazette*, of the correction of an error—a well rounded and carefully chiseled group of facts—that has made a swift tour of the local press in a manner that gives agreeable assurance of the rapidly increasing interest in the truth of American history, and is of sufficient importance for permanent record.—EDITOR.]

The careful historian of Hudson, to whom we are indebted for the interesting sketch of the settlement of that city published in the Centennial number of the *Hudson Gazette*, gives the credit of the founding of the place to "Thomas Jenkins and other wealthy residents and merchants of Providence."

While Thomas Jenkins was a prominent factor in the enterprise, his brother Seth, the first Mayor of the City of Hudson, was associated with him—a man equally distinguished for enterprise, daring, and those resolute qualities of head and heart which pre-eminently distinguished the pioneers of that period, drawing their first inspiration from old Nantucket.

In the historical sketch in the *Gazette*, it is related that "in the summer of 1783, Thomas Jenkins, Colton Gelston, with *two* others of whose names we have no record, sailed from Providence in a vessel belonging to Mr. Jenkins, seeking a site on the North River where they might establish for commercial purposes a new settlement." Later on, the writer says: "Early in the summer 1783, the brig *Comet*, of Providence, commanded by Captain Eleanor Jenkins, brought to the new purchase the *families* of Seth Jenkins and John Alsop, of Providence," etc.

The question now arises in the mind, when did Seth himself come? With his brother Thomas, in the summer of 1783, or the following fall with his family? Here is an important question to be settled, alike interesting to the students of history and the descendants of Seth, who claim that he came with his brother Thomas in the reconnoitering party in the summer of 1783, and is to be honored as one of the earliest founders of the city. There is on record a letter written by the granddaughter of Seth Jenkins, now deceased, in which this passage occurs: "While visiting Nantucket some years ago I found an old paper among the archives of that city giving this account of the pioneer enterprise to Hudson: 'Seth and Thomas Jenkins, of Nantucket, sailed from Providence for New York to find a place of settlement on the Hudson River. On their arrival at the city of New York they called upon Col. Rutgers, an old friend of my grandfather, to whom they unfolded their plans; whereupon Col. Rutgers proposed that they should buy his farm. They talked over the matter and finally concluded to make him an offer, which they did.

After some days' negotiation they came within two hundred dollars of striking a bargain, but at this point no concessions being made on either side (both were obstinate), and as neither would yield further, the trade fell through and they started up the Hudson reconnoitering all the way up until they came to Claverack Landing, where they finally purchased and settled.' "

This would seem to be sufficiently explicit, but further, in the " History of the United States," by W. Winterbotham, the first American edition with additions and corrections, Vol. II., printed in New York, 1795, after describing the city and its marvelous growth, the author says: " No longer ago than the Autumn of 1783, Messrs. Seth and Thomas Jenkins from Providence, in the State of Rhode Island, having first reconnoitered all the way up the river, *fixed on this unsettled spot, where Hudson now stands*, for a town. To this spot they found the River navigable for vessels of any size," etc.

This is the earliest printed record of the settlement of the city extant, and is conclusive evidence that Seth accompanied his brother Thomas on the pioneer trip; and this account is repeated in all the gazetteers published to the present day —viz.: Morse, published in 1804; Spofford, 1824; Gordan, 1836; and Disturnall, 1842.

That Seth is deserving of popular recognition as one of the earliest pioneers, it is only necessary to recall the honorable and important positions he filled in the early history of the town. Our historian tells us that on the 14th of May, 1784, the proprietors held their first meeting at the house of Seth Jenkins and proceeded at once to establish a government, and at a meeting of the proprietors on the 17th of February the following year, they voted that a petition be drafted to be laid before the Legislature of the state for the purpose of getting themselves incorporated with city privileges. Of this committee Seth was made chairman; and on the 22d of April of the same year (1785) an act was passed incorporating the city, and on the 3d of May the articles of incorporation were received from Governor Clinton, with the appointment of Seth as Mayor. He continued in the office of Mayor until his death in 1793, a period of eight years. We are also told that on the 4th of July, 1792, the Honorable John Jay, while on his way to make a visit to Kinderhook, stopped at Hudson, and at the banquet given to him, " his Honor, Seth Jenkins, Esq., presided, and Mr. Jay having drunk to the prosperity of Hudson, was felicitously responded to by the Mayor, concluding with a toast to 'The man of the day.' "

Besides these public positions, Seth occupied many other offices of usefulness in the new colony. He was elected Worshipful Master of the Lodge of Freemasons in 1787, and in the same year we find him building a factory for the manufacture of hemp and duck—thus, in connection with the vessels which he owned and partially controlled, and with his public service, we obtain an insight into his busy, useful, enterprising life. In a memorandum book belonging to a great-grandaughter of Shubeal Worth, who joined the expedition at Nantucket in July,

1783 (known as Squire Worth), and still preserved in the family, this quaint account of the first Mayor's death finds entry:

"Tuesday afternoon of the 30th of July, 1793, Seth Jenkins, Esq., Mayor of this city, died after a short illness of six days. His age 58 years November next. The same night or near the morning of the 30th, died Jonathan Worth, aged 76 years and was with the Mayor interred in the burying ground in this town. Most of the inhabitants of the town, including many of the female sex, attended the funeral. The former (Seth Jenkins) was attended by a numerous and respectable body of ancient Masons in Masonic order at 4 P. M., the whole was concluded with that good order and solemnity proper to be observed on such solemn though common occasions."

Seth was succeeded in the mayoralty by his brother Thomas, who also held the position until his death—consecutively for fifteen years. Robert Jenkins, son of Seth, succeeded his uncle Thomas as Mayor of Hudson, receiving his appointment from Governor Tompkins on the 29th of February, 1808; and he continued in office ten years with a lapse of two years, 1813–1814 (when the mayoralty chair was filled by John Tallman), and continued to hold the office until his death on the 11th of November, 1819. Robert seems to have inherited in an eminent degree the same enterprising spirit that distinguished his predecessors, and left an indelible mark on the youthful colony. At an early age we find him the proprietor of a large cotton mill under the firm of Robert Jenkins & Co., the firm consisting of his brothers Seth and John F. Jenkins. The mill was located at Columbiaville, five miles from Hudson, and was the first manufactory of cotton fabrics in the state, and was very successful. The firm also owned and sailed a line of vessels to New York and other ports. These vessels carried their manufactured goods to the principal markets, and in return brought raw cotton and other supplies to the factory.

Besides these varied enterprises, which gave such commercial prestige to the city of Hudson, Robert Jenkins was no less distinguished as a citizen. On the 10th of April, 1802, we find him receiving a commission from Governor George Clinton as captain of an artillery company of Columbia County, and on the 27th of March, 1805, a commission from Governor Morgan Lewis as first major of the Fourth Regiment of Artillery of our state, and on the 10th of November, 1812, he was appointed a Presidential Elector by Daniel D. Tompkins, casting his vote for Madison in the acrimonious contest for President in 1813 between Madison and Clinton—the former espousing the cause of the war party in the contest with Great Britain in 1812, while Clinton was for peace.

Thus we find in this worthy son of the pioneer Seth Jenkins all those strong qualities of mind and body which pre-eminently distinguished this remarkable family. They came of a grand old race of merchants, as remarkable for their intelligence as their enterprise, their capability, and their correctness in every relation of life, and to these solid qualities may be traced much of the rapid growth of the city, which advanced it to that of the third city in the state up to the year 1820.

The premature death of Robert Jenkins at the early age of forty-seven years, on the 11th of November, 1819, was a public misfortune. The papers of the day published extensive obituaries at his decease, but we can only notice the concluding paragraph of one contained in the *Bee*, under date of 16th November, 1819:

"Thus early has fallen a man distinguished for his public usefulness and private virtues. As a husband and a father he was dutiful, affectionate and exemplary—as a citizen no one was more deservedly esteemed and respected. The general sympathy felt and shown by all classes of society for his sudden loss is the best eulogium that can be bestowed on the worthy deceased. His funeral was attended on Sunday afternoon by the largest assemblage of persons ever before witnessed in this city on a similar occasion. He has left an amiable widow and young daughter (their only child) to bemoan this heavy affliction."

Thus this trio of early pioneers, Seth, Thomas and Robert Jenkins, to whose enterprise and public spirit the City of Hudson is indebted for so much of its prosperity, and whose high personal qualities shed such luster upon the infant settlement, should receive due honor and recognition at this centennial epoch from those now enjoying the fruit of their labor and genius. They were men who would have adorned any station in life—indeed were known in their day as "merchant princes." It is much to be regretted that no portraits of them are known to exist in the city they founded, as they ought to be preserved among its archives and honored and reverenced at each recurring centennial, as leading spirits in the settlement of a community to which they gave so much of their wealth, their enterprise, and their lives.

HISTORICUS

GRAMERCY PARK, NEW YORK

THE POST-OFFICE NINETY-FOUR YEARS AGO

On the resignation of Samuel Osgood in 1791, the office of Postmaster-General was bestowed upon Timothy Pickering. So insignificant was the place, and so light the duties that officer was to perform, that Washington did not think him worthy of a Cabinet seat. Yet there is now no other department of Government in which the people take so lively an interest as in that over which the Postmaster-General presides. The number of men who care whether the Indians get their blankets and their rations on the frontier, whether one company or two are stationed at Fort Dodge, whether there is a fleet of gun-boats in the Mediterranean Sea, is extremely small; but the sun never sets without millions upon millions of our citizens intrusting to the mails letters and postal-cards, money-orders and packages, in the safe and speedy delivery of which they are deeply concerned.

The growth of the post-office in the last ninety years is indeed amazing. In 1792 there were two hundred and sixty-four post-offices in the country; now there are forty-nine thousand. The yearly revenue which they yielded then was twenty-five thousand dollars. Now it is far above forty-five millions. More time was then consumed in carrying letters ninety miles than now suffices to carry them one thousand. The postage required to send a letter from New York to Savannah was precisely eighteen times as great as will now send one far beyond the Rocky Mountains, into regions of which our ancestors had never heard.

With newspapers the Postmaster-General would have nothing to do. The postmasters in the towns and villages did, indeed, receive them and send them on with the mails, but they were under no obligation to do so. It is, therefore, a common thing to read, in the papers printed at towns remote from the seaboard, complaints that the Pennsylvania packets or the New York journals were kept back, and civil requests to the postmasters to let them come on. When they did come it was usually in saddle-bags, and, as the riders never traveled by night, they were several days old. From the official post-office notices in the newspapers, it appears that letters which went out from Philadelphia at eight and a half in the morning of Monday were expected to reach New York at two in the afternoon of Tuesday. Precisely the same number of hours was spent on the road between Philadelphia and Baltimore. Under the confederation this pace was thought speedy enough; but times had changed. An attempt was made to hasten the mails, and Jefferson had a long conference with Pickering. The wish of the President was that letters should travel one hundred miles in twenty-four hours. The plan was to have the pouches carried by the riders in the day and by the coaches during the night; but the country was too poor. An attempt had, indeed, been made in New Jersey to run mail-coaches with seats for four passengers; but that state laid a yearly tax of four hundred dollars on stages and taverns, declared the Federal Government was no better than an individual, and demanded payment. When, therefore, the motion was made in Congress that all stage-wagons of the post-office should have the right to carry passengers too, a cry went up that such a law would be a violation of state rights, and the motion was lost.—***McMasters' History of the People of the United States, Second Volume.***

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

Three Interesting Letters of Andrew Jackson

[Two of these letters were never before published. The first letter, addressed to Governor Claiborne in 1807, was printed in the Dartmouth College paper in 1868, from which we now reprint it by request. The manuscript came into possession of Mr. Erastus Everett, of the class of 1836, who sent it in 1846 to Prof. Charles B. Haddock, Librarian of Dartmouth College, accompanied by a communication in which he said: "The letter from General Jackson is in his own hand, and is quite characteristic. It proves with regard to him, that, whatever improvements he may have made afterwards, he was at the date of this letter ignorant both of the orthography and the syntax of his mother tongue. The *Hickory*, too, had already begun to send forth vigorous shoots. Historically considered, it threw some light on the view taken at that time of what was erroneously termed the treason of Aaron Burr."—EDITOR.]

(FIRST LETTER)

Andrew Jackson to Governor Claiborne.

Nashville. January 8th 1807.

Dear Friend

On Sunday last I rec'd your friendly letter, by Mr. Hopkins bearer of dispatches to the Secretary of State, of the united States, of date the 12th of November,—and from the denunciation made by Gen. Wilkerson of Colo. Burr, as published in the Orleans Gazette of Decr. 11th I find that my Suspicions, and friendly warning, was in due time, and not without foundation—Mr. Hopkins produced to me your pasport, stating him to be the bearer of dispatches, to the Secretary of State, and named to me he wanted a horse which I immediately furnished, on the faith of your passport, and the Idea of the exegency of the case—and he progress'd immediately—but from information, of his conduct, rec'd before he reached me and of his conduct after he left me, I have Strong Suspicions that he is tainted, as to his conduct after he left me, I refer you to Gen'l Winchester's letter, a Copy of which, is inclosed mark'd No 1.—we have been in a bustle here for some days —owing to information rec'd from the war department and his letter to me of the 19th ultimo. I cannot call it an order—It is of a doubtfull hue—a milk and Cider thing—displays a want of firmness that renders him unfit for the office he holds, or even for a Scullion in a cook shop, but I knew my duty, and the appearance of our country required action. I ordered out 12. companies of the malitia—dispatched a messenger to Fort Massac, to be informed of the truth of a report, that was currently circulated, that Col'o Burr, was assembled at the mouth of Cumberland, with 100. Boats and 1000 armed men—the express has Just returned, and for the result of the inquiry I refer you to a copy of Capt. Bissell's letter to me and Mr Murell's report who was the messenger—on which I have ordered that the

malitia return to their respective homes, and be ready to march at a Minutes warning—Col'o Burr left Nashville on the 22d, with two boats six horses and a Cow, and two families consisting of One man and three Women—with eight Oarsmen, six of which, returned from the mouth of Cumberland—From the information on which my letter to you was written, altho it was asked by me whether Colo. Burr, was knowing to the plans, and answered in the negative, still my Suspicions were such, that I first wrote to him on the Subject and obtained an express pledge of honor, that he never had any Ideas hostile to the union or its interest, and that he had the authority of the united States, for anything, or project he had in view, after the Grand Jury had not only acquited him, in the District of Kentucky but pass'd an encomium on his views, he returned here, and thus Shielded from Suspicion still was entitled to respect under these circumstances he obtained, Stockley Hays, to accompany him, with the consent of the Colo. under great promises of friendship, and Solemn pledges of no intention hostile or inimical to the united States, my letter by Stockley you will receive, and I must confess I was not clear or free from Suspicion, and directed Stockley when he reached Orleans, to be subject to your advice, and if he saw any act, or thing that wore hostility to our Government and laws, to burst the chains of friendship, and flee to the Standard of his country—this he has pledged himself to do—since he left me from Doc't Dixons letter, I have reasons to believe that testamony was filed, before the 15th December of his hostile designs, against our Government, still the Secretary at Wars nerves is so weak, or his attachment so strong to his friend the Gen'l that his modesty is such he cannot give names but wishes to throw the responsibility off his Shoulders, on those of other individuals, O my friend you have a right to know my attachment to Republicanism, to the present administration but as to the War, department I am obliged to exclaim *O Tempora, O Mores*—you I believe do know my attachment to my Country—but Still I fear we want nerve, to purge the body politic of Treason and conspiracy, I shall write you more fully, when I have leisure—should Stockley reach you keep him with you until he can return, to his country and friends,—I wish you to write me relative to Mr Hopkins he Stated to me that he was the bearer of the political death warrant of the Gen'l's military existence.

you my dear Sir must be on the look out you must have confidence but in few,—but apparently in all, there is Gen'l Adair that has gone to your country on some business whether of a public or private nature I know not, but one thing is generally believed that Wilkerson with several others, will feel themselves, in despirate Situations, and make use of despirate means, to procure a Country and a home, and I am clearly of opinion the Seperation of the union is the first object, ——if in this they should be disappointed I know not & neither can I conjecture what they will attempt,——But my friend the patriotism of my Division has amply displayed itself—figure to yourself, Gen'l Robertson at the head of a volunteer company composed of old patriots, over fifty, such as Gen'l Thos. Overton, Maj. Howell Tatum, Maj. Clem. Hall, George Ridley,—H. H. H. tendering their serv-

ices to their Gen'l and country,—what Sensations must this inspire, is more easily Conjectured than expressed, should danger threaten you—write me—and under your notifications on the wings of patriotism, I will hasten to the point of danger, to support the union of our Country, the prop of freedom, with the arm of vengence that shall burst, on treason and on treasoners heads if to be found—and on Spanish insolence and pride, should the constituted authority order it,—excuse the haste in which this letter is written and accept assurances of a continuation

of friendship

January 8th Andrew Jackson

P.S. be good enough to give me the date the Gen'l divulged the treason to you.—

A. J.

(SECOND LETTER)

Andrew Jackson to the Cincinnati Committee of Invitation to a public dinner.

From the Van Cortlandt Collection of Original Letters.

Washington City
Feb 16th 1837

Gentlemen

Your letter communicating the wish of my friends & fellow Citizens at Cincinnati that I should on my way to the "Hermitage" partake with them of a Public Dinner has been received with feelings of pleasure & gratitude. I feel sensibly the kindness of the motive which prompts this invitation & must rely on their indulgence & generosity to excuse me in declining the festivities with which you propose to honor & to welcome me my health denies me the power & pleasure to participate in such enjoyments, or to support the fatigue of such an occasion.

I trust however to be enabled to make arrangements to remain a day in Cincinnati where it will afford me much pleasure to take by the hand the intelligent the virtuous, & disinterested Democrats & Patriots, who enabled me to sustain the shock of the powerful classes in the various sections of the Country whose combined interest compelled me to resort to the strong & decisive measures to which you refer without the support of the Democracy of my county however the protests proclamations & vetoes would have been in vain. The voice of the people of such as I hope to embrace once more at Cincinnati gave strength to those prominent measures. Without their sovereign support these appeals would have been as frail as the paper on which they were written & would have been torn to pieces by the exasperated factions who have labored to sunder the Union and subvert the principles of the Constitution itself to reach that summit of power from which they are excluded by Public opinion. I shall have to be governed by the state of

my health, which I sincerely hope will improve before reaching Cincinnati. However I will inform you by letter while on my journey when you may expect me. In the meantime please accept my heartfelt thanks & acknowledgments for the honor tendered me, & convey to those whom you represent the grateful feelings I entertain for them

Respectfully your
friend & fellow Citizen
Andrew Jackson

(THIRD LETTER)

Andrew Jackson to Hon. Silas Wright

Contributed by General R. W. Judson

Hermitage February 8th 1843

The Hon. Silas Wright, Jun.

My Dear Sir—Having casually heard some weeks ago, that unhappy difference had arisen between my mutual friends Mr. Blair and Mr. Kendall, I forthwith wrote them both on the subject with my sincere regrets showing them that nothing but injury to them both, and to our Democratic Cause could ensue from it and expressing my great pain on hearing that two old friends, both private and political should in their advanced days, fall out, and my great anxiety that it should cease. I have received letters from each in proper feeling. Mr. Blair says he has done with the controversy, and that unless compelled in self-defence he has closed this unfortunate correspondence.

Mr. Kendall says the same, and that unless compelled from reiterated attacks, he has done, and even goes further and says, if necessary, he is willing that all the correspondence be returned and burnt. The object of this letter is to solicit you as the mutual friend of both, to wait upon each and produce a reconciliation between them, a withdrawal of all communication between Mr. Kendall and Blair & Reives, and a shake hands, and oblivion to all that has passed and friendship for the future. To hear that this is effected before I am called hence will be a great pleasure to me as both have my sincere friendship. Blessed is the peacemaker, and I trust you will not hesitate at my request to be the instrument in restoring friendship between these old friends, who have fought so nobly side by side, in the great republican cause. I write you because these gentlemen have confidence in your disinterested friendship, and will listen to your admonitions.

With my sincere respects to you, and my kind salutations to all my Democratic friends in the Senate, I remain sincerely your friend.

Andrew Jackson

NOTES

SLAVERY IN NEW YORK — *Editor of Magazine of American History:* Among the papers of the Rev. Joseph Totten I find the enclosed copy of a Bill of Sale of a Negro Boy. Mr. Totten was the owner of a number of slaves, both male and female. He was a Presiding Elder of the Methodist Episcopal Church, ordained as such by Rev. Francis Asbury October 2, 1796. On June 1, 1794, Mr. Totten (then a preacher) dedicated the Sands Street Methodist Episcopal Church in Brooklyn. Rev. J. B. Wakely says of him in "Lost Chapters of American Methodism," "I have stood by his grave, and felt that no ordinary dust was sleeping there. He was a man of deep and ardent piety, of burning zeal, of holy boldness, of untiring perseverance in his Master's work."

JAS. T. SUTTON

PEEKSKILL, New York, *July.* 1885

The bill of sale of negro boy in 1798—(*Exact copy*)—Know all men by these presents That Joseph Totten of The County of Richmond & State of New York, for, and in Consideration of the Sum of Eighty Two Pounds Lawful money of the State aforesaid, have Sold unto Mordecai Smith of Queens County on Long Island and State of New York —a Negro Boy Named James Aged Eighteen Years and Eleven Months. And I do hereby for myself my heirs Executors and Administrators Relinquish all Right and Title to the Said Negro Boy forever, on the Receipt of the Sum above Specified, and for the further Consideration That the Said Mordicai Smith doth hereby promise and Engage for himself his Heirs Executors Administrators or Assigns to Manumit the Said James from Servitude on the Thirtieth day of May In the Year of our Lord, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Seven, at which time The Said Negro Boy will be Twenty Eight years of age.

Given under both our hands and Seals the Thirtieth Day of April in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety Eight.

Witness Present Joseph Totten (L S) John Lefferts, Mordecai Smith (L S) Daniel Pearsall.

P.S. I do also Warrant and Defend the aforesaid Negro Boy named James, To the Said Mordecai Smith against The Just and Lawful Claims of all Persons whatsoever.

JOSEPH TOTTEN

Witness Present
JOHN LEFFERTS
JAMES PEARSALL

COMMODORE VANDERBILT'S FIRST STEAM BOAT—The Old Union Line for Philadelphia via New Brunswick, Princeton, Trenton, and Bristol 35 miles land carriage. Fare through, 5 Dollars; the Vice President's [Daniel D. Tompkins] Steamboat Nautilus, Captain Deforest, will leave New York every day (Sundays excepted) from Whitehall Wharf, at 11 o'clock A.M. for Staten Island. From her the passengers will be received without delay into the superior and fast sailing Steamboat Bellona, *Captain Vanderbelt*, for Brunswick; from thence in Post Chaises to Trenton, where they lodge, and arrive next morning at 10

o'clock in Philadelphia with the commodious and fast sailing steamboat Philadelphia, Captain Jenkins, in time to take the Old Union Line Baltimore steamboat.—*Longworth's New York Directory*, 1819. PETERSFIELD

JAMES MONROE—In Monroe we had a national leader to whom growth and experience meant everything, and whose solid acquirements as a statesman, though not shining, were solid. He was ambitious of a good record : he aimed to set an example; but at the same time he was modest for his personal fame, called himself an instrument, and cared more to fulfill than be a figure. He was patient and tolerant, very slow, but remarkably correct in conclusions, magnanimous and considerate. As chief magistrate he took broad and lofty views of public policy; as a man he was, as he had ever been, the soul of honor. Not original in his cast of mind, and always liable to be underrated, Monroe owed his high station less to dazzling superiority than his own unflinching perseverance; something, doubtless, to friendship and opportunity, yet more to that sympathy which all feel when one who is seen to fall rises again. He broke his wing against the precipice upon which he perched so serenely in the last and best epoch of his long public career. His firmness yielded to no obstacle, and his ideal of statesmanship was constantly nobler. Monroe, though liberally educated, was no scholar. His tastes inclined neither to literature nor philosophy, but were absorbed in politics. As a firm administrator he surpassed the amiable Madison, who might propose but never could command. Being neither quick nor creative like Jefferson, he was not so readily led astray by fancies. He knew how to be advised and to hold advisers, as John Adams did not. And to Washington himself he was superior in that lower grade of intelligent statesmanship which we term political sagacity.—*History of the United States, by James Schouler, Vol. III.*

A DROVER'S ROUTE TO NEW YORK—The following interesting memorandum was made in 1825 by James Field of Ticonderoga. It indicates the manner by which the New York market was supplied with some of the fine beef for which it has been noted:

Route to drive Cattle from Tie with the stopping places. An 8 Day Route.

Vermont	Manchester	put up at Hicks's
	Arlington	
	Spottsburg	
	Bennington	put up at Ely Bronsen's
	Poundwell	
Massachusetts	Williamstown	put up at G. Bulkley's
	Lane.borough	
	Pittsfield	
	Lenox	put up at Steels or Ellis's
	East Stockbridge	
	Barrington	
	Sheffield	put up at Bush's
Conn.	Sallsbury	
	Sharon	
	Armena	put up at Seth Swift's
New York	Dover	
	Patterson	put up at Howe's
	Salem	
	Bedford	put up at Solomon Mead's

PETERSFIELD

QUERIES

THE SEVENTH REGIMENT — *Editor Magazine of American History:* In your able and interesting article on the Seventh Regiment in the July Magazine I see that 606 members became officers in the Union army. How many members or former members of the Seventh Regiment were there in the Confederate army during the Civil War? "PALMETTO"

SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES— At what date did slavery cease in the United States? An answer will greatly oblige. SUBSCRIBER

PITTSBURG, Penn.

REPLIES

O. K. [xiii. 598; xiv. 104]—In the language of the Choctaw Indians, one of the most frequently recurring expressions is the emphatic *oke*, with which an affirmation or denial is concluded. This *oke* (pronounced with strong accent on the last syllable) is one of the substitutes for the copulative verb *to be* which is wanting in Choctaw. *Oke*, as pronounced in Choctaw, has exactly the same sound as the alphabetic pronunciation of the letters O. K. in English.

The meaning of the expression, as nearly as it can be conveyed in English, is: "That is true;" "That is all so." A few examples, out of many that might be cited, will illustrate this "The Choctaw Indian is a good fellow" is expressed thus: *Hattak api huma Chahta achukmah oke*, in which *hattak api huma* means "Indian" (literally, man-body-red), *achukmah* means "good," and *oke* is the copulative expression, "it is so." In the Rev. Cyrus Byington's Choctaw New Testament the first sentence of Matt. v. 13: "Ye are the salt of the earth," is: *gakni in huppi huchchia hoke*, literally: "the earth its salt ye; that is so."

To General Andrew Jackson is attributed the introduction of the Choctaw word into our Anglo-American speech. Before the war of 1812, in voyages up and down the Mississippi and in trading expeditions overland from Nashville, Tenn., to Natchez, Miss., through the Choctaw Nation, he was brought into frequent communication with the Choctaws.

General Jackson, as everybody knows, was prone to the use of downright and energetic methods of assertion. Hearing this emphatic *oke* so frequently uttered by the Choctaw people, he learned the meaning conveyed by it to the Choctaw mind, and appropriated it, out of hand, to his own purposes. From him it passed over to the multitude. This account of the origin of O. K. has been current in the South for many years. If not true, it is, to so say the least, *ben trovato.*

No one who has ever read an autograph letter of General Jackson's will easily credit the story that he was in the habit, when he was President of the U. S., of indorsing, *in kaltem blute*, applications for office, with the letters O. K., under the belief that these were the proper initial for "all correct." Jackson was no scholar; but he was not so grossly

ignorant of English orthography as to fall into a blunder of that sort. He may have indorsed documents with the letters O. K., as a jocular symbol of his favorite Choctaw expression. The story that these letters were seriously intended by him as an abbreviation of "oll korrect" was probably, as Mr. George Bancroft suggests, an *a posteriori* invention of the enemy—to wit, the Whigs—during the hot political contests in the days of the roaring 40's.

That the abbreviation O. K. was coined by Jackson himself and used by him, long years before it passed into current slang, finds curious confirmation in an extract from the old court records of Sumner County, Tenn., quoted by Parton in his "Life of Jackson," vol. i., p. 136:

"October 6th, 1790. Andrew Jackson, Esq., proved a bill of sale from Hugh McGary to Gasper Mansker, for a negro man, which was O. K." ["A common western mistake," adds Mr. Parton, "for O. R., which means Ordered Recorded. Hence, perhaps, the saying O. K."]

Is it not more likely that the O. K. of this entry was suggested by Jackson himself, as a brief way of saying, after the Choctaw fashion, that the claim had been legally made out?

W. S. WYMAN
TUSKALOOSA, Ala., *July 5th*, 1885

POLITICAL AMERICANISMS [xiii. 599] —*Editor of Magazine*:—In your June number D. Kellogg Leitch says that the alliteration "59° 40′ or fight," was used in the campaign of 1844. The boundary contended for was 54° 40′—if I remember correctly. At least "54° 40′ or fight," was the battle cry out in this Western world.

C. K. DREW
EVANSVILLE, Indiana

POLITICAL AMERICANISMS [xiii. 599]—As Mr. Norton and his critic, Mr. Leitch, both speak of "59° 40′ or fight" as a popular rallying cry in 1844, it can hardly be considered a typographical error. "54° 40′ *or fight*" was the cry of extremists in that campaign. The boundary accepted was 49°—and there was "no fight." To one who took an active part in the Presidential campaign of 1840, Mr. Norton's short summary of its history and results is interesting. The country was in a state of bankruptcy from Maine to Illinois, arising from the bank inflations consequent upon the removal of government deposits to state Banks, and the Whigs carried the whole country on that issue. Mr. Van Buren, the Democratic candidate, received but 60 electoral votes. We considered it a decided Whig victory—not in any way due to Harrison's personal popularity, although that was large in the western states. The next election did in truth restore the Democratic party to power—but the death of Harrison one month after his inauguration and the political apostacy of Tyler which broke up the Whig party—all of which is matter of record, readily accounts for the defeat. I think the veteran who cannot give an actual date, is wrong in ascribing the title of "Young Hickory" to Van Buren. It was tried as a rallying cry for Polk—but like all imitations had no success, and was not generally used. G. L. S.

SOCIETIES

New Hampshire Historical Society—The sixty-second annual meeting of this Society was held June 10th, at Concord. The Librarian reported an increase of the library of seven hundred and twelve books and pamphlets: the Treasurer funds to the amount of $8,070.19. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year:

Charles H. Bell, President; J. E. Sargent, J. M. Shirley, Vice-presidents; John J. Bell, Corresponding Secretary; Amos Hadley, Recording Secretary; Samuel C. Eastman, Librarian; W. P. Fiske, Treasurer; I. A. Watson, Necrologist; Joseph B. Walker, Sylvester Dana, J. C. A. Hill, Standing Committee; Amos Hadley, Edward H. Spalding, J. E. Pecker, Library Committee.

Several new members were chosen; two manuscript revolutionary diaries were presented to the Society, through the medium of Isaac W. Hammond; and the usual routine business was transacted.

The annual Address, which was to have been delivered by Amos Hadley, Ph.D., was postponed by reason of his illness. It was voted to hold the annual Field Day of the Society in Concord, at the call of the President.

The Sons of the Revolution held a meeting at Delmonico's, in New York City, on June 17th, in commemoration of the one hundred and tenth anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill. Several interesting souvenirs were exhibited by those present, including the sword borne by General Putnam on that day, the commission of Lieutenant Jonathan Houghton, signed by General Warren shortly before his death, and a transcript of the orderly-book of Sir Wm. Howe, including the morning orders on the day of the battle. In explanation of the source of this interesting record, it may be said that, in June, 1775, there was an officer attached to the service of the British Adjutant-General, Sir Wm. Howe, in Boston and vicinity, whose duty it was to write out the morning orders as read in camp; and this official journal now forms part of the "Lord Dorchester Papers" (fifty-six volumes), belonging to the library of the Royal Institution of Great Britain, in London, where it was copied by the Secretary of this Society, Mr. George W. W. Houghton. In appearance it resembles a large dog-eared pocket diary. The first entry is dated Boston, June 17, 1775; thus opening at the very threshold of the Revolution, and on the morning of a day wherein every patriotic American feels the liveliest interest.

The following selections from this antique orderly-book we believe have never before appeared in print:

"General Morning Orders, Sat., June 17, 1775.—The Companies of the 35th & 49th that are arrived, to Land as soon as the Transports can get to the Wharf, & to Encamp on the Ground mark'd out for them on the Common. Capt. Handfield is appointed to act as assistant to the Deputy Quarter Masr. General & is to be obey'd as such.

The 10 Eldest Companies of Grenadiers & the 10 Eldest Companies of Light Infantry (exclusive of those of the Regts. lately landed) the 5th & 38th Regiments to parade at Half after 11 o'Clock, with their Arms, Ammunition, Blanketts & the provisions Order'd to be Cook'd this Morning. They will march by Files

to the long Wharf. The 43d & 52nd Regiments with the remaining Companies of Light Infantry & Grenadiers to parade at the same time with the same directions & March to the North Battery. The 47th Regiment & 1st Battallion of Marines will also March as above directed to the North Battery after the rest are Embarked, & be ready to Embark there when Order'd. The rest of the Troops will be kept in readiness to March at a Moment's Warning.

1 Subaltern, 1 Sergt., 1 Corpl., 1 Drummer & 20 privates to be left by each Corps for the Security of their respective Encampments. Any Man who shall quit his rank on any pretence, or shall dare to Plunder or Pillage will be Executed without Mercy.

The Pioneers of the Army to parade Immediately & March to the South Battery, where they will Obey such Orders as they will receive from Lieut. Colo. Cleveland. The Light Dragoons mounted to be sent Immediately to the Lines, where they will attend & Obey the Orders of the Officer Commanding there. Two more to be sent in like manner to Head Quarters.

Signals for the Boats in Divisions moving to the attack on the Rebell's Entrench'd on the Heights of Charlestown, June 17th, 1775, viz.:

Blue Flag, To Advance
Yellow Do. To lay on Oars
Red Do. To Land.

"HEIGHTS OF CHARLESTOWN, JUNE 18TH, AT 9 O'CLOCK IN THE MORNING. GENL. HOWE'S ORDERS—The Troops will encamp as soon as the Equipage can be brought up. Tents & Provisions may be expected when the Tide Admits of Transporting them to this side. The Corps to take the Duty at the Entrenchm't near Charlestown Neck Alternately. The whole (those on the last mention'd Duty Excepted) to furnish one third of their Numbers for work, with Officers & Non-Commission'd Officers in proportion, & to be relieved every four Hours. The parties for work to carry their Arms & Lodge them securely while on that duty.

Genl. Howe expects that all Officers will Exert themselves to prevent the men from Straggling, Quitting their Companies or platoons, & on pain of Death no Man to be Guilty of the Shamefull & Infamous practice of pillaging and pilfering in the Deserted Houses.

When Men are sent for Water, not less than Twelve with a Non-Commiss'd Officer to be sent on that Duty.

The 47th Regt. to Continue at the post they now Occupy.

The Soldiers are by no means to Cutt down Trees unless Order'd.

Genl. Howe hopes the Troops will in every Instance shew an Attention to Discipline & regularity on this Ground equal to the Bravery & Intrepidity he with the greatest satisfaction observ'd they Display'd so remarkably yesterday. He takes this Opportunity of expressing his publick Testimony of the Gallantry & good Conduct of the Officers under his Command during the Action, to which he in great measure Ascribes the success of the Day. He Considers particularly in the Light the Distinguish'd efforts of the General's Clinton & Pigot.

The Corps of Light Infantry will relieve the Grenadiers at the advanced Intrenchment this Evening at seven.

When the 52d Regt. Encamp an Officer & Twenty Men of that Corps will remain at the post they now occupy.

As soon as the Ground is mark'd out for the Encampment, the several Corps will immed'ly make necessary Houses.

"GENERAL MORNING ORDERS DATED AT HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, 19 JUNE, 1775.—The Commander in Chief returns his most gratefull thanks to Major Genl. Howe for the Extraordry Exertion of His Military Abilitys on the 17th Inst. He returns his thanks also to Major Genl. Clinton & Brigadr Genl. Pigott for the share they took in the success of the day, as well as to Lieut. Colonels Nesbitt, Abercromby, Gunning & Clarke, Majors Butler, Williams, Bruce, Tupper, Spendlove, Smelt & Mitchell, & the rest of the Officers & Soldiers who by remarkable Efforts of courage & Galantry overcame every Disadvantage & Drove the Rebells from their Redoubt & strongholds on the Heights of Charlestown & Gain'd a Compleat Victory."

The severe loss suffered by the British in the

engagement of the 17th, especially among officers, is clearly indicated by the following facts. On June 25th, the following promotions "are made by the Commander in chief 'till his Majesty's pleasure is known." [Here follow forty-three promotions, fifteen in place of those killed, and the rest in place of those already promoted.] The fifteen officers killed, whose places were filled on this date, are named as follows: Capt. Downes, Lieut. Bruere, Lieut. Col. Abercromby, Lieut. Pringle (deceased), Lieut. Baird, Lieut. Dutton, Lieut. Gould, Lieut. Hilliard, Major Williams, Capt. Addison, Capt. Davidson, Capt. Smyth, Lieut. Higgins, Lieut. Dalrymple, and Capt. Hudson. It being recorded "Lieut. Pringle, deceased," while the others are marked "killed," possibly he died from other cause. On July 12th, nineteen additional promotions were made among officers (including four killed), namely: Lieut. Verner, Capt. Lyons, Capt. Spendlove and Ensign Graham.

The British regiments which took part in the battle of Bunker's Hill included at least twelve, namely: the 4th Regt., Hodson's; 5th, Percy's; 10th, Sandford's; 14th, Keppel's; 22nd, Gage's 35th, Campbell's; 38th, Blayney's; 43d, Carey's; 47th, Carleton's; 52nd, Clavering's; 63d, Grant's; and 65th, Urmston's. These twelve regiments are all in which promotions are mentioned as having been made at this time on account of deaths or promotions.

"HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, 27TH SEPT., 1775.—Parole, Whitehall C. Sign, Monmouth. The King has been pleased to order the Comander in Chief to express His Majesty's Thanks both to the Officers & Soldiers for their Resolution and Gallantry, with which they attacked & Defeated the Rebels on the 17th of June last, who had every Advantage of Numbers & Situation, & more especially to Generals Howe A Clinton, & Brigadr. Pigot, the sense His Majesty entertains of the Spirits, Resolution & Conduct by which they Distinguished themselves, so much to their Honor upon that Day."

THE HOLLAND SOCIETY OF NEW YORK—A meeting of this Society was held at 22 West 23rd Street, on the evening of April 30, 1885. There were present, Judge Hooper C. Van Vorst, Messrs. Richard Van Santvoord, M.D., Aaron J. Vanderpoel, A. H. Van Sinderen, Robert B. Roosevelt, The Rev. Dr. Van Dyke, Jr., Geo. W. Van Siclen, George Van Wagenen, W. W. Van Voorhis, Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, A. B. Van Dusen, J. E. Van Nostrand, Adrian Van Sinderen, Judge Geo. M. Van Hoesen, Messrs. Jacob Wendell, Wm. M. Hoes, Geo. G. DeWitt, Jr., W. A. Ogden Hegeman, David Van Nostrand, Abraham Van Santvoord, Philip Van Valkenburgh, Jr., J. R. Vanderveer, Robert B. Van Vleck, H. C. Van Vechten, Warner Van Norden and Theo. R. Varick, Jr. Letters were received from District Attorney Clearwater, of Kingston, Hon. Lucas L. Van Allen, Messrs. Wm. Van Alstyne, Wilhelmus Mynderse, Edwin E. Van Auken, Wm. Van Wyck, Wm. Remsen, Robt. W. Van Boskerck, Dr. B. F. Vosburgh, Mr. Fred. T. Van Beuren and Mr. Cornelius Van Brunt.

A certified copy of the Articles of Incorporation was presented as approved by a Justice of the Supreme Court, and filed with the Secretary of State of New York and the Clerk of the City and County of New York.

The following gentlemen were elected members of the Society: Messrs. Theo. R. Varick, Jr., F. D. Tappen, Maus R. Vedder, M.D., Pierre C. Hoag, Edward Van Valkenburgh, A. V. Van Vleck, Henry J. Schenck, Lawrence Vanderveer, of Rocky Hill, N. J., Alfred De Groot, H. B. Van Vleck, Adrian Van Sinderen, Henry Stuyvesant, Aug. W. Wynkoop, of Kinderhook, Judge Theod-

oric R. Westbrook and Mr. A. T. Clearwater, of Kingston, and Messrs. Wm. M. Dyckman, of Brooklyn, Wm. G. DeWitt, Geo. G. Kip and Fred. B. Van Vort.

The proposed Constitution was read, section by section, and voted upon and adopted. The Society then proceeded to elect officers under the Constitution as follows: Judge Hooper C. Van Vorst, President; Hon. Robert B. Roosevelt, Vice-president for New York City; Hon. A. T. Clearwater, Vice-president for Kingston; Mr. Augustus W. Wynkoop, Vice-president for Kinderhook; Mr. Adrian Van Sinderen, Vice-president for Brooklyn, and Mr. Geo. W. Van Siclen, Secretary and Treasurer.

On motion the Trustees were requested to determine upon additional Dutch centers of settlement entitled to have a vice-president in this Society. The date for an annual dinner was discussed, and it was informally determined not to interfere with pending Pinkster plans of the St. Nicholas Club and Society, but to postpone the matter to a more convenient time in the fall or winter. The Society then adjourned from labor to refreshment.

To be eligible for membership a gentleman must be descended in a direct male line from a Dutchman who was a native or a resident of New York, or of the American Colonies, prior to the year 1776. The objects of the Society, among others, are to perpetuate the memory and to foster and promote the principles and virtues of the Dutch ancestors of its members, and to collect and preserve information, history, genealogy, documents, etc., relating to the Dutch in America; also to promote social intercourse among the members; it is, however, a society, and not a club.

The Trustees for the first year are Messrs. Hooper C. Van Vorst, Aaron J. Vanderpool, George M. Van Hoesen, Geo. W. Van Siclen, Geo. W. Van Slyck, Lucas L. Van Allen, David Van Nostrand, Abraham Van Santvoord, Edgar B. Van Winkle, Herman W. Vanderpoel, The Rev. Dr. Van Dyke, Jr., William M. Hoes, W. A. Ogden Hegeman, George G. De Witt, Jr., Wilhelmus Mynderse, Robert B. Roosevelt, Jacob Wendell, Philip Van Valkenburgh, Jr., and Benjamin F. Vosburg, M.D.

BERKSHIRE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its eighth annual meeting in the Atheneum, at Pittsfield, on the 13th of May. Prof. A. L. Perry, of Williamstown, presided and made the annual statement, reviewing the work of the year. He spoke especially of the last quarterly meeting when Prof. Dana read a paper on "Some points in the Geology of Berkshire." Prof. Perry mentioned the book which is to be published by the Society, and said that Prof. Dana's paper would be the ground-work for the first chapter in the scientific department. The following officers were elected: Prof. A. L. Perry, President; Henry Colt and E. W. B. Canning, Vice-presidents; E. G. Hubbel, Secretary; and Dr. Thayer, Rev. A. B. Whipple, Judge R. M. Barker, the Executive Committee. Frank L. Pope read a paper on the "Western Boundary of Massachusetts," giving an extensive and interesting account of the controversy involved.

CONTRIBUTION TO A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES IN THE UNITED STATES

II

New Haven Colony Historical Society, New Haven.

CATALOGUE OF THE OBJECTS OF INTEREST BELONGING TO THE SOCIETY, rooms 2, 3 and 4, Old State House, New Haven. [New Haven,] 1885. 57 pp. 8vo.

MR. WILLIAM DIODATE (of New Haven, from 1717 to 1751) and his Italian ancestry, June 28, 1875. By Prof. E. E. Salisbury. [New Haven,] 1875. 39 pp. 8vo.

PAPERS. Vols. 1–3. *New Haven. Printed for the Society.* 1865–82. 3 v. 8vo. *Contents.*— 1. Organization of the Society; Officers; Members; The New Haven colony, by H. White; Civil government in New Haven colony, by L. Bacon; History of the Cutler lot, by H. White; History of Trinity Church, New Haven, by F. Croswell; History of Long wharf in New Haven, by T. R. Trowbridge; The parsonage of "The Blue meeting-house," by E. E. Beardsley; The Governor Gilbert lot, by E. L. Cleaveland; Notice of the early pomologists in New Haven, by N. A. Bacon; Correspondence between President Jefferson and Abraham Bishop, collector of New Haven; Bishop Berkeley's gifts to Yale College, by D. C Gilman; Historical account of Connecticut currency, etc., by H. Bronson. 1865. 170, iv, 192 pp. 2. Officers; Members; Constitution; Address of the president, [E E.] Beardsley; Early history of Southold, Long Island, by E. Whitaker; Invasion of New Haven by the British troops, July 5, 1779, by C. Goodrich; The poets and poetry of Connecticut, by R. W. Wright; Memoranda respecting Whalley and Goffe, by F. B. Dexter; Remarks on Mr. Dexter's paper respecting Whalley and Goffe, by T. R. Trowbridge; Historical sketch of Stephen Goodyear, deputy-governor of the New Haven colony, 1643–58, as derived from "The Old Colony records;" Ancient houses of New Haven, by T. R. Trowbridge, jr.; Sketch of the life and writings of John Davenport, by F. B. Dexter; Medical history and biography, by H. Bronson. 1877. xxiv, 388 pp. 3. Officers; Members; The founding of Yale College, by F. B. Dexter; The New Haven convention of 1778, by S. E. Baldwin; Old Connecticut, by F. J. Kingsbury; History of the ancient maritime interests of New Haven, by T. R. Trowbridge, jr.; The Mohegan land controversy, by E. E. Beardsley; Gov. Elihu Yale, by F. B. Dexter; Branford annals, by E. C. Baldwin; The boundary line between Connecticut and New York, by S. E. Baldwin; Chapters on the early government of Connecticut, by H. Bronson; The ecclesiastical constitution of Yale College, by S. E. Baldwin; The early relations between New Netherland and New England, by F. B. Dexter; Inscriptions on tombstones in New Haven, prior to 1800, edited by F. B. Dexter. Index to volumes 1–3. 1882. vii, 620 pp.

New London County Historical Society, New London.

ACT OF INCORPORATION, BY-LAWS AND OFFICERS. New London, 1871, 8vo.

ANNUAL MEETING, WITH SECRETARY'S REPORT, November 29, 1880. New London, 1880. 12 pp. 16mo.

Tolland County Historical Society.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF TOLLAND. Address before the Society, at Tolland, Connecticut, on the 22d of August, and 27th of September, 1861. By L. P. Waldo. Hartford, 1861. 148 pp. 8vo.

DELAWARE.

Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington.

CATALOGUE, WITH ITS HISTORY, CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS, and list of Members. Wilmington, 1871, 23 pp. 8vo.

A HISTORY OF NEW SWEDEN; OR, THE SETTLEMENTS ON THE RIVER DELAWARE, by I. Acrelius. Translated from the Swedish, with introduction and notes, by W. M. Reynolds. Published under the joint auspices of the Historical Societies of Pennsylvania and Delaware. Philadelphia, 1874. 7, 17—468 pp. Folded map. Portrait, 8vo. Forms vol. eleven of the Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

PAPERS, No. 1–4. Wilmington, 1879–1882. 4 pphs. 8vo. 1. Memorial Address on the Life and Character of Willard Hall, by D. M. Bates, 1879. 60 pp. Portrait. 2. Address on the History of the Boundaries of the State of Delaware, by J. W. Houston, 1879. 108 pp. 3. Some Account of William Usselinx and Peter Minuit, by J. J. Mickley, 1881. 27 pp. 4. Memoir of John M. Clayton, by J. P. Comegys, 1882. 307 pp. Portrait.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE INAUGURAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY, 31st May, 1864, with the constitution and by-laws. Wilmington, 1864. 16 pp. 8vo. Contains address by J. Ross Snowden on the Early History of the Settlements on the Delaware.

SOME LEAVES FROM THE EARLY HISTORY OF DELAWARE AND MARYLAND Read before the Society, September 24, 1868, by W. J. Read. Wilmington, 1868. 8vo.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

American Historical Society, Washington, D. C.

DISCOURSE AT THE CAPITOL OF THE UNITED STATES, before the Society, January 30, 1836, by Lewis Cass; to which are prefixed its constitution and the names of its officers. Washington, 1836. 58 pp. 8vo.

A DISCOURSE AT THE CAPITOL, before the Society, on their second annual meeting, Washington, January 20, 1837. by L. Woodbury. Washington, 1837. 67 pp. 8vo.

TRANSACTIONS, Vol. I. Washington, 1839, 8vo. *Contents.*—Preface giving account of origin of the Society. Circular. Constitution, by-laws, list of officers. Catalogue of books, medals and prints belonging to the Society. Discourse January 20, 1836, by Lewis Cass. Discourse at 2d annual meeting, January 20, 1837, by Levi Woodbury; Tracts and other papers, relating to the origin, settlement, and progress of the colonies in North America. Collected by Peter Force, vol. 1. Washington, 1836.

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SAME. Washington, 1838. 8vo.

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THE EARLY HISTORY OF FLORIDA. An introductory lecture, by G. R. Fairbanks, before the Society, April 15, 1857. Appendix, containing the constitution, organization, and list of members of the Society. St. Augustine, 1857. 31 (1) pp. 8vo.

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Georgia Historical Society, Savannah.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE SOCIETY, February 12, 1858. By J. E. Ward. Savannah, 1858. 8vo.

ANNIVERSARY ADDRESS BEFORE THE SOCIETY, February 14, 1881. By C. C. Jones, jr. Savannah, 1881. 8vo.

BIOGRAPHICAL MEMORIALS OF JAMES OGLETHORPE, founder of the colony of Georgia. By T. M. Harris. Boston, 1841. xxii, 424 pp. Portrait, 8vo. Dedicated to the Society.

COLLECTIONS. Vols. 1-4. Savannah: printed for the Society. 1840-78. 4 v. in 5. 8vo. *Contents.*—1. Introduction. Oration before the Society at the celebration of their first anniversary, February 12, 1840, by W. Law; New and accurate account of the provinces of South Carolina and Georgia, [by J. Oglethorpe]. London, 1733; A voyage to Georgia, 1735, by F. Moore. London, 1744; An impartial inquiry into the state and utility of the province of Georgia, [by B. Martyn]. London, 1741; Reasons for establishing the colony of Georgia, with regard to the trade of Great Britain, etc., with some account of the country, and the design of the trustees, [by B. Martyn]. London, 1733; Sketch of the life of General James Oglethorpe, by T. Spalding. 1840. xii, 307, (1) pp. 2. Introduction. Discourse before the Society at their second anniversary, February 12, 1841, by W. B. Stevens; A new voyage to Georgia, by a young gentleman. 2d ed. London, 1737; A state of the province of Georgia, attested upon oath in the court of Savannah, November 10, 1740, [by W. Stephens]. London, 1740; Brief account of the causes that have retarded the progress of the colony of Georgia, [by T. Stephens]. London, 1743; A true and historical narrative of the colony of Georgia, by P. Tailfer, H. Anderson, D. Douglas. Charleston, 1741; Account, showing the progress of the colony of Georgia, from its establishment, [by B Martyn]. London, 1741; Appendix. Account of the Society; Constitution; By-laws; Officers. 1842. 6,336 pp. 3 Part 1. Introduction; [Biographical sketch of Benjamin Hawkins]; The Creek confederacy, [by W. B. Hodgson]; A sketch of the Creek country, in 1798 and 1799, [by B. Hawkins]; Appendix; Indian treaties. 1848. 88 pp. 3. Part 2. Preface; Letters from General Oglethorpe to the trustees of the colony, October, 1735, to August, 1744; Report of Governor Sir James Wright to Lord Dartmouth on the condition of the colony, September 20, 1773; Letters from Governor Sir James Wright to the Earl of Dartmouth and Lord George Germain, secretaries of State for America, August 24, 1774, to February 16, 1782. Appendix. Casimir Pulaski, address before the Society, by C. C. Jones, jr., upon the celebration of its 32d anniversary, February 13, 1871; Address before the Society, by R. D. Arnold, July 24, 1871. 1873. vi, 428 pp. 4. The dead towns of Georgia, by C. C. Jones, jr. 1878. 263 pp. Illustrated. Itinerant observations in America. Reprinted from The London Magazine, 1745-6. 64 pp.

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DISCOURSE BEFORE THE SOCIETY, 12th February, 1845. By A. Church. Savannah, 1845. 34, 6, pp. 8vo.

DISCOURSE BEFORE THE SOCIETY, February 12, 1840. By William Law. Savannah, 1840, 43 pp, 8vo. On the early history of Georgia.

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DISCOURSE ON THE QUALIFICATIONS AND DUTIES OF AN HISTORIAN, before the Society, February 13, 1843. By M. King. Savannah, 1843. 23 pp. 8vo.

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY. Appleton P. C. Griffin

(*To be continued.*)

BOOK NOTICES

THE UNION DEFENCE COMMITTEE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. Minutes, Reports, and Correspondence. WITH AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION. By JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS. Square 8vo, pp. 286. Published by the Union Defence Committee. 1885.

This timely and valuable work was projected in the spring of 1864, at the time the Union Defence Committee definitely adjourned, leaving to the Finance Committee the disposition of the remaining fraction of the Citizens' Fund. The late Prosper M. Wetmore was instructed to prepare and publish a full report of the proceedings of the committee, but he died before the scattered documents could be gathered. When the various minutes, reports, correspondence, etc., were, after much delay, brought together, the surviving members placed them in the hands of Mr. Stevens, and this beautiful book is the result. The historical introduction is from his pen. He traces the course of events from the time that the news of the surrender of Fort Sumter reached New York, describes the great meeting in Union Square, and the formation of the Union Defence Committee. The most forcible portion of his narrative, however, relates to the "Action of the Union Defence Committee." The equipment, supply and relief of the regiments who were hastening to the war were only a part of their varied duties. They were in constant receipt of information with regard to the treasonable actions of individuals, whom they reported either for surveillance or arrest. They received applications for arms from the Union men of Kentucky; they were invited to interpose and save Western Virginia to the Union through a delegation from the inhabitants of that region; and applications for arms and hospital stores poured in from the western states. Special committees from their number were *en route* between New York and Washington almost constantly; and the gravest and most knotty problems were brought before their daily meetings for solution. "Everywhere," says Mr. Stevens, "this committee seems to have been recognized as the most effective agent in the defence of the Union." The minutes and documents which occupy three-fourths of the volume illustrate and add emphasis to every line and expression in the historical sketch.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES UNDER THE CONSTITUTION. 1817–1831. Vol. III. By JAMES SCHOULER. 12mo, pp. 539. 1885. Washington, D. C.: William H. Morrison.

Some three years ago Mr. Schouler completed his second volume, giving abundant evidence of painstaking, careful study, and of earnest thought. Since that time he has been prosecuting his faithful investigations in the intervals of graver professional work, and his third volume of United States History is now given to the reading public. Mr. Schouler is the eldest son of the late General William Schouler, the adjutant-general of Massachusetts during the civil war period, and he was graduated from Harvard College in 1859. In the preparation of his third volume he has spent his winters in Washington, thus placing himself in the atmosphere of the scenes described, that he might consult original authorities, and take neither facts nor opinions at second-hand. He has produced a work that reveals the same conscientious searching after truth as its predecessors—a fit companion volume to those already published. His style is nervous and strong, with a decided tendency toward the picturesque. The volume opens with the inauguration of James Monroe as President of the United States, on the 4th of March, 1817. The author writes of Crawford and Clay, of our foreign relations, of the Spanish-American revolution, of Texas and Mexico, of our financial affairs as a nation, of the politics of Massachusetts, of Jackson's quarrels and rising importance, of the admission of new states into the Union, of our English relations, of the slave trade, of the first Missouri controversy, of social life in Washington, of state constitutions, of a meddlesome Congress, of the "Monroe doctrine," of Webster, Lafayette, John Quincy Adams—and of Randolph in the Senate. In this latter connection Mr. Schouler says: "Did Calhoun, as he sat rigid and statue-like in the Vice-President's chair, listening with pale face, lips compressed, and scornful eyes, his thick hair brushed boldly back from his imperious forehead, extract ideas from this tangled monologue for his own political guidance? And had he already begun to reconstruct his theory of American government so as to place the state above the nation? At all events, it is claimed by Randolph's latest biographer that Randolph himself, even while despised in his own eyes, organized the South as a distinct power, and made Calhoun his convert." Mr. Schouler's history is one of great merit, and if the fourth and fifth volumes, which will bring it to the year 1861, are written in the same spirit and with the same skill and judgment, the work cannot fail to take the highest rank.

CENTENNIAL OF THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF THE REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA (formerly Ref. Prot. Dutch Church), 1784–1884. 8vo, pp.

526. New York, 1885: Board of Publication of the Reformed Dutch Church in America.

It is interesting to note that the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church has been the first in the land to celebrate a centennial anniversary. This handsome volume contains a full account of the proceedings on that memorable occasion. It is the record of a century of faithful Christian work performed in an institution whose mission is to shape and mold those who are to form the ministry of the church. There is a direct and an indirect influence, a continuous, powerful, extending influence radiated from such educational processes. They suggest a ministry so cultivated and disciplined as to meet the highest intellectual wants of the age, and a ministry sufficiently learned to be able to make itself intelligible and interesting to the common mind. The summing up of the work of a century naturally includes a vast amount of interesting material. The historical discourse of Prof. David D. Demarest, D.D., is a volume in itself. He begins with the birth of the Theological School in 1784—"when was planted the tree that, during a century, has not ceased to bear fruit from year to year"—an institution begun with two teachers, and, in chaste and impressive language, traces its course and development to the present time, with its buildings and books, its professorships and endowments The address of Prof. Samuel M. Woodbridge, D.D., LL.D., is a valuable chapter on historical theology; and Rev. Cornelius E. Crispell, D.D, furnishes an essay on Theological Instruction in the West. Addresses and letters of congratulation occupy many pages. The Appendix contains numerous biographical notices and various documents well worthy of preservation; also a general catalogue of the seminary, which will be greatly prized. The volume is illustrated with many excellent portraits. Everything of importance that was said or done at the celebration has been included in these pages, from the eloquent address of welcome by Rev. Thomas Chalmers Easton, D.D., with the admirable response of the General Synod's President, Rev David Cole, D.D., down to the sprightly address of the Alumni's representative, Rev. Francis N. Zabriskie, D.D., and the farewell words of the chairman of the closing session, Rev. A. R. Van Nest, D.D. The work has been issued in excellent taste, and it is a welcome contribution to church history in America.

THE HISTORY OF GEORGIA. By CHARLES C. JONES, JR., LL.D. Vols. I. and II. 8vo. pp. 556, 540. Boston, 1883: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

These two noble volumes cover the picturesque Aboriginal and Colonial epochs, and the Revolutionary period of Georgia, concluding with its erection into an independent state. It is the purpose of the scholarly author to publish two further volumes that shall treat of Georgia as a Commonwealth, tracing her progress in population and material wealth, in educational advantages, commercial connections, and political importance. The work, thus far, has been executed with fidelity and presented to the reader in an engaging style.

The first volume is particularly rich in antiquarian lore. The region was inhabited by various tribes of Indians when the colony of Georgia was founded. They were divided into families, nations and confederacies. Over the confederacy ruled a king, and his subjects used gestures in approaching him, modified somewhat but similar in form to those employed in the adoration of the sun. They had a high-priest charged with the conduct of spiritual affairs. Their wants were supplied by the abundant food treasures of the warm and generous soil. This ancient population was essentially shocked and demoralized by Spanish and French incursions.

The first Europeans who are known to have traversed the territory of primeval Georgia were Hernando de Soto and his companions, in 1539. It was confidently believed that this new and unexplored kingdom would exceed in riches the realms of Atahualpa, during the conquest of which De Soto had received, as his individual share of the spoils, the enormous sum of one hundred and eighty thousand crowns of gold. Colonel Jones describes the army of young cavaliers as the "most brilliant, enthusiastic, and warlike assemblage which, up to that period, had ever been seen this side the Atlantic." They carried in their veins the best blood of Spain. Their equipment was superb. Scarcely a gray head appeared among them. Their arms were strong, and their breasts filled with visions of glory and wealth. Twelve priests, eight clergymen of inferior rank, and four monks, accompanied the army. Men of letters, who wete to perpetuate the events of the march, were also present. In the early annals of America we know of nothing more entertaining than these chapters relating to the explorations of De Soto and his army in the wilds of what is now the State of Georgia.

The first permanent settlement by Europeans was of much later date. Colonel Jones traces with a steady hand the gradual development of the colony until it became a community of importance. He reveals exceptional ability in his manner of reducing to order and sequence the enormous amount of material which he must necessarily have examined for the production of such a work. The heroism of the people of Georgia during the Revolutionary war is admirably shown. The beauty of the work is greatly enhanced by some twenty portraits in steel—notable characters of a century or more ago. It contains, also, several maps of value. It is one of the best State histories that has yet been produced, and Georgia owes a debt of gratitude to its author.

McMASTER'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES: A History of the People of the United States, from the Revolution to the Civil War. By JOHN BACH McMASTER. To be completed in five volumes. Vol II. 8vo. pp. 656. 1885. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

When Mr. McMaster's first volume was issued some two years ago, we took occasion to emphasize the opinion that it was not a remarkable work on account of any extraordinary gift of insight or power of philosophic deduction, but that it was remarkable in its power to hold and fascinate the reader's attention; and this fascination was due in large measure to the author's grasp of details, to his perception of the significance of little things, to his skill in grouping and presenting his facts, and to his command of a luminous and picturesque style. We find the second volume equal to the first in its social pictures, its striking portraits and dramatic episodes, and even better in its coloring and breadth of treatment. In both volumes, however, Mr. McMaster's judgment of public men and measures is open to just criticism. He succeeds best in his pen pictures of the peculiarities and customs of the commonalty, which in the decade covered by his second volume was a mixture of many nationalities. It should be shown in the same connection that those habits and ways were in the majority of instances purely local, disappearing as the blood of the different countries of Europe became mixed in the veins of the people, and the general amalgamation of opinions, modes of life, tastes and fashions produced a new and distinct species of the human kind in the native American. Mr. McMaster has read a great deal, and studied indefatigably the crude newspapers and pamphlets of the olden time; he has found also in culling material from such sources that it is far from easy to discriminate between the valuable and the trivial. He has achieved so much, and in the genuine historic spirit, that we are the more inclined to point out defects. He is no admirer of Mr. Jefferson, and his observations regarding him seem like the crisp words of a political partisan. Mr. Monroe is represented of but slight account, and the fresh student of American history—with no other source of information—would wonder what sort of people the Americans could be to keep such a man in the Presidential chair for eight years! How different is the fine, discriminating analysis of Mr. Schouler, who measures Mr. Monroe from all stand-points. Even Washington is singularly belittled in the reader's mind, as he closes Mr. McMaster's volume. We come frequently upon such passages as: "Oh, the impudence of man! exclaimed the Federalists. Truly it was the fashion to malign the great characters of the Revolution. But who brought the fashion in and followed it? Washington was commonly believed to have had an original share in accomplishing the independence of America. And who, pray, attempted to ruin him? Where could there be found such another mass of vile slander, unjust charges, causeless abuse, and lying statements on the deliverer of America as in the columns of the *Aurora*, once misconducted by Bennie Bache, and now misconducted by Willie Duane?" And in such instances—which are numerous all through the book—it requires more close scrutiny than the majority of readers are inclined to bestow to discover that the language used is from some newspaper of the day, which the author is merely summarizing, rather than from his own extraordinary conclusions.

We venture to predict that an ambitious author, who has shown such decided and unmistakable genius at thirty-three years of age, and who has had the courage to step out of the beaten track of historical narrative and produce two volumes of American history, fresh in their treatment and of recognized merit, will profit by the experience he has had, and like Mr. Bancroft examine into the nature of the criticisms his work receives—to the increased value of his future volumes. "Truth and truth alone is permanent."

THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK. By HERBERT LIVINGSTON SATTERLEE, A.M., L.L.B. (*cum laude*), Ph.D. [Columbia]. 8vo, pp. 107. Pamphlet. 1885. New York: J. F. Pearson.

The substance of this work was originally presented to the Faculty of the School of Political Science, Columbia College. The object of the author in giving it circulation is to call attention to the important influence of the Colonial Constitution on the political structure of the State of New York at the present time. He goes back of 1777, and considers the causes which made the first paper constitution of the state possible, and the factors that determined its form. He describes the settlement of the Province by the Dutch; discusses the systems of government which that people brought with them into the New World; re-tells with much vigor the oft-told story of the capture of New York by the English in a time of profound peace; and the subsequent introduction of English methods of government and arbitrary laws. He devotes a number of pages to the English Revolution of 1689, and its effects upon New York, and quotes his authorities freely. He touches also upon the revenue bills, the various controversies between the Assembly and the Royal Governor, and the Zenger trial. In his closing paragraph he says: "A less independent, a less courageous people would have

been coerced into submission, but generation after generation of the people of New York rebelled against the tyranny of her governors." It was a slow battle for independence, fought for nearly a century, and "resulted in a glorious victory."

THE YEAR BOOK OF THE CITY OF CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA. 1884. Mayor Courtenay's Annual Review. 8vo, pp. 403. News and Courier Book Presses, Charleston, S. C.

There are features in this work that do not uusually come into the yearly report of the general affairs and public institutions of a growing city. Aside from the statistics, which furnish gratifying evidence of the healthful progress of Charleston, one-third or more of the book is an appendix of varied and special historical value. Some thirty pages of this are devoted to "Hilton's Voyage of Discovery to the Coast of Florida" in 1663. Eighteen or more of its pages are given to the interesting history of St. John's Lutheran Church, written by its pastor, Rev. E. T. Horn. The "Siege of Charleston, 1780," by General Wilmot G. De Saussure, is a condensed and ably-presented account of a most important event in American history, covering twenty-six pages. And this is followed by a sketch historical of "The Charleston Port Society for Promoting the Gospel Among Seamen," prepared by C. E. Chichester. "The Confederate Defence of Morris Island," in Charleston Harbor, with illustrative maps, is from the pen of Major Robert C. Gilchrist, who was a participant, commanding the First Guard Artillery in that defense. This has been reprinted from the Year Book in a pamphlet of 53 pages. Mr. Horn's historical sketch of the St. John's Lutheran Church has also been reproduced in a pamphlet, as has General De Saussure's account of the siege of Charleston in 1780. Major Courtenay has, with characteristic public spirit, republished some remarkable correspondence of Lord Montague and General Moultrie, letters which were originally published in Moultrie's Memoirs. These for more than two generations have been out of print by the scarcity of the old volumes that contained them. The introduction of them into the historical appendix to the City Year Book, and the issue of some charming little editions of them on Holland paper and vellum for private circulation, is a matter of congratulation to all lovers of American history. Mayor Courtenay's Year Book is a model of its kind and bears the impress of enlightened scholarship. It is a work that ought to find a place in every library in the land.

THE CONGO, AND THE FOUNDING OF ITS FREE STATE. A Story of Work and Exploration. By Henry M. Stanley. With illustrations. Two volumes, pp. 528, 483. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Two epochal volumes. They denote gigantic steps in the world's progress to a higher and better condition. For the first time in the world's history have the moneyed, commercial, scientific and philanthropic classes of civilized nations combined to carry the blessings which result from practical Christianity into the heart of Africa. For the first time in the world's history have the principal powers of Europe and America united to recognize the righteously acquired sovereignty of their own associated subjects, and to exercise a beneficent regulative protectorate over that sovereignty.

The country in which this unique governmental experiment is to be tried contains over a million square miles of the richest and most fertile soil, and over fifty million human beings of black or bronze hue. Nature-people, in the German sense of that phrase, they are comparatively industrious, singularly enterprising, addicted to trade, very impressible and imitative, and demonstrably capable of high civilization. Traders of many nations, and missionaries of many denominations, now bring to bear upon them the most potent uplifting forces known to society. The whole of the marvelous story is told in these volumes. The published adventures of Henry M. Stanley, as war correspondent in Africa of London and New York newspapers, while successfully searching for the heroic Livingstone, and while crossing the Dark Continent from Zanzibar to the mouth of the Congo, invested him with a fame coextensive with civilization, and recommended him to the favor of Leopold II., King of the Belgians, by whom—as the head of the *Internationale Association Africane*—he was employed in the unprecedented work of exploration and construction so grandly accomplished. His narrative is one of rare and fascinating interest. His genius and executive ability command the admiring and cordial co-operation of the leading statesmen of both hemispheres. Future historians will assign him due rank with the benefactors of his race. Africa, especially, will honor his memory.

There are some things connected with the organization and workings of the International Association of the Congo that we should like to know, and that are not disclosed in this comprehensive and monumental work; but enough is revealed to gladden the hearts and strengthen the faith of all who believe in the improvability of the race and its ultimate harmony with coexistent environment.

U. S. Grant
General

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is it connected with Central Park, except by the cross streets from Eighth Avenue. A smooth park drive curves along the crest of the high bluff, itself a part of Riverside Park, at an elevation averaging one hundred or more feet above the river, and is pronounced the finest drive of similar extent in this country—or in any country on the globe.

TEMPORARY VAULT.

At the extreme northern end of Riverside Park is a high plateau of several acres of ground, jutting out like a promontory, some one hundred and thirty feet above the river. It is unimproved further than that the handsomely finished park drive circles gracefully about its ragged edge in the form of a loop. A gently sloping elevation in the central portion of this plateau seems to have been specially provided by Nature for the illustrious soldier's tomb. It commands a view looking up the Hudson toward West Point for a great distance, at least thirty miles on a clear day, and southward to the Battery and across the Bay to the Narrows; while in the direction of the rising sun may be seen the East River and the blue waters of Long Island Sound, and to the west, beyond the Hudson, the Palisades, Fort Lee, and the bold, steep, leafy shores of New Jersey. The temporary vault fronts the west, and the eminence in the side of which it is built is crowned with a cluster of native forest trees. The proposed monument will be exceptionally conspicuous from many points of view, while opportunity for the display of taste in ornamental terraces and grounds about it is unequaled.

The most noteworthy memories that cluster about this beloved burial-place are singularly enough connected with the greatest commander of the eighteenth century—Washington. One hundred and nine years ago (in 1776), the month of August was one of the hottest that had been experienced in New York for many decades. The city was in a condition of perpetual terror—panics were of daily occurrence—for a hostile British armada, outnumbering in both ships and men that which Philip II. organized for the invasion of England in 1588, was snugly anchored in a safe haven between Sandy Hook and Staten Island. Spies reported a force of forty thousand disciplined warriors preparing to invade Manhattan Island. What was to prevent this great fleet from running up the Hudson and landing its troops at some of the convenient points along the shore? Washington, whose small army occupied the city, had called for volunteers

to swell the ranks, however brief might be their terms of service, and men had come from all quarters of the compass in the greatest possible haste and confusion, and in the most grotesque of costumes. Some wore tow frocks of home manufacture, some green hunting-shirts with leggings to match, some were in the old red coats used in the French wars; the Delaware men were in dark-blue coats with red facings, the New Jersey riflemen in short red coats and striped trousers, the Pennsylvania regiments in all the colors of the rainbow—brown coats faced with buff, blue coats faced

THE APTHORPE MANSION

Washington's Head-quarters in 1776.

with red, brown coats faced with white and studded with great pewter buttons, buckskin breeches, and black cocked hats with white tape bindings—and the Virginians were in white smock-frocks, furbelowed with ruffles at the neck, elbows, and wrists, black stocks, hair in cues, and round-topped, broad-brimmed black hats. Washington's guards wore blue coats faced with buff, red waistcoats, buckskin breeches, black felt hats bound with white tape, and bayonet and body belts of white. The variegated throng were uniformed after awhile, but for the present they worked day and night on the fortifications. The daring men whose names were to make

the age illustrious were alive in every fiber. Washington was everywhere. The push of a century was behind him. He knew the whole shore of the Hudson, and made swift observations every few hours. Hundreds of times during that memorable summer he was on this high bluff, now endeared to the American people by the tenderest of ties, accompanied on different occasions by Lord Stirling and Generals Heath, Greene, Spencer, Putnam, Mifflin, Knox, and George Clinton, and the younger officers, Aaron Burr and Alexander Hamilton. The Bloomingdale road then terminated as a legal highway at Adam Hoagland's house, about One Hundred and Fifteenth street, but it was continued as a farm road to Manhattanville, and a well-worn bridle-path branched from it to this look-out bluff. The terminus of the Bloomingdale road was also connected by a narrow public way with old Kingsbridge road at McGowan's Pass. General Putnam devised a curious scheme by which he thought to trip the British vessels when they should attempt to pass up the Hudson. He worked manfully to obstruct the channel opposite Fort Washington, and in full view from this point, by sinking the hulks of old vessels, to be fastened together with chains. In the midst of his Herculean efforts, however, two large ships of the enemy, the *Rose* and the *Phœnix*, with three tenders, sailed defiantly by the city and its batteries, passed these "new-fangled" and unfinished obstructions without touching them, and anchored in Tappan Sea, where they remained four or five weeks. The movement was interpreted to mean the ultimate surrounding of Manhattan Island. A queer little fleet—made up of schooners, sloops, row-galleys and whale-boats and commanded by Benjamin Tupper—hovered about, chiefly in this neighborhood, dodging in and out of the coves, and keeping a constant look-out. Six of these ambitious craft glided into Tappan Sea one bright day and attacked the British men-of-war at their anchorage, fighting valiantly for two long hours to the great perplexity and discomfort of the enemy, and then retired. Fire-ships worried the British ships excessively also; one little fire-ship grappled the larger war vessel in the night-time, and was with difficulty shaken off. All these varied movements were witnessed by some of the American officers, from the Bloomingdale bluff, with the most intense interest.

In the course of the eight years' Revolutionary War this particular point of observation bore the footprints of probably all the great generals of both the opposing armies.

In the immediate vicinity, not far from a mile distant, was the elegant suburban mansion of Charles Ward Apthorpe, a gentleman of culture, æsthetic tastes, and large property interests, who, appointed by the king,

was one of the honorable counselors of the royal governor of New York. The ladies of his family were socially prominent, and the wealth and fashion of the city had long esteemed it a privilege to be counted on their visiting-list. The house itself was a gem of domestic architecture for that period. It stood on an eminence, commanding a broad view of the Hudson, surrounded by majestic shade trees of a century's growth, amid highly cultivated grounds, and it fronted both the east and the west—that is, it had two fronts precisely alike, the same as represented in the sketch. Its great entrance-hall opening through a recessed portico at either end, was of sufficient dimensions for a cotillion party. The wood-carving of the interior of the dwelling was in keeping with its ornate exterior. The stately dining-room was finished in wood as dark as ebony, and the ornamentation was chaste, and elaborately executed.* All the appointments of the mansion were in a style that would have graced any nobleman's palace in the Old World. Mr. Apthorpe was not an active partisan, and while his sentiments were those of loyalty to the crown, he satisfied the Revolutionary committees of his peaceable

SECTION OF MANTEL IN THE APTHORPE DINING-ROOM.

* The Apthorpe mansion is still standing at the corner of Ninety-first Street and Ninth Avenue, and with numerous surrounding structures of a temporary character, and a portion of its guard of ancient forest trees, is known as Elm Park, a pleasure resort of the Germans.

intentions, and was not disturbed in his home. Washington knew him personally, and had confidence in his integrity; and he made this house his head-quarters in the stirring days after the battle of Long Island, while preparing to withdraw his feeble army from New York. It was under this roof that the secret expedition of Nathan Hale into the enemy's camp, for trustworthy information, was cautiously planned late on Saturday night, the 14th of that memorable September. During the afternoon news had come that large numbers of the British soldiery were quartered on the islands near the mouth of the Harlem River, and Washington, already in his saddle, galloped in hot haste to Harlem Heights to inspect the situation, for that was the contemplated halting-ground of his retiring forces. He well knew how simple and easy a thing it would be for the enemy to cut off this avenue of escape—and there was no other. Four British men-of-war had anchored in the East River, nearly opposite Apthorpe's, the day before. With what keen anxiety the Hudson was watched for a similar occupation we can well imagine. The fate of America hung by so slender a thread at that crisis that it might have been snapped at a score of points. The British commanders were slow and unspeakably obtuse not to have discovered their opportunity. Had they possessed but a fraction of the force and far-sightedness of Washington, they would have captured the whole American army with one stroke, and there would have been no Union to have raised up in the nineteenth century another great military giant in General Grant.

A few brief passages in connection with the retreat of the American army on this occasion will illustrate the foregoing statement. It was obvious that the city was untenable. The British thus far had abstained from firing upon it, because they wished to seize, not destroy, the richest town in America. Then came the inevitable diversity of opinion among the American officers and the men who represented the new government. "There is no object to be gained by holding New York," said one; "burn it and its suburbs and go to the mountains," said another; while Generals Heath, Spencer, and George Clinton, with unflinching nerve, voted every time to hold the point it had cost so much to fortify at all hazards. At a final council of war, on the 12th of September, after Congress had signified its willingness to leave the vexed question to the discretion of Washington, ten generals voted to evacuate, and the three above-named to defend. Then came the hurried preparations of the following two days. Both soldiers and citizens worked day and night as men can only work in the presence of a rapidly approaching calamity. The British were changing position on Long Island, and their guns could be heard. Carts were laden

with military stores and driven on a run to the small boats, which, with the important freight, crept along the shore to Kingsbridge; or the carts were dragged, when horses could be procured, by land over the winding thirteen-mile-long road to the same point. Forts were dismantled, bells removed from the churches and secreted, brass knockers stored away in safe places, and families who were to leave with the troops packed their effects as far as practicable, and buried their silver and valuables deep in the earth. The Beekmans, whose handsome home on the East River subsequently became the head-quarters of the British commander, buried a large quantity of choice silver and some very rare porcelain in their grounds, which were exhumed in good order after peace was restored eight years later, and are still in possession of their descendants. The removal of the sick and wounded soldiers, numbering several thousand, consumed much time, and in every direction the most exasperating delays occurred from the scarcity of proper conveyances. Yet the varied work was conducted with consummate method, and men unschooled in war exhibited the self-control of veterans. In the early dawn of Sunday morning, the 15th, three British men-of-war spread their wings triumphantly in the waters of the Hudson. Of course there was no more transportation of stores and equipments by water. An hour or two later five men-of-war were seen passing up the East River. They anchored in Kip's Bay, near Thirty-fourth Street, and commenced an incessant cannonading to "scour the ground" for the landing of their troops. The principal division of the American army under Putnam was ordered to retreat at once from the lower town, while several detachments were employed to delay the landing of the enemy until this was accomplished. That Washington should have been in a frenzy of excitement when he found the red-coated foe driving in his handful of troops before it at Kip's Bay is a matter of little wonder. But he did not throw his hat on the ground or lose his head, as some of our early writers would have us believe. He ordered the retreat to be continued, and spurred away to provide for the safety of Harlem Heights, as the enemy might land in that vicinity also. The day was excessively hot, the roads were darkened by clouds of dust, the soldiers were all on foot—only officers were mounted—and the overcrowded wagons were insufficient in numbers for the families and their baggage. Much of the provision and all the heavy guns were left behind, and the smaller cannon were dragged chiefly by hand. The column was two miles long, and comprised about three thousand five hundred persons, none of whom had breakfasted, or had any sleep for twenty-four hours. About thirty minutes after it passed out of sight on the Broadway road, above what is now the Astor House,

Silliman and Knox, who had been left to guard the city until the other troops could be withdrawn, were ordered to follow with their commands, and at Bayard's Hill, just above Canal street, saw the British land at Kip's Bay. The effort to escape without a collision seemed absolutely hopeless. The column worked its weary way to the westward, through cross-roads and in the woods, until it reached the old Bloomingdale highway, thence onward, and toward sunset passed the Hoagland house, and down the lane

NORTHERN VIEW FROM THE CLAREMONT BLUFF.

to the Kingsbridge road. At this point it was attacked by a detachment of British soldiers, who were beaten off by Silliman with his three hundred guards. It soon began to rain, and a cold wind came up. At a late hour of the night the tired marchers made their beds upon the wet ground of Harlem Heights, drenched, and chilled to the bone. Washington had remained at the Apthorpe mansion until the column safely passed it, and then rode to the Roger Morris house, now known as the Jumel mansion, three miles above. The British generals, in the gayest humor, about an hour later rode leisurely up to the Apthorpe mansion, and were courteously received

by the affable and genial host, and consigned to the same apartments which Washington and his staff had just vacated. Their well-disciplined warriors encamped that night in the fields to the north, even to the very brow of the heights overlooking the hollow at Manhattanville. The next morning the rattle of musketry and the roar and smoke of guns in this vicinity told the story of an open-field conflict, in which the flower of the British soldiery "broke and ran," chased by the Americans "for nearly two miles." It was the first victory of the patriots, and it exerted a wider influence over subsequent events than any other one battle of the Revolution. At evening of that same day, September 16, the two belligerent armies occupied the same relative positions as before the battle, the British on Bloomingdale Heights and the Americans on Harlem Heights, their pickets almost within speaking distance of each other across the Manhattanville Valley. And thus they remained for upwards of three weeks.

Both the General and Lord Howe, and their brilliant corps of noblemen officers, among whom was Lord Cornwallis, also Lord Percy, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, took many an observation of the site of the American encampment on the other heights, from the beautiful bluff where General Grant has been so tenderly buried. General Howe wrote to the ministry of England, "the enemy is too strongly posted to be attacked in front, and innumerable difficulties are in the way of turning him upon either side." Meantime the Americans converted Fort Washington into a fortress of considerable strength; and two hundred men were vigorously employed at night in loading vessels with stone, in pursuance of General Putnam's ingenious design, and sinking them in the channel opposite One Hundred and Eighty-third Street, to obstruct the passage of British ships up the Hudson, but all in vain. Both armies looked covetously for two consecutive weeks down upon Harlem Flats, where hay and grain in large quantities lay unmolested. Finally, Washington sent several hundred men with wagons to garner it in; a covering party approached the British, who manned their lines in anticipation of an attack. The two hostile forces stood and blinked at each other, but neither fired a shot. The expert Americans meanwhile accomplished their harvesting, and both parties retired laughing within their lines.

Thirteen years later, when the seat of the national government was in New York, and Washington the first President of the young Republic, one of his most favorite drives, of which frequent mention is made in his notebook, was "the fourteen miles round," the route being over the old Bloomingdale road to this high bluff, thence across to the Kingsbridge and Old Boston roads in returning. Nearly every pleasant day the President's

chariot and six horses (attended by two secretaries on horseback) were on this drive, as also many other imposing equipages, it being the fashionable drive of the New Yorkers for many decades. During the controversy in Congress over the site of the permanent seat of government, Washington was incessantly active and observant. These heights on the Hudson, Westchester, and portions of Long Island, were from time to time suggested as suitable localities for the proposed district. On one occasion, while that question was still pending, a pleasure party was inaugurated to drive to Bloomingdale and Harlem Heights ostensibly to visit the battle-fields, but chiefly to discuss the fine views from the picturesque elevations. The party consisted of President Washington and the gentlemen of his family, Mrs. Washington, Mrs. Lear, the children, Vice-President and Mrs. John Adams, Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of the Treasury and Mrs. Alexander Hamilton, and Secretary of War and Mrs. Knox.

Doctor Hugh Williamson, member of Congress from North Carolina, and one of the Framers of the Constitution, who married in the winter of 1789 a daughter of Mr. Apthorpe, now resided with his wife's family in the Apthorpe mansion, and drove into town to attend Congress every morning. The distinguished Judge Iredell often returned with him in the afternoon to discuss politics and the climate of America, the learned doctor being then engaged in the preparation of his celebrated octavo volume on the subject.*

The property embracing the plateau where the tomb is located was purchased by Doctor Post in the beginning of this century, who built for a private summer residence the historic edifice now used as a restaurant, and named it "Claremont." From the mansion the whole promontory came to be known as "Claremont Hill." A drive-way on the line of Washington's old bridle-path, with trees on each side, connected it with the Bloomingdale road, a few rods distant. This house has been an object of romantic interest for nearly fourscore years. Viscount Courtenay, afterwards Earl of Devon, lived in it for some time soon after the beginning of the century. He is supposed to have left England on account of political troubles. He was a handsome bachelor, with fortune, title, and reputation, and created a sensation in the social circles of New York whenever he made his appearance. He was greatly disturbed with the events preceding

* One of Mr. Apthorpe's daughters married Mr. Vandenheuvel, who at that time lived in a beautiful country seat on the bank of the Hudson at Seventy-ninth Street. Their daughter married John C. Hamilton, the son of Alexander Hamilton. Many of the lots at Bloomingdale which belonged to the Apthorpe estate are now owned by the Hamilton family.

the war of 1812, and as soon as hostilities were actually declared sailed for England, leaving his furniture and costly plate to be sold at auction. He has been of late credited with having built the little monument standing entirely alone under the trees on the river bank near by, but as he had not taken up his abode at Claremont until after the date of the child's death, the pretty well-told story needs revision. The inscription on one side of the lone monument reads: "Erected to the memory of an amiable child,

"THE GRANGE."

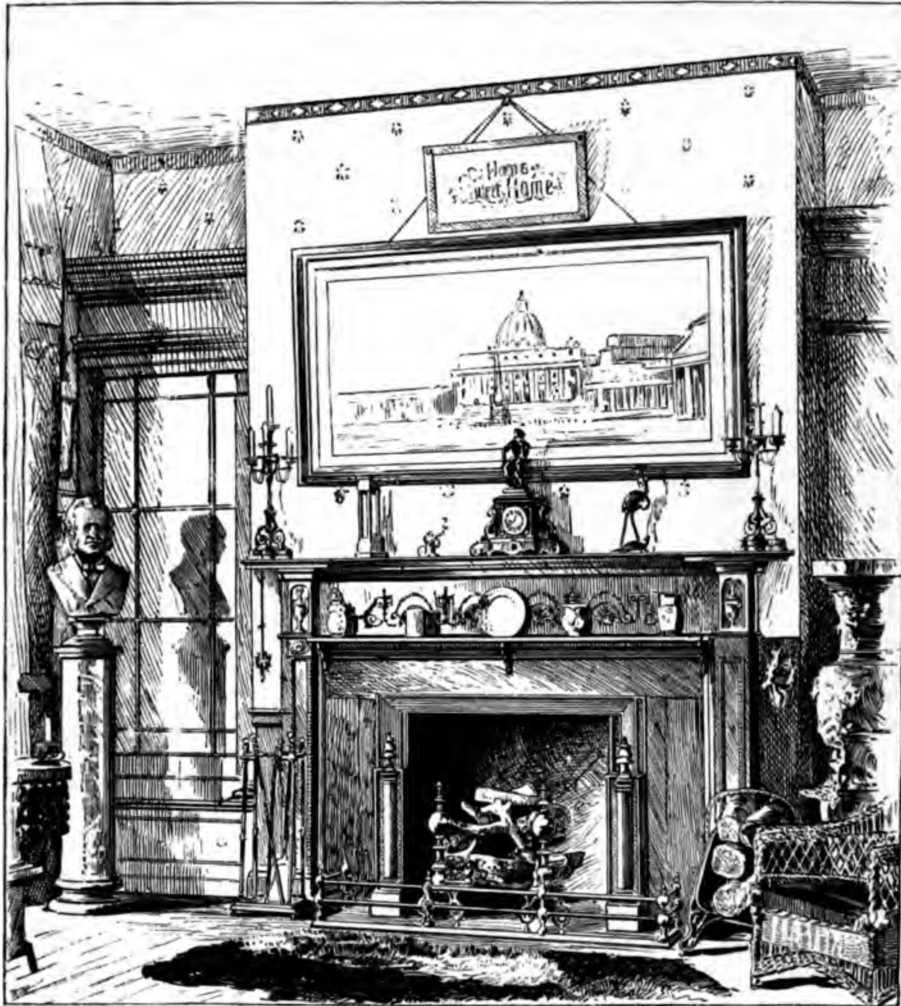
Home of Alexander Hamilton.

St. Clair Pollock, died July 15, 1797, in the 5th year of his age." And on the other side is a familiar quotation.* The British Minister, Francis James Jackson, the successor of Mr. Erskine, resided at Claremont also for a

* Nine families of Pollocks resided in New York at that time; five merchants bearing the name were actively engaged in business in the lower part of the city, two of whom owned property along the Hudson. Carlile Pollock in 1792, and for a few subsequent years, is known to have held a joint interest in the handsome Cyrus Clark estate on Riverside Park at Ninetieth street; and he is believed to have owned landed property in the vicinity of the tomb. He met with reverses, and the records tell us that in 1799 Carlile Pollock and Sophia his wife mortgaged several lots at Greenwich and "other points on the river" to Cornelius Ray, Gabriel Furman, and John McVickar; and these lots were advertised to be sold at auction February 17, 1800.

time. He was known as "Copenhagen Jackson" because of his participation in measures for the seizure of the Danish fleet by the British at Copenhagen, and was politically and socially extremely unpopular, singularly in contrast with the polished and accomplished Courtenay. The next consequential inhabitant of Claremont was Joseph Bonaparte, ex-King of Spain, the eldest brother of Napoleon I. He occupied the house when he first reached the United States in 1815, after the downfall of the Emperor. He had displayed considerable ability in the course of his peculiar career; he negotiated the treaty of Lunéville with Austria in 1801, and that of Amiens with England in 1802; he ascended the throne of Naples in 1806, and was transferred to the throne of Spain in 1808. Yet he never seemed ambitious of public honors. He was a gentlemanly, well-educated man, fond of books, art, and society, and to all outward appearances contented in opulent retirement. He subsequently resided in Bordentown, New Jersey, under the name of Count de Survilliers.

About the same time that Doctor Post was improving Claremont, Alexander Hamilton was building a country seat about a mile to the north of it on Harlem Heights, which he called "The Grange," from the ancestral seat of his grandfather in Scotland. It was a square frame dwelling of two stories, with large, roomy basement, ornamental balustrades, and immense chimney-stacks. Its apartments were large and numerous, and all its workmanship substantial. One quaint feature was its drawing-room doors, which were old-fashioned mirrors. He removed with his family to this home in 1802, embellished the grounds with flowers and shrubbery, and planted the thirteen gum trees—represented in the sketch—naming them respectively after the thirteen original States of the Union. A short time prior to this, Judge Brockholst Livingston, the son of Governor William Livingston of New Jersey, the famous war governor of the Revolution, built a country seat about the same distance below Claremont, on the bank of the Hudson at Ninetieth street. It was a large, square, roomy mansion with broad verandas, the eastern and western fronts, like the Apthorpe House, being exactly alike. Judge Livingston was the brother-in-law of Chief Justice John Jay, who was a familiar visitor, adding another to the illustrious company who have contributed towards making Riverside Park historic ground. This house has been preserved with generous care, and all its antique interior ornamentation remains intact. The property has been for many years owned and occupied by Mr. Cyrus Clark. It was a part of the Apthorpe domain, in the Revolutionary period, which extended from his house to the river's edge. Two immense double tulip-trees, known to be at least one hundred and fifty years old—historic trees, planted here



LIBRARY OF THE OLD LIVINGSTON HOUSE.

before the war—spread their branches over the smooth lawn between the house and Riverside drive in a picturesque fashion, while shade trees of many varieties hover in groups elsewhere, rendering the place one of the choicest relics of the olden period to be found in the vicinity.

This site formed also a part of the great De Lancey estate prior to the Revolution. Oliver De Lancey was an intimate friend of Mr. Apthorpe, and one of the twelve counselors to the royal governor, appointed by the king. He was a brother of Lieutenant-Governor James De Lancey, the

acting governor of New York for many years, and one of the most brilliant and popular men who ever administered the affairs of the colony under the crown. His property adjoined that of Mr. Apthorpe, and, in like manner, extended to the river's edge. The house was an irregular, roomy old structure—dating back to the time when New York gentlemen, in going to dinners or theaters in full dress, carried their hats in their hands, in order not to disturb their curls—and it stood on an elevation at about Eighty-sixth street and Riverside drive. Its appointments were elegant; rare pictures graced its walls, costly glass and silver filled its sideboards, and black servants in livery, with colors and shoulder-knots, seemed countless about the premises. It was a courtly home, the resort socially of the refinement and wealth of the city, and the scene of many a festive gathering of lordly personages from over the water.

When the war of the Revolution broke out, De Lancey entered the British army as a brigadier-general. Near the close of that terrible year of battles, 1777, on a cold night late in November, a party of Americans, in retaliation for some of the atrocities perpetrated by the British soldiers in their forays into the country about New York, came down the Hudson in a whale-boat at midnight, surprised and captured the small guard at the landing at the foot of the ravine, climbed the steep bank with silent tread, and applied the torch to the De Lancey mansion, burning it to the ground with all it contained. The ladies of the family fled in their night-clothing. Mrs. De Lancey being too feeble to run very far, concealed herself in a stone dog-kennel. Her daughter Charlotte, a girl of sixteen, afterward the wife of Sir David Dundas, K.C.B., and her guest, Miss Elizabeth Floyd, of about the same age—afterward the wife of John Peter De Lancey and mother of Bishop De Lancey—escaped into a swamp, where they concealed themselves among the thickest bushes they could find until morning, with no covering for head or feet, or wrap of any sort to protect them from the biting cold. Miss De Lancey seized her brother's infant in her flight, holding it safely in her arms the whole night. They were discovered in the morning and taken to Mr. Apthorpe's house and tenderly nursed. Oliver De Lancey's eldest daughter, Mrs. John Harris Cruger, ran in another direction, and losing herself in the woods, wandered about continually through the night, finding herself when morning dawned nearly seven miles away and near a farm-house, where she was received and treated kindly. The De Lancey house was never rebuilt, and the princely estate was confiscated at the close of the war. Thus when peace came, a new chapter in property ownership commenced, as we have seen, on these flowery heights.

Upon the map of the street commissioners of 1811 we obtain a better idea

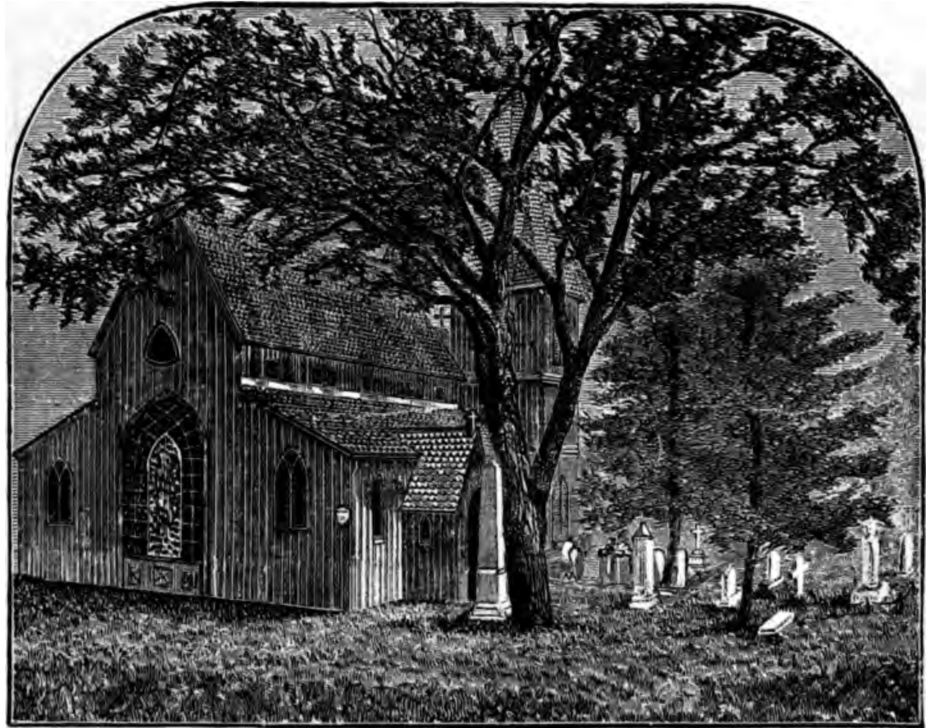
of the residents of the villas at Bloomingdale in the beginning of this century than in pages of elaborate description. Among these are the Clarksons, Van Horns, Woolseys, Beekmans, De Peysters, Lawrences, and Livingstons. The old Somerindyke house, near Seventy-fifth street, was long an object of interest through its association with the romantic history of the gentle, unassuming, but eloquent and accomplished Louis Philippe in this country, who taught school in it. He subsequently wore the crown of France for eighteen years. While dwelling under this modest roof he was joined by his two brothers, Duke de Montpensier and the

THE OLD LIVINGSTON HOUSE.

Riverside Park and Ninetieth street.

Count de Beaujolais, and was visited by Lord Lyndhurst, afterwards Lord Chancellor of England, and by the Duke of Kent, son of George III. and father of Queen Victoria—who was in New York at the time. At a frugal dinner given by Louis Philippe on one occasion, he apologized to his guests for seating a part of them on the side of a bed, remarking that he "had himself occupied less comfortable places without the consolation of agreeable company." According to tradition, the three exile princes were accustomed to ramble every afternoon up the shady Bloomingdale road to

the high bluffs, to watch the setting sun. The house thus occupied was on the line of the Broadway Boulevard, which a few years since swept it away. A portion of the Somerindyke estate was included in the Fernando Wood property, which he purchased and improved about 1844. He built a substantial dwelling-house upon it, which was his home during his mayoralty of New York. In 1860 he entertained the Prince of Wales with something very akin to royal magnificence at this country mansion. No-



ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH AND CHURCH-YARD.

The oldest church property at Bloomingdale.

where in America did the young Prince meet such a brilliant gathering of notable people, or behold appointments of greater elegance and in better taste than in this delightful summer residence of the Mayor of the metropolis. In driving with the Prince of Wales to places of interest, it is said that no point visited elicited more unqualified admiration from him than the view from Claremont. The superbly shaded grounds in the rear of Mayor Wood's residence then extended to the Hudson's edge, while the

broad, pretentious frontage of the place, covering a full block, was on the old Bloomingdale road, now the Boulevard.

A little farther on, about Eighty-sixth street, was a charming cottage built at the close of the Revolution by Doctor Charlton, an English surgeon of distinction, who came to New York with the British army and married into the De Peyster family. He was a short, stout man, of florid complexion, who had been much at the court of George III., and brought to this country various relics of his court life that are still preserved. His name appears in connection with many worthy New York charities, and he was for years a trustee of the City Dispensary. A little to the west of his house, and overlooking the water, was the mansion of the McVickars, built by the great merchant and shipowner, John McVickar. He was a tall, sharp-featured, courtly man, with a kindly eye, a smile of singular sweetness, and a mouth and chin indicative of an unbending will. He was noted for his public spirit in building churches, and was constantly aiding the clergy, as well as unobtrusively assisting deserving young merchants in trouble. His wife was the first cousin of Bishop Moore. He had nine children, to all of whom he gave a liberal education and the benefit of a tour through Europe. His son Archibald married the daughter of his neighbor on the Hudson, Judge Brockholst Livingston, and his daughter Augusta married Judge William Jay, the son of the Chief Justice and the nephew of Judge Brockholst Livingston. Near Ninety-third street, in the Boulevard, is the old country house of Doctor Valentine Mott, one of the boldest and most successful surgical operators of any age or country—a house which was the scene of his death in 1865, at the age of eighty. West of this, and fronting Riverside drive, is the Schieffelin house, famous for being the residence of General Daniel E. Sickles at the most interesting period of his life.

There are numerous churches of various denominations in the immediate vicinity of Riverside Park at the present time. St. Michael's Protestant Episcopal Church, established in 1807, on the old Bloomingdale road at One Hundredth street is the oldest. The ground upon which the church edifice is built was a grant from Queen Anne. The little church-yard about it, long since unused, records the names of many of the early worshipers within its walls, such as Delafield, Armstrong, Hazard, Fleming, Field, Perrin, De Peyster, Livingston, Wagstaff, and Richmond. Rev. William Richmond, who died in 1858, was thirty-three years rector of the church. Rev. Thomas M. Peters, D.D., has been rector since 1850, a period of thirty-five years. In the west end of the church is a memorial window to Mr. William H. Guest, who was twenty-two years superintendent of the Leake and Watts Orphan Asylum at One Hundred and Tenth street,

built in 1842 in the center of a twenty-six-acre lot. The New York Asylum for the Insane, built in 1821, with forty acres surrounding, is between One Hundred and Twelfth and One Hundred and Fifteenth streets.

The history of the origin of Riverside Park is a curious chapter in itself. When the commissioners of 1807 were apppointed to lay out New York city from Houston street to the Harlem River, they adopted the right-angled plan of parallel streets intersecting parallel avenues of equal width, from river to river, without the slightest reference to shore lines or surface variations. Along the Bloomingdale shore such was the configuration of the land that the line of Thirteenth avenue was six hundred feet out into the river. The time came eventually when streets and avenues had had their day on paper and must actually be constructed on the soil, but in the mean time the legislature had enacted that there should be no filling in beyond two hundred feet from shore. Thus Thirteenth avenue was stricken off the map and ceased to exist. Twelfth avenue was left as the exterior line. This, however, proved even more difficult to adjust than the other, for its site fell upon the steep side of the bluff, about midway between the base and the crest, and excavation through solid rock at enormous cost would be necessary for its construction. The corporation brain was sorely puzzled. The ex-commissioners of 1807 were anathematized for their short-sightedness. The idea of converting the belt of picturesque precipice into an ornamental city park first found expression in a little pamphlet of forty-nine pages, written in 1865 by Mr. William R. Martin. The subject was henceforward persistently agitated, as the bluff would neither admit of streets, right angles, or avenue; and a topographical map was compiled on a scale sufficiently large to show the principal features of the area in question. The ground-work of Central Park was about that time completed, and Mr. Andrew H. Green and others gave critical attention to the subject. In the winter of 1866 a bill, with much caution, was introduced in the legislature, and passed with little opposition, making it the duty of the Central Park Commissioners to cause a survey to be made of this area and prepare a report of the same. The next spring (in 1867) this report, accompanied with maps, was submitted to the legislature, and after an intelligent exposition of the subject, the committee on municipal affairs agreed to report the bill, which, with a few amendments, became a law on the 24th of April. Under that law Riverside avenue was to be on the top of the bluff, about midway between Eleventh and Twelfth avenues, one hundred feet wide, and the Park was to occupy the slope toward the river. The city immediately thereafter instituted measures to acquire title to the land for public use,

which occupied five well rounded years. In 1872 the report of the Commissioners of Estimates and Assessments was confirmed by the Supreme Court, and that struggle ended. The total value of the land taken was assessed at $6,174,120.80, of which $3,104,479 was assessed upon the adjacent property. The construction of the avenue was to begin at once; but when surveys were made it was found expedient to consider the question of important changes in the plan, which involved legislative action that was not accomplished until 1873. Two years more passed and a design was absolutely made ready, but for power to raise funds necessary to commence operations, still another appeal to the legislature was in order. In 1876 (chapter 447) the comptroller was directed by the legislature to pay therefor by the issue of bonds, which thereafter were to be redeemed by the assessment of the expense upon the property benefited by the improvement. At the same time, and by the same act, the legislature established the legal status of the avenue by enacting that "(Sec. 2) the whole of the land embraced within the boundaries of Riverside avenue is hereby declared to be one of the parks and public places in the city of New York, and shall be under the control and management of the Department of Parks of said city, subject to the provisions of the first section of this act in respect to the roadways, curb and gutter and sidewalks therein mentioned." In September of that year the Department of Parks advertised for bids for the entire work required, and upon the coming in of the bids the contract was awarded to Nicholas H. Decker, who began operations in the spring of 1877. In the fall of 1879, after many sharp contests with the department concerning the details of the fulfillment of the contract, the work of Decker was substantially completed. But the department was not satisfied, and refused to accept the work as the performance of the contract. Decker could not collect the residue of the contract price, and, in self-protection, closed the avenue, refusing to allow the public to drive over it. He obstructed all the entrances by placing across them large derricks used for lifting stones, and boarded up each of the intersecting streets, strengthening the barricades with tool-houses, piles of stone, etc., and employed a guard of watchmen to prevent their being disturbed. The innocent and long-suffering property owners along the line of the park were indignant, but all applications to the Park Department for redress of grievances proved fruitless. In the spring of 1880 the claim of Decker seemed farther than ever from settlement, and the residents were clamorous for the opening of the drive. Refused by the city departments and the contractor, they finally took the law into their own hands, and opened it themselves in the night. A few days before this somewhat remarkable

occurrence, a suit was brought against the city and the contractor by one of the property owners for $10,000 damages, and for an injunction restraining the defendants from placing any further obstructions on the drive, or maintaining those already placed. The injunction was granted by Judge Lawrence, and duly served upon the parties concerned. The same night a body of men, supposed to number at least one hundred, under command, entered the avenue quietly at Seventy-second street, and before three o'clock in the morning of May 7 had removed every obstruction. The huge derricks were tumbled over the parapets, heavy pieces of timber were tossed down the embankment, tool-houses and fences met with the same swift removal, and the drive was open. About ten o'clock in the forenoon the police observed carriages rolling along over the forbidden ground to their utter amazement, having slept soundly through the night and known nothing of the rapid and effectual work being accomplished so near them. In attempting to check further travel they were curtly informed that the Supreme Court had ordered that no obstructions should be placed on the road. Nobody knew, and no one seemed to care to know, who had been chiefly instrumental in the achievement, and from that date, although there was some litigation, Riverside drive has been open for public use.

Like all great enterprises, this park and drive have cost effort, energy, and persistence on the part of individuals that can never be measured or appreciated. Those who devised the scheme and those who have striven for twenty years to overcome the obstacles to its successful completion, deserve the everlasting gratitude of the community. The bewildering beauties of the drive have within the past few weeks been proclaimed to the ends of the earth—and they cannot be exaggerated. New York may well be proud of such a possession. The unique park which its drive overlooks is heavily wooded, for the most part with native forest trees of great age and gigantic dimensions. At a few points along its course the hand of the landscape gardener is visible; but ornamental park features are less conspicuous than the sparkling river through the trees and the most captivating of views beyond. In behalf of the multitudes who will breathe this exhilarating air for the first time in the weeks and months in the near future, and seek information concerning the points of interest on the way to their Mecca, the following brief paragraph is written: Entering Riverside Park at Seventy-second street, two blocks only are passed ere you reach the Orphan Asylum, founded in 1806 by the ladies of New York, of whom was Mrs. Rev. Dr. Bethune, her mother, Mrs. Isabella Graham, Mrs. Sarah Hoffman, the first directress of the institution, Mrs. John McVickar, Mrs. Coster, and Mrs. Alexander Hamilton, widow of the

great statesman and financier, who succeeded Mrs. Hoffman as first directress —an office she filled acceptably many years. The asylum is a stone edifice, built in the center of a ten-acre lot. It was an outgrowth of the "Society for the Relief of Poor Widows and Small Children," founded in 1797. The estate of Mr. Perit, one of the promoters of this excellent charity, adjoins the asylum in the next block above. At the corner of Eighty-fifth street is the old Howland place, now the House of Mercy, of the Episcopal Sisterhood. Any explorer with antiquarian tastes will be struck with the evidences of former cultivation in this particular locality, between the Boulevard and the Park, through its great variety of aged fruit and ornamental trees. On the corner north-east of Eighty-sixth street, high above the drive, is the residence of Mr. Leopold Eidlitz. This property is very nearly on the site of the Oliver De Lancey mansion, burned in 1777. At the corner of Eighty-eighth street is the handsome suburban home of General Egbert L. Viele, late president of the Park Commissioners, whose taste and energy have done much toward projecting and pushing forward important improvements. Nearly opposite Eighty-ninth street is the statue of Washington, from Houdon, erected by the school children of the city in 1884. At Ninetieth street, shaded by its magnificent ancestral trees, stands the old Livingston mansion, before mentioned, whose owner, Mr. Cyrus Clark, has been one of the most effective forces during the last twenty years in achieving the results which are spread out so enchantingly before the eye. On the block above is the old Schieffelin house, in which General Sickles lived; and with a graceful sweep of the drive you reach the old Stryker house at Stryker's Bay, faded and weather-worn, with a curious history of its own. It was at Stryker's Bay that the Egyptian obelisk was landed a few years ago. From here the drive rises, passing through the center of the Park for some seven blocks; at One Hundred and Fourth street begins the Bloomingdale Mile, a smooth, level terrace, the avenue broadening to a width of two hundred feet, with four rows of elm trees dividing two carriage drives, two equestrian roads, and a promenade. This was planned to correspond with the Ladies' Mile, or Rotten Row, in Hyde Park. Among the numerous dwellings on the high ground bordering the east side of this portion of the Park are the Furness houses, the Dixon place, the residence of James A. Deering, Esq., and that of Mr. John Brower. And now you have reached the plateau where a nation's dead has been tenderly laid to rest, and where a nation's highest officers were among the chief mourners.

The horse-cars on the Broadway Boulevard are only a short walking distance from Riverside Park along its entire three miles of length, and

their route is one of peculiar historic interest. From these cars visitors are enabled to ascend the bluff to the grave by an easy walk of less than two city blocks. Steamers are already beginning to land at Manhattanville, from where the high point can be reached in a few moments. And yet such is the quiet and seclusion of the place, that with the Hudson River Railroad at its base on one side, and both surface and elevated cars on the other, not one of the public thoroughfares can be seen from the site of the tomb, and the stillness is rarely broken by a sound from the hurrying, bustling world. The thanks of America are due to the mayor of New York city, William R. Grace, and the president of the Park Commissioners, John D. Crimmins, for the consummate discretion with which they directed notice to this spot, now universally acknowledged as the most appropriate on the continent for the purpose to which it is consecrated.

With its historic background—its memories of Washington, of great generals, statesmen, jurists, kings, princes, and noblemen—with its deep blue historic river and stretch of picturesque scenery as far as the eye can reach, and under fair skies, the latest and most unspeakably impressive chapter in the history of Riverside Park has just been written upon the human heart. Such a scene as was witnessed here on Saturday, August 8, 1885, could only have been produced by one event—the burial of General Grant. In no other age or country, and in homage to no other individual who has lived within the century, would such a demonstration in its principal features have been possible. The funereal pageant, as the hero-soldier was borne aloft to his resting place from the City Hall, was colossal in its proportions. Nothing approaching it in magnitude, solemnity or grandeur ever occurred before in the history of the world. It was not imposed on the public by any precedent; it was the spontaneous outcome of the national regard for a man whose generalship had perpetuated the Republic, and who had twice been its President. All business was suspended. Buildings were shrouded in heavy black from one end of the city to the other. Minute guns were fired as the procession moved, and tolling bells fell softly upon the ear. Probably not less than one million of people lined the streets through which it passed, or saw it from windows, balconies, and house-tops. Of regular and State troops and veterans, some thirty thousand were in line; and in addition to all this military brilliancy, the civic organizations numbered from ten to twenty thousand more. The column was about five miles long. The catafalque, in solid black, the casket covered with purple velvet resting upon it in full view beneath the canopy, was drawn by twenty-four beautiful large black horses, each with a sable groom clinging closely to the bit. Following in closed carriages

were the sorrowing family of the General, and his old staff and Cabinet; then came the President of the United States and his premier in a phaeton drawn by six horses, and the Vice-President and the Cabinet, the ex-Presidents of the Republic and former Cabinets, the judges of the United States Supreme Court, the United States Senate, the Speaker and House of Representatives, the ministers from at least eight foreign countries, the governors of seventeen States, with their staffs, and large representatives from their legislatures, and the mayors and aldermen of a dozen cities. The names of those present would almost form a catalogue of the distinguished men of the nation. The hundreds of carriages after entering Riverside Park moved three and four abreast over the clear, smooth roadway.

But by far the most significant feature of the occasion, and that which will above all others pass into imperishable history, was the meeting of the North and the South in one united brotherhood at the bier of the conqueror. The prominent leaders of both the victorious and the conquered armies were associate pall-bearers; those who fought each other bravely a score of years ago rode side by side on the staff of the commanding officer of the day; and troops from Virginia and Georgia marched in successive files with the troops from Massachusetts, Minnesota, Connecticut, and the District of Columbia. Through General Grant, sectional divisions have forever ceased. The power and charm of his dying summons to the soldier of the South consummated his greatest and grandest achievement.

The affecting scene at his tomb will never be forgotten. The bared and bowed heads of those who were grouped immediately about the temporary vault during the last solemn exercises were nearly all silvered—some white as snow. Each one had personal knowledge of the traits which marked the superiority of General Grant to the average man—the will-power, self-poise, and tranquillity of mind that enabled him to master the most entangled or critical of military and other situations, and the magnanimity of soul by which success could be turned into permanent glory. The clergy stood near the head of the casket; the pall-bearers on either side—Generals Sherman and Sheridan, U.S.A., Admirals Porter and Rowan, U.S.N., Generals Johnston and Buckner, C.S.A., George Jones, George W. Childs, George S. Boutwell, Joseph W. Drexel, Oliver Hoyt, and John A. Logan; in their proper places were the children and grandchildren, so near and dear to the dead soldier; President Cleveland and the gentlemen of his Cabinet, members of Grant's former Cabinet, ex-President Hayes and his former premier William M. Evarts, ex-Secretary of the Treasury John Sherman, ex-President Chester A. Arthur, Vice-President Hendricks, General Hancock, and hundreds upon hundreds of America's most distin-

guished statesmen, jurists, scholars, veterans of the late civil war, governors of States, mayors of cities, and leading citizens, nearly all of whose names have long been household words, clustered in one solid mass as closely as possible about the chief mourners, listening attentively to the beautiful ritual of the Grand Army of the Republic, and the burial service of the Methodist Church. Just outside this charmed circle the display of uniformed soldiery in the afternoon sunshine, its brilliancy heightened by the fresh green of the foliage on every side, and the acres of people in the distance—far away on the brow of the hill—was a thrilling spectacle. The New York Seventh Regiment skirted the bluff facing the tomb, like a white and silver fence, the New York Twenty-second Regiment continued an even line beyond, the marines fringed the driveway near the hotel, the artillery waited on the plain to the right, the regular infantry occupied innumerable vacant places, mounted officers and aids in gold and glitter sat motionless on their chargers, bending forward with uncovered heads to catch the words of the service, while the magnificent array of ships on the bosom of the noble river below seemed for the moment converted into living shapes with eyes and ears as well as tongues. The whole formed a picture full of beauty and meaning—a picture vivified by the spirit of a nation at peace with itself and all the world, an historic picture painted in colors that will deepen and brighten with each rolling year.

And the frame-work of the picture, embracing the whole country from the Atlantic to the Pacific, was blended so harmoniously as to become, in effect, a part of the picture itself. Cities and towns were everywhere draped in mourning. Even the house at Appomattox, where Lee surrendered to Grant, was shrouded in black. The manifold occupations, amusements, and pursuits of fifty millions of people ceased for the day. Minute guns were fired and bells tolled at sunrise, and again at the moment the funeral procession moved from the City Hall towards Riverside Park, in cities far away, from Washington to Chicago, from Richmond to Vicksburg, from Boston to San Francisco. Military and civic processions and memorial services and ceremonies were in progress in all parts of the United States at the same time as in New York. In this majestic expression of a nation's sorrow a new era dawns in American history.

Martha J. Lamb

WASHINGTON'S FIRST PUBLIC SERVICE

Late in the year 1753, Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, determined to send an envoy into the Ohio valley, to ascertain the precise condition of affairs there. He had learned that the French had effected a lodgment in the valley, a region to which the Virginians laid claim. The governor chose for his messenger George Washington, a youth of only twenty-one years, yet one whose genius, fortitude, and experience in woodcraft, pointed out as peculiarly well adapted to such a service. Already he was an adjutant-general of the Virginia soldiery, and had given intimations of that spirit which in after years was to raise him to an altitude never yet approached by any other man.

In his "Instructions" Washington was directed to proceed to Logstown,* and there inform himself as to the whereabouts of the French. Having gained this information, he was to proceed to the French posts, and deliver a letter from the governor to the chief commanding officer, and demand an answer thereto. At Logstown he was to address himself to the sachems of the Six Nations there, acquainting them with his orders, and desiring of them a sufficient escort for his enterprise. He was particularly to inquire into the numbers and force of the French on the Ohio, their resources, and the means of communication between the different points. He was further to take care to be truly informed what forts the French had erected, and where; how they were garrisoned and appointed, and what was their distance from each other, and from Logstown: and from the best information possible he was to learn what gave occasion to these inroads of the French; how they were likely to be supported, and what were their pretensions.

On the very day that he received his commission, Washington set out on his arduous journey. The next day he arrived at Fredericksburg, where he engaged Jacob Vanbraam as French interpreter, and with him proceeded to Alexandria, where he provided such things as he thought would be necessary. From Alexandria he proceeded to Winchester, where he procured baggage horses, and then took the road to Wills' Creek, where he arrived on the 14th of November. At this place he engaged that redoubtable backwoodsman, Christopher Gist, to act as guide to the expedition, and

* Logstown was an important Indian town on the right bank of the Ohio, at the distance of 18¼ miles below the point at Pittsburg. Celoron, who visited it in 1749, calls it Chiningue.

hired four other men, Barnaby Currin and John McQuire, Indian traders, and Henry Steward and William Jenkins, to assist in the expedition. With this small party of six men, Washington "left the inhabitants the next day," November 15.

Already a great deal of snow had fallen, and this, with the excessive rains, rendered their progress so slow that they did not reach Frazier's house, at the mouth of Turtle Creek on the Monongahela River, till Thursday, the 22d of November. The streams had now become quite impassable, except by causing the horses to swim; hence the animals were relieved of the baggage, which was sent on by water in a canoe that they borrowed from Frazier. The canoe was put in charge of Currin and Steward; the rest of the party set forward with the horses. They had appointed to meet at the forks of the Ohio, about ten miles distant, the site of the present city of Pittsburg.

The party with the horses arrived at the rendezvous first. While awaiting the arrival of the canoe, Washington employed his leisure in making a careful observation of the place. He came to the conclusion that the land in the fork was "extremely well situated for a fort," as it had command of both rivers. "The land at the point is twenty-five feet above the common surface of the water," he writes in his Journal, "and a considerable bottom of flat, well-timbered land all around it very convenient for building." Two miles below the point, on the left bank of the Ohio River, at what is now called McKee's Rocks, lived Shingiss, the King of the Delawares. The Ohio Company had determined to erect a fort here. Washington called upon Shingiss, and invited him to the council at Logstown. The chief complied with the invitation. While here, Washington made a thorough examination of the place with a view to its military importance. He concluded that it was greatly inferior, "either for defence or advantages," to the point. "A fort at the fork," he observes, "would be equally well situated on the Ohio, and have the entire command of the Monongahela, which runs up our settlement, and is extremely well designed for water carriage, as it is of a deep, still nature. Besides, a fort at the fork might be built at much less expense than at the other place. Nature has well contrived this lower place for water defence," he continues; "but the hill whereon it must stand being a quarter of a mile in length, and then descending gradually on the land side, will render it difficult and very expensive to make a sufficient fortification there. The whole flat upon the hill must be taken in, the side next the descent made extremely high, or else the hill itself must be cut away; otherwise, the enemy may raise batteries within that distance without being exposed to a single shot from the fort."

Accompanied by Shingiss, Washington arrived at Logstown about five o'clock in the evening, November 24. Upon inquiry he found that the Half-King * was absent at his hunting cabin on Little Beaver Creek, about fifteen miles distant. Washington then at once called upon the chief, Monakatoocha. By means of John Davidson, an Indian interpreter, whom he probably found at Logstown, as he is not mentioned before, he informed the chief of his mission, and that he had been ordered to call upon the sachems of the Six Nations and acquaint them with it. He then made the chief a present of a string of wampum and a twist of tobacco, and desired him to send for the Half-King and other sachems, which he promised to do in the morning. Consequently, about three o'clock in the afternoon of the following day the Half-King came to town. Washington at once went up and invited him privately, with Davidson, to his tent. The Half-King had recently made a journey to the French commandant, and Washington desired him to give the particulars of his visit, and an account of the ways and distance. He reported that his reception by the French commandant had been rather stern. In his speech to that officer the Half-King said: "We kindled a fire a long time ago, at a place called Montreal, where we desired you to stay, and not to come and intrude upon our land. I now desire you may dispatch to that place; for be it known to you, fathers, that this is our land and not yours." To this speech the French officer replied: "You need not put yourself to the trouble of speaking, for I will not hear you. I am not afraid of flies or mosquitoes, for Indians are such as those; I tell you, that down that river I will go, and build upon it, according to my command. If the river was blocked up, I have forces sufficient to burst it open and tread under my feet all that stand in opposition, together with their alliances; for my force is as the sand upon the seashore; therefore, here is your wampum; I sling it at you." The Half-King informed Washington that the nearest and most level way to the French fort was now impassable, by reason of many great swamps: that he would be obliged to go by way of Venango, and that he would not reach the nearest fort in less than five or six days' good traveling. Washington was very eager to set forward; but his Indian escort could not get off, and it was the 30th of the month when he finally left Logstown for the French fort. The Half-King at first proposed to send a guard of Mingoes, Shawanese, and Delawares, in order, as he said, "that our brothers may see the love and loyalty we bear them;" but this design was after-

* The Half-King, sometimes called Tanacharison, was a warm friend of the English, and, if he had lived, would no doubt have proved a valuable ally in the troubles with the French. He died October 4, 1754.

ward changed, and Washington set off under a convoy of only three chiefs and one hunter. "The reason they gave," says Washington, "for not sending more, after what had been proposed at council, was, that a greater number might give the French suspicions of some bad design, and cause them to be treated rudely; but I rather think they could not get their hunters in."

However, about nine o'clock of the 30th, he started in company with the three chiefs, the Half-King, Jeskakake, White Thunder, and the hunter. Their way lay mainly in a diagonal line, more or less direct, through the present counties of Butler and Venango. In their way they were obliged to cross the Connoquenessing, Muddy Creek, Slippery Rock Creek, and Sandy Creek. It was the beginning of December. The weather was extremely rough, and the hardships of the journey must have been very great. One cannot but wonder at the hardihood, the resolution, and the courage of a young man of less than twenty-two years, who would face a journey through the wilderness at such a season, and we can find an equal to these high qualities only in the prudence, wisdom, and tact which characterized his dealings alike with the cautious Indian and the wily Frenchman. On the 4th of December the party arrived at Venango. Washington describes it as "an old Indian town, situated at the mouth of French Creek, on Ohio; and lies near north about sixty miles from the Logstown, but more than seventy the way we were obliged to go."

Here Washington met Captain Joncaire. He found him and two other French officers at a house upon which the French colors were flying. This house was one from which John Frazier, an English trader and gunsmith, had been driven by Celoron some years before. Washington immediately repaired to this house, to inquire where the French commander resided. Joncaire treated him very affably; told him that he, Joncaire, had command of the Ohio, but that there was a general officer at the near fort—Fort Le Bœuf—and advised him to apply there for an answer to Governor Dinwiddie's letter; and ended by inviting him to sup with him and his brother officers. "The wine," says Washington, "as they dosed themselves pretty plentifully with it, soon banished the restraint which at first appeared in their conversation, and gave a license to their tongues to reveal their sentiments more freely." They told him, among other things, that it was their absolute design to take possession of the Ohio, and they vowed their determination to do it; for though they were sensible the English could raise two men to their one, yet they knew the motions of the English were too slow and dilatory to prevent any enterprise that the French might undertake.

The next day it rained excessively, and Washington was prevented from resuming his journey. Meantime Joncaire had learned that the Half-King had come to the town in Washington's party, and pretended to be much concerned that Washington had not made free to bring him and the other sachems to the house. "I excused it in the best manner of which I was capable," says Washington, "and told him I did not think their company agreeable, as I had heard him say a good deal in dispraise of Indians in general. But another motive prevented me from bringing them into his company. I knew that he was an interpreter, and a person of great influence among the Indians, and had lately used all possible means to draw them over to his interest; therefore I was desirous of giving him no opportunity that could be avoided." However, Joncaire sent for the chiefs, and when they came in he expressed great pleasure at seeing them. He wondered, he said, how they could be so near without coming to visit him. He was quite effusive over them. He made them several trifling presents, and treated them so abundantly with fire-water that in a short time they were as drunk as possible, in spite of all of Washington's advice.

The artifices of Joncaire so influenced the chiefs that it was with great difficulty Washington could prevail upon them to proceed with him to the fort, and it was not until noon of the 7th that he finally induced them to set out. Monsieur La Force, commissary of the French stores, and three other soldiers, accompanied the party. The weather continued extremely unfavorable, and the way was through "mires and swamps," so that they did not arrive at Fort Le Bœuf until the 11th of December. Washington at once waited upon the commandant. This officer was an elderly man, a knight of the order of St. Louis. His name was Legardeur de St. Pierre. He had been in command at the fort but a few days when Washington arrived. To him Washington delivered his commission and letter.

As the snow continued to increase very fast, and the horses were every day becoming weaker from want of proper forage, on the 14th of the month Washington sent them off under the care of Currin and two others to Venango, with orders to await there the return of the party, if there should be a prospect of the river's freezing; if not, then to proceed to Shannopin's town, at the forks of the Ohio, and wait there for the party, who would go down by water. At the fort, as at Venango, every scheme was resorted to, to detain the Indians, and prevent them from returning with Washington. On the evening of the 14th Washington received an answer to Governor Dinwiddie's letter, and he prepared to depart the next morning. The commandant had furnished him with canoes, and the next day ordered a plentiful store of liquor, provisions, etc., to be put on board. He appeared

extremely complaisant, "though," says Washington, "he was exerting every artifice which he could invent to set our Indians at variance with us, to prevent their going until after our departure; presents, rewards, and everything which could be suggested by him or his officers." Washington went to St. Pierre, and remonstrated with him, and complained of ill-treatment: that detaining the Indians, since they were part of his company, was detaining him. St. Pierre protested he did not keep them, but that he was ignorant of the cause of their delay. The cause was not difficult to learn—he had promised them a present of guns, etc., if they would wait until the next morning. As the Indians were very desirous of remaining, Washington consented, on a promise that nothing should hinder them in the morning.

The next day, the 16th, the French renewed their attempts to detain the Indians still longer; but Washington held the Half-King so closely to his word that he at length set off as he had promised. The passage down the creek was very tedious and fatiguing. A number of times the canoes came near being staved against the rocks, and frequently all hands were obliged to get out and remain in the water half an hour or more, getting over the shoals. Such had been the difficulties of the voyage that they did not reach Venango until the 22d. Here they found the horses waiting for them.

The next day Washington resumed his journey. "When I got things ready to set off," he says, "I sent for the Half-King to know whether he intended to go with us, or by water. He told me that White Thunder had hurt himself much, and was sick, and unable to walk; therefore, he was obliged to carry him down in a canoe. As I found he intended to stay here a day or two, and knew that Monsieur Joncaire would employ every scheme to set him against the English, as he had before done, I told him I hoped he would guard against his flattery, and let no fine speeches influence him in their favor. He desired I might not be concerned, for he knew the French too well for anything to engage him in their favor; and that though he could not go down with us, he yet would endeavor to meet at the forks with Joseph Campbell, to deliver a speech for me to carry to his Honor the Governor. He told me he would order the Young Hunter to attend us, and get provision, etc., if wanted.

"Our horses were now so weak and feeble, and the baggage so heavy (as we were obliged to provide all the necessaries which the journey would require), that we doubted much their performing it. Therefore, myself and the others, except the drivers, who were obliged to ride, gave up our horses for packs, to assist along with the baggage. I put myself in an Indian walk-

ing dress, and continued with them three days, until I found there was no probability of their getting home in reasonable time. The horses became less able to travel every day; the cold increased very fast; and the roads were becoming much worse by a deep snow, continually freezing; therefore, as I was uneasy to get back, to make report of my proceedings to his Honor the Governor, I determined to prosecute my journey the nearest way through the woods, on foot.

"Accordingly, I left Mr. Vanbraam in charge of our baggage, with money and directions to provide necessaries from place to place for themselves and horses, and to make the most convenient dispatch in traveling.

"I took my necessary papers, pulled off my clothes, and tied myself up in a watch coat. Then, with gun in hand, and pack on my back, in which were my papers and provisions, I set out with Mr. Gist, fitted in the same manner, on Wednesday, the 26th. The day following, just after we had passed a place called Murdering town (where we intended to quit the path and steer across the country for Shannopin's town), we fell in with a party of French Indians, who had laid in wait for us. One of them fired at Mr. Gist or me, not fifteen steps off, but fortunately missed.* We took this fellow into custody, and kept him until about nine o'clock at night, then let him go, and walked all the remaining part of the night without making any stops, that we might get the start, so far as to be out of the reach of their pursuit the next day, since we were well assured they would follow our tracks as soon as it was light. The next day we continued traveling until quite dark, and got to the river about two miles above Shannopin's. We expected to have found the river frozen, but it was not, only about fifty yards from each shore. The ice, I suppose, had broken up above, for it was driving in vast quantities.

"There was no way for getting over but on a raft; which we set about, with but one poor hatchet, and finished just after sunsetting. This was a whole day's work; we next got it launched, then went on board of it and set off, but before we were half-way over we were jammed in the ice in such a manner that we expected every moment our raft to sink and ourselves to perish. I put out my setting pole to try to stop the raft that the ice might pass by, when the rapidity of the stream threw it with so much violence

* The scene of this attempt upon the life of Washington is believed to have been in the present Forward township, in Butler County, Pennsylvania. Mr. Gist, who also kept a journal of the trip, says that Murdering town was "on the South-east Fork of Beaver Creek," by which he most likely means the Connoquenessing. "Traces of an Indian village were plainly visible upon this stream in the vicinity of Buhl's Mill, Forward township, when the country was settled, and many years later."—*History of Butler County*, p. 14, *note*.

against the pole that it jerked me out into ten feet water; but I fortunately saved myself by catching hold of one of the raft logs. Notwithstanding all our efforts, we could not get to either shore, but were obliged, as we were near an island, to quit our raft and make to it. The cold was so extremely severe that Mr. Gist had all his fingers and some of his toes frozen, and the water was shut up so hard that we found no difficulty in getting off the island on the ice in the morning, and went to Mr. Frazier's."

The island upon which Washington and Mr. Gist spent that cold winter night is thought to have been a small island afterward called Wainwright's island. Mr. N. B. Craig, the historian of Pittsburg, investigated this point, and satisfied himself that it was not Herr's island, as some have thought. Wainwright's island lay near the left bank of the river, and the narrow channel between that and the shore might freeze in one night; but the wider passage between Herr's island and the left bank of the river could scarcely freeze over in the manner described in one night. Wainwright's island has long since entirely disappeared.

Washington was detained for some time at Mr. Frazier's, while waiting for horses with which to continue his journey; in the meantime he went up to the mouth of the Youghiogheny, where McKeesport now stands, to visit Aliquippa, the Indian queen, who had removed from her former residence at Shannopin's town. The old lady expressed great concern that Washington had passed her without calling when on his way to the Ohio. Washington placated her with a present of a watch-coat and a bottle of rum, "which latter," says he, "was thought much the better present of the two."

On Tuesday, the first day of January, 1754, a year ever since memorable as that in which began the long and bloody French and Indian war, Washington left Frazier's house, and on the seventh he arrived at Wills' Creek, after an absence of fifty-three days in the wilderness. The weather throughout had been bad, and the toils, dangers, and hardships of the expedition had been almost inconceivable. On the 16th of January he arrived at Williamsburg, the capital of Virginia, and waited upon the Governor, with the letter from the French commandant, and to give an account of his journey.

T. J. Chapman.

BALTIMORE IN 1861

No person of Northern birth who happened to be a resident of one of the border slave States in the early part of 1861 could fail to observe, that although many of the people loved the Union and deprecated anything tending to its disruption, yet a very large proportion of the population talked loudly about Southern rights, were avowed secessionists, or secretly sympathized with treason and rebellion. This feeling was greatly intensified after the threats of secession had become a reality, and nowhere was it more strongly manifested than in the State of Maryland.

INSTITUTE HALL, CHARLESTON, S. C.

Where the Secession Convention was held Dec. 20, 1861.

For thirty years the politicians of South Carolina had been discontented, and the election of Mr. Lincoln afforded them the pretext for casting off what they considered the yoke of the Union. On the 20th of December, 1860, the convention assembled at Institute Hall, in the City of Charleston, formally declared that the ordinance by which the State of South Carolina ratified the Constitution of the United States was repealed, and that the Union subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of the United States of America, was dissolved. This action was soon after followed by the States of Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas.

On the 11th day of April, the rebel batteries, which had been erected in Charleston harbor, opened fire upon Fort Sumter, and on the 14th, with the fort on fire, with ammunition and rations nearly exhausted, the garrison surrendered. The next day the President issued his proclamation

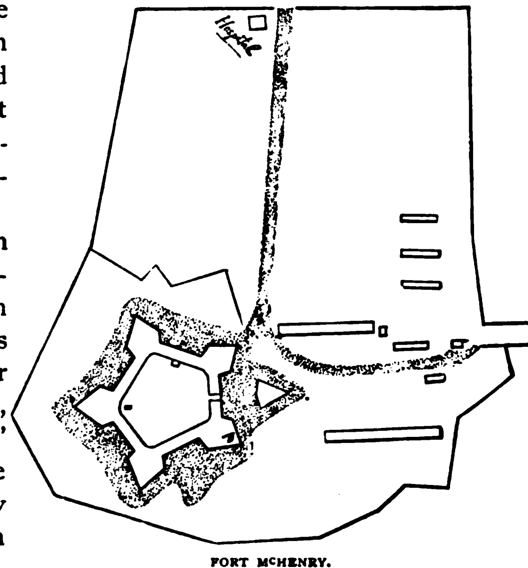
calling into the service of the United States seventy-five thousand of the State militia, to suppress the rebellion of the seven seceding States.

The governors of Arkansas, Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri positively and insultingly refused to furnish any men for that purpose, and soon after, the four first-named States formally seceded from the Union, and became part and parcel of the rebellion. In Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri a large proportion of the people espoused the cause of the seceding States, and furnished a great number of soldiers to the ranks of the rebel army. In all of the free States the call of the President was enthusiastically received, and the quota immediately filled.

In the month of January, 1861, the writer of this paper being absent on sick-leave from his regiment, stationed at the time in the Territory of New Mexico, received an order to report for duty at Fort Columbus in New York harbor, which was then used as the general recruiting depot of the army. The superintendent and commandant was Major Theophilus H. Holmes, of the 8th Regiment of Infantry, a native of North Carolina, and the second officer in rank was Captain Edward Johnson, of the 6th Regiment of Infantry, a native of Kentucky. As my rank entitled me to precedence over Johnson, I saw at once that my assignment was not pleasing to either of those gentlemen, both of whom soon after resigned their commissions in the army and entered the Confederate service as general officers.

In February (1861) I received an order from the head-quarters of the army assigning me to the command of Fort McHenry near Baltimore. The very day I received this order Mr. Lincoln arrived in New York on his way to Washington. He was accompanied by his wife and children, his secretaries, John G. Nicolay and John Hay, Judge David Davis, Ward H. Lamon, N. B. Judd, and Elmer E. Ellsworth, the first victim of the rebellion on rebel soil, also by Colonel Sumner, Major Hunter, and Captain Pope, of the army. I was invited to join the party, and went with it to Washington. The journey of Mr. Lincoln was a continued ovation from Springfield to Harrisburg, where he was received by the Pennsylvania legislature and addressed a large assemblage of people. At all places on the route the crowds were gathered in great numbers to see and hear him. Early in the evening while he was at dinner, at Harrisburg, Governor Curtin, Colonel Lamon, and Mr. Judd came in, said a few low words to him, escorted him to a carriage, drove away, and early the next morning he arrived in Washington. It was so quietly done that only four or five persons knew anything of it.

The presidential train started the next morning at the appointed hour and attracted the usual crowds at the Harrisburg depot, and all stations on the route. At Cockeysville it was met by a committee of reception from Baltimore, composed of political friends of the President elect, who were greatly disappointed when informed that he was not aboard the train, but had preceded the party to Washington. Some of the gentlemen became much excited and quite indignant, saying that great preparations had been made, and that Baltimore had intended to give him the grandest reception of any city on the whole route. They felt that the Republicans of Baltimore had been slighted and insulted. They did not know at that time, but afterward learned the truth, that men, who had sworn that Abraham Lincoln should never be inaugurated President of the United States, were prepared to give him a very different reception.



FORT MCHENRY.

When the train stopped in Baltimore it was instantly beseiged by the crowd. Men forced their way in at the doors of the cars and thrust their heads through the windows, shouting: "Where is he?" "Trot him out." "Let us see him," etc. All this in a very different tone and style from the deferential and affectionate greeting that had been extended to him in all other places.

It was with great difficulty the party succeeded in making the change from the cars to the carriages which were to convey them across the city. The crowd of people far exceeded any seen there before. Mr. Lincoln's secret passage through Baltimore was ridiculed at the time, and there are many who still believe it was unnecessary; but subsequent events have proved that had he been one of the party who crossed the city that day he would not have lived to become the idol of the people, and the saviour of the nation, for from the nature of the attack contemplated, few if any of the number would have escaped uninjured.

At the date of Mr. Lincoln's inauguration the country was in a very defenseless condition. Both army and navy had been so scattered as to be

unavailable, and the arsenals in the Northern States had been stripped of arms and ammunition. A few companies of artillery garrisoned some of the Atlantic forts, and in the District of Columbia, Colonel Charles P. Stone, acting by authority of Judge Holt, then Secretary of War, and Lieutenant-General Scott, General-in-Chief of the Army, had enlisted a battalion of volunteers, but they had not been mustered into service.

On the twenty-sixth day of February I assumed the command of Fort McHenry, where I found Lieutenant S. H. Reynolds, of the 1st Regiment of Infantry, and Lieutenant A. T. Smith, of the 8th Infantry, and a garrison of one hundred recruits. Reynolds was relieved from duty at the post, and afterward resigned and entered the Confederate service.

Fort McHenry is situated on what is called Whetstone Point, between the north-west branch and the main branch of the Patapsco River, which forms the harbor of Baltimore. It was a work of five bastions, built of brick, without casemates or bomb-proofs, and surrounded by a dry ditch. It had a water battery on the south, and a demi-line in front of the sally-port. The armament consisted of about forty old thirty-two pounders, mounted *en barbette*, for which there was no suitable ammunition. The carriages were old, and many of them rotten. In case of an attack, these guns were of no more use than so many Quaker guns. On the parade ground there was piled a large number of eighteen-pound shot, and a quantity of eight-inch shells.

The officers at the post were on friendly and visiting terms with some of the leading families of Baltimore, but when secession became the harbinger of war, they found many of these acquaintances were intensely Southern in their feelings, and ready to unite with the seceding States in their efforts to destroy the Union. *

In the month of March recruiting for the rebel service was secretly commenced in Baltimore under the superintendence of Louis T. Wigfall (Senator from Texas), and many men were enlisted and forwarded to Charleston.†

* In the month of November, 1861, the writer called at the house of one of his Baltimore friends. The gentleman was very cordial, but the lady of the house received him coolly. On taking leave he said to her : "Mrs. ——, you did not recognize me when I came in." "Oh yes, I did," she replied, "but, to tell the truth, I don't like the looks of your uniform." "I am sorry for that, madam," said he, "and I will be careful not to wear it here again." She then said, "As you belong to the regular army, I suppose I ought not to object." "Pardon me, madam," said he, "I am now commanding a brigade of volunteers."

† Wigfall to Genl. Beauregard — Baltimore March 12 1861.

Genl. Beauregard. C. S. A.

Charleston S. C.

My dear Sir—

By the authority of the Secretary of War, I have established a recruit-

The first regiment to respond to the call of the President was the Sixth Massachusetts militia, commanded by Colonel Edward F. Jones. This regiment left Boston on the evening of the seventeenth of April, reached New York in the morning, and Philadelphia the afternoon of the next day. The train bearing this command arrived at the President street depot in Baltimore about noon on the nineteenth day of April, the anniversary of the battle of Lexington. It was the intention of Colonel Jones to march his regiment across the city to the Washington branch of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, but as soon as the train arrived in Baltimore, the engine was switched off, horses attached to the cars, and they were hurried off to Camden station. A little more than half the regiment reached the station without molestation, but as soon as it became generally known that a Yankee regiment was passing through the city on its way to Washington, a mob collected in Pratt street, and piled anchors, stones, and other obstacles on the track, and prevented the remaining cars from proceeding.

Colonel Jones says: "After leaving Philadelphia I received intimation that our passage through the City of Baltimore would be resisted. I caused ammunition to be distributed, and went personally through the cars and issued the following order, viz.—'The regiment will march through Baltimore in column of sections, arms at will. You will undoubtedly be insulted, abused, and perhaps assaulted, to which you must pay no attention whatever, but march with your faces square to the front, and pay no attention to the mob even if they throw stones, bricks, or other missiles, but if you are fired upon, and any one of you is hit, your officers will order you to fire. Do not fire into any promiscuous crowd, but select any man whom you may see aiming at you and be sure you drop him.'"

When it was ascertained that the cars could not proceed, they were vacated, and the soldiers formed in line on the sidewalk. Captain Follansbee, of Lowell, being the ranking officer present, assumed the command and attempted to march through the crowd, when they were

ing station here and am induced to believe that I will meet with decided success. By the time an officer can reach here, there will probably be one hundred recruits to examine.

* * * * * * * * * * *

I was merely requested and authorized to recruit for the Army of the Confederate States

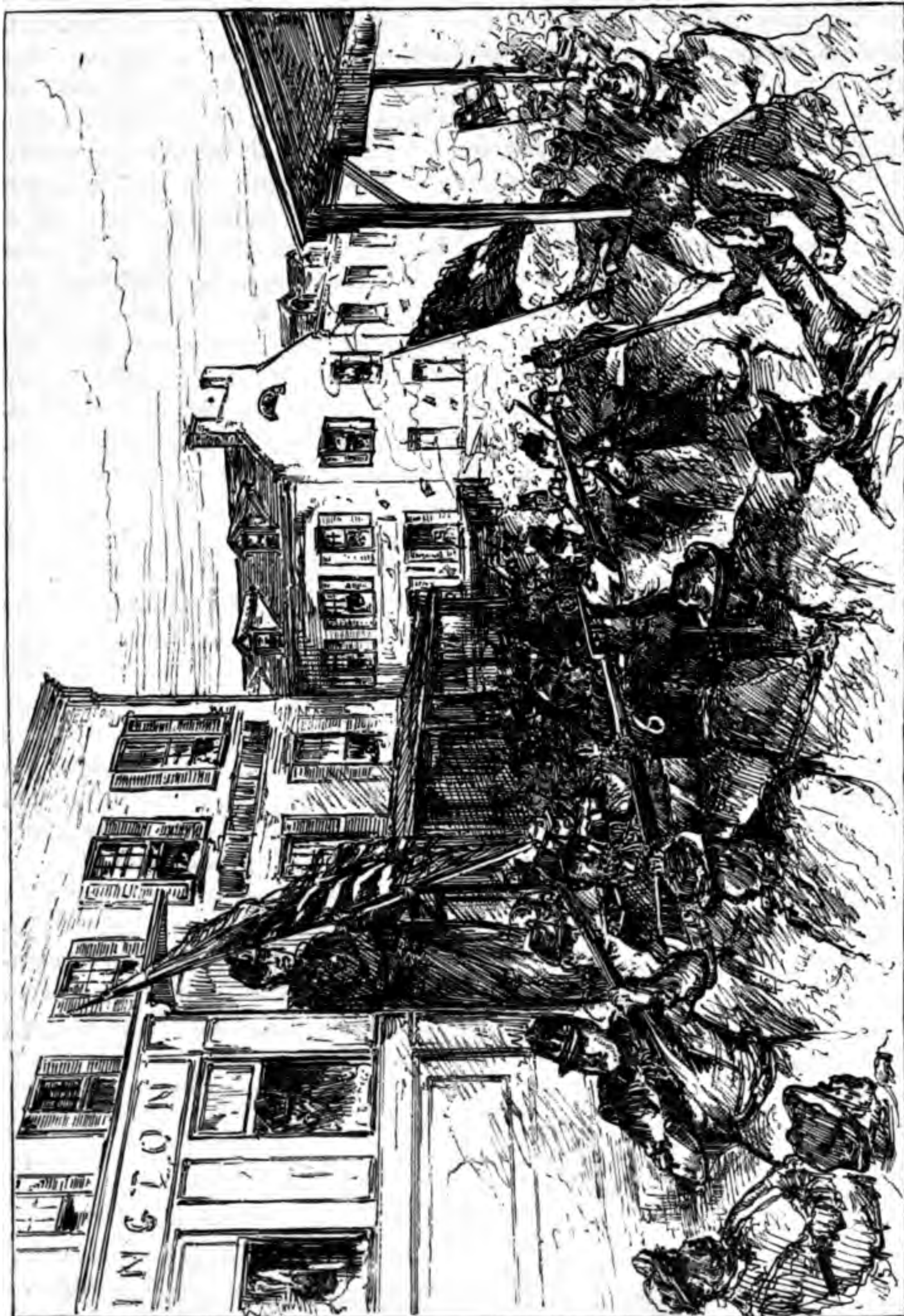
Very respy,
Yrs. Louis T. Wigfall

Wigfall to Rebel Secy. of War.

Washington March 20, 1861.

Hon. L. P. Walker.

Large number of men in Baltimore, cannot be kept together there much longer. Nothing heard of or from Haskell. What shall I do? Louis T. Wigfall.



THE SIXTH MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT PASSING THROUGH BALTIMORE, APRIL 19, 1861.

attacked by the yelling, hooting mob, with brick-bats, stones, pieces of iron, and other missiles. The command "*double quick*" was given. This the mob interpreted as evidence of fear, that the soldiers dared not fire, or, that they had no ammunition. Then the assault was redoubled, numerous pistol shots were fired into the ranks, and one soldier fell dead. Patience ceased to be a virtue, and officers gave the order to fire. The firing now became general on both sides. Three soldiers, Sumner H. Needham, of Lawrence, Addison O. Whitney and Luther Ladd, of Lowell, were killed, and about forty others were wounded. The number of citizens killed and wounded is not known. At this juncture, the mayor of the city, Mr. George William Brown, made his appearance, placed himself by the side of Captain Follansbee at the head of the leading company, and exerted himself to the utmost to quiet the affray. The city police, also, soon after arrived on the ground, and forming in line across the street allowed the soldiers to pass through and kept back the infuriated mob. At Camden station, where the cars were taken for Washington, the assault was renewed. Colonel Jones says of this: "As the men went into the cars, I caused the blinds to the cars to be closed and took every precaution to prevent any shadow of offense to the people of Baltimore; but still the stones flew thick and fast into the train, and it was with the utmost difficulty that I could prevent the troops from leaving the train and avenging the death of their comrades. After a volley of stones, some one of the soldiers fired and killed a Mr. Davis, who, I have since ascertained by reliable witnesses, threw a stone into the car; yet that did not justify the firing at him, but the men were infuriated beyond control." This Mr. Davis was a prominent citizen of Baltimore, and it is claimed by his friends that he was a quiet spectator and had taken no part in the affray. His death, under the circumstances, was considered by us a very unfortunate event.

While this tragedy was being enacted in the streets and at Camden station, a regiment of Pennsylvania volunteers, commanded by Colonel Small, arrived at the President street depot *en route* to Washington, but as they had been sent forward without arms, they were sent back to Philadelphia on the same train that brought them.

It is impossible to describe the intense excitement that now prevailed. Only those who saw and felt it can understand or conceive any adequate idea of its extent. Meetings were held under the flag of the State of Maryland, at which the speeches were inflammatory secession harangues, and it was resolved that no soldier should be allowed to pass through Baltimore for the protection of the National Capital. Secessionists and sympathizers with rebellion had everything their own way. The national flag dis-

appeared. No man dared to display it, or open his mouth in favor of the Union. The governor of Maryland, who had been a strong Union man, was overawed, weakened, and induced to call out the State militia. The "Maryland Guards" were immediately under arms, and batteries of artillery, with horses in harness, were paraded in the streets.

On the morning of the 20th I went to the city in citizen's dress, and as I walked past a battery paraded in front of the Post Office, I was recognized by Captain Woodhull, who immediately joined me and asked if I was armed. "Why do you ask that?" I inquired. "Because," was his reply, "you are not safe here, and had better return to the fort." I told him I had some purchases to make, and when that was done I would follow his advice. He remained with me until I was ready to leave town. By order of the city government, to prevent the passage of other troops, the bridges over the Gunpowder and Bush rivers, on the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad, and the bridge near Cockeysville, on the Northern Central Railroad, leading to Harrisburg were burned, which severed all connection by rail with the Northern States.

The conspiracy extended to the neighboring towns, and it seemed that for hours of the night mounted men from the country were crossing the bridges of the Patapsco. Marshal Kane, chief of the police force, telegraphed to Bradley T. Johnson, at Frederick: "Street red with Maryland blood—Send expresses over the mountains of Maryland and Virginia for the riflemen to come without delay—Fresh hordes will be down on us to-morrow—We will fight them and whip them or die." Threats were made to capture Fort McHenry.* Baltimore at that time was as much in rebellion as Richmond or Charleston.

The officers at Fort McHenry knew its defenseless condition. They also knew its importance. If it was lost, Maryland would probably secede and the Capital would be cut off. The officers determined to hold it at all hazards, and immediately set to work with the means at hand to prepare for its defense. Sand-bags were filled, timber was procured, and a splinter-proof built for the side of the magazine toward the city. A quantity of eight-inch shells were filled with powder, and paper fuses calculated to burn about thirty seconds attached to them; gutters were manufactured and placed on the slope for the purpose of rolling these shells into the ditch in case of an

* A few years ago, a prominent Baltimore paper denied that there was ever any intention to attack Fort McHenry. It is a sufficient answer to this, to state that in the spring of 1862, the Maryland delegation in Congress, headed by the Honorable Reverdy Johnson, addressed a letter to President Lincoln, in which they said, "It was mainly owing to the determined stand taken by Captain Robinson that Fort McHenry was saved to the Government."

assault, a brass field-piece was placed in the angle commanding the approach from the town, and another was placed on the parade ground, pointed toward the sally-port and loaded with canister for the benefit of any party that might succeed in forcing the gates. An old mortar was found and a bed improvised for it. As long as it would stand fire, shells could have been thrown into Monument square, or the heart of the city. It was, however, honeycombed, and probably would not have lasted long. Requisitions had previously been made out and forwarded for ordnance and ordnance stores and other supplies, to which no answer had been received, but subsistence stores were purchased in Baltimore and carted to the fort. At the first intimation of trouble, the orders already given were duplicated, so that rations enough were on hand to meet the emergency.

At about 9 o'clock on the evening of the 20th, Police Commissioner Davis called at the fort, bringing the following letter from the President of the Police Board:

Office Board of Police
Baltimore April 20, 1861
8 oClock, P. M.

Capt. Robinson, U. S. A.
Commanding Fort McHenry.
Dear Sir

From rumors that have reached us, the Board are apprehensive that you may be annoyed by lawless and disorderly characters approaching the walls of the Fort to night. We propose to send a guard of perhaps 200 men to station themselves on Whet-stone Point, of course entirely beyond the outer limits of the Fort, and within those of the City. Their orders will be to arrest and hand over to the Civil authorities any evil disposed and disorderly persons who may approach the Fort. We should have confided this duty to our regular Police Force, but their services are so imperatively required elsewhere, that it is impossible to detail a sufficient number of them to your vicinity, to insure the accomplishment of our object. This duty has therefore been entrusted to a detachment of the regular organized Militia of the state, now called out pursuant to law and actually in the service of the State of Maryland. The commanding officer of the detachment will be instructed to communicate with you. Permit me here to repeat the assurance I verbally gave you this morning that no disturbance at or near your post shall be made with the sanction of any of the constituted authorities of the City of Baltimore, but that on the contrary all their powers shall be exerted to prevent any thing of the kind, by any parties.

I have the honor to be Very respectfully
Your ob'd't Servt. Charles Howard Pres't.
(By order of the Board of Police.)

P. S. There may perhaps be a Troop of Volunteer Cavalry with the detachment. These will of course be under the orders of the officer in command.

Yours &c
Charles Howard
Pres't.

I did not question the good faith of Mr. Howard, but Commissioner Davis verbally stated that they proposed to send the "Maryland Guards" to help protect the fort. Having made the acquaintance of some of the officers of that organization and heard them freely express their opinions, I declined the offered support, and then the following conversation occurred:

Commandant.—"I am aware, sir, that we are to be attacked to-night. I received notice of it before sundown. If you will go outside with me you will see we are prepared for it. You will find the guns loaded and men standing by them. As for the Maryland Guards, they cannot come here. I am acquainted with some of those gentlemen and know what their sentiments are."

Commissioner Davis.—"Why, Captain, we are anxious to avoid a collision."

Commandant.—"So am I, sir. If you wish to avoid a collision, place your city military anywhere between the city and that chapel on the road,* but if they come this side of it I shall fire on them."

Commissioner Davis.—"Would you fire into the City of Baltimore?"

Commandant.—"I should be sorry to do it, sir, but if it becomes necessary in order to hold this fort, I shall not hesitate for one moment."

Commissioner Davis (very excitedly).—"I assure you, Captain Robinson, if there is a woman or child killed in that city there will not be one of you left alive here, sir."

Commandant.—"Very well, sir. I will take the chances. Now I assure you, Mr. Davis, if your Baltimore mob comes down here to-night you will not have another mob in Baltimore for ten years to come, sir."

Fortunately that night the steamer *Spaulding*, that had been carrying troops to Fortress Monroe, came into the harbor and anchored under the guns of the fort and sent up to the city for coal, which was supplied by a lighter. A report was spread in Baltimore that this ship had brought a reinforcement of eight hundred men. All the tents to be found at the post were pitched on the esplanade, as if for accommodation of the newly arrived troops. All communication with the city was cut off; a picket guard was placed at the hospital gate, and no one was allowed to go out or come in except officers and a trusty messenger. All civilians were stopped there until an officer could be sent for to ascertain their business. It was ten days before the public knew that no reinforcement had been received. By that time there was a reaction; the reign of terror was over, and Baltimore became a quiet city.

* A Roman Catholic chapel about three-quarters of a mile from the fort.

One day word came in that there was a stranger at the picket who wanted to see the commanding officer. When I met him he wished to see me privately, and when out of view of the guard he informed me that he was the bearer of a letter from the Secretary of the Navy, that as he did not know what might happen to him in Baltimore he had concealed it in a queer place. He then removed his hat, and lifting his wig, drew out the letter from between it and his bald crown. It was rather oily, but, nevertheless, a document I was glad to receive. About the time the excitement commenced Lieutenant Grey arrived at the post with a skeleton company of the Second Artillery. He was soon after sent in disguise through Baltimore with a letter to the Secretary of the Navy, calling his attention to the fact that the United States receiving ship *Alleghany* was lying at Baltimore, and suggesting to him that under the circumstances she would be much safer under the guns of Fort McHenry. On reading the letter the Secretary started from his chair, saying no one in his own department had reminded him of this thing, and immediately gave orders for the removal of the ship. Captain Hunter, who commanded her, obeyed the order, reported to me the position of the vessel, returned to the city and resigned from the navy.

Soon after the attack on the Massachusetts troops, Brevet-Colonel Ben Huger, of the ordnance corps, who was in charge of Pikesville Arsenal, and living in Baltimore, resigned his commission in the army. Meeting him afterwards and expressing regret at the course he had taken, he replied: "I never did anything with so much regret in my life. I was brought up in the army, my father was in the army, my son is in the army, and I hoped to end my days in the army, but *the country has gone to ——!* My friends in South Carolina are constantly writing to me, urging and begging me to resign and come home, and I can't stand it any longer. But one thing I assure you, old fellow, I never will fight against the old flag."

On the 25th day of June, 1862, at the Orchard, the first battle of the seven days' fighting on the Peninsula, the First Brigade of Kearney's division under my command was directly opposed by the division of Major-General Ben Huger. This is not an isolated case. There were other officers who, feeling compelled to leave our service, did so with the same determination as Huger, but after they reached home within the limits of the Confederacy they found the pressure too strong, and were almost forced to draw their swords against the flag they had sworn to defend. Were they not virtually conscripted as well as the men they commanded?

The first demonstration of returning loyalty was on Sunday morning,

the 28th day of April, when a sailing vessel came down the river crowded with men, and covered from stem to stern with national flags. She sailed past the fort, cheered and saluted our flag, which was dipped in return, after which she returned to the city.

The tide had turned. Union men avowed themselves, the stars and stripes were again unfurled, and order was restored. Although after this time arrests were made of persons conspicuous for disloyalty, the return to reason was almost as sudden as the outbreak of rebellion. The railroads were repaired, trains ran regularly, and troops poured into Washington without hindrance or opposition of any sort.

Thousands of men volunteered for the Union army. Four regiments of Maryland troops afterwards served with me and constituted the Third Brigade of my division. They fought gallantly the battles of the Union, and no braver soldiers ever marched under the flag.

In the summer of 1882 the national encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic was held in the City of Baltimore and received a welcome never exceeded in any Northern city. The escort was composed of military companies of Maryland and Virginia. The blue and the gray mingled. Union and Confederate soldiers walked the streets arm in arm, red, white and blue bunting covered the buildings on all the business streets, and the starry banner of the Union floated from every flagstaff. In May last the Society of the Army of the Potomac held its annual meeting in Baltimore. Hundreds of the soldiers who had marched through Baltimore to Washington in 1861 received a cordial and hearty welcome to that city in 1885.

Jno. C. Robinson

BEGINNINGS OF THE CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA

THE CONFEDERATES TAKE THE OFFENSIVE

(*Continued from page* 137)

In view of the inauspicious attitude so generally taken at Washington by the leading men of the incoming political party toward the compromise measures proposed by the Peace Congress, or, indeed, toward the idea of any compromise of the questions which had culminated in the secession movement, the congress at Montgomery, about a fortnight before the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, or on the 15th of February, considered it expedient to be so prepared that the possible arbitrament of the sword should not come upon them with unavoidable disadvantages in Charleston Harbor—the point, in all likelihood, of first armed collision. Accordingly the Confederate Executive was directed by formal resolutions to make all possible military preparations to obtain possession, either by negotiation or force, of Forts Sumter and Pickens as early as practicable. It was not, however, until eight days afterwards that Major Whiting, lately a captain of United States engineers stationed at Savannah, was dispatched from Montgomery to inspect the works held or being constructed by the State authorities of South Carolina, and to report their condition to the Confederate Government, as well as all the information to be had regarding Fort Sumter. This action of the Confederate Congress was followed by a further resolution, a week later, assuming the control of all operations in the quarter of Charleston. Thereupon Mr. Davis called to Montgomery G. T. Beauregard, who had upon the secession of his native State, Louisiana, resigned his commission of captain of engineers and of brevet-major of the United States

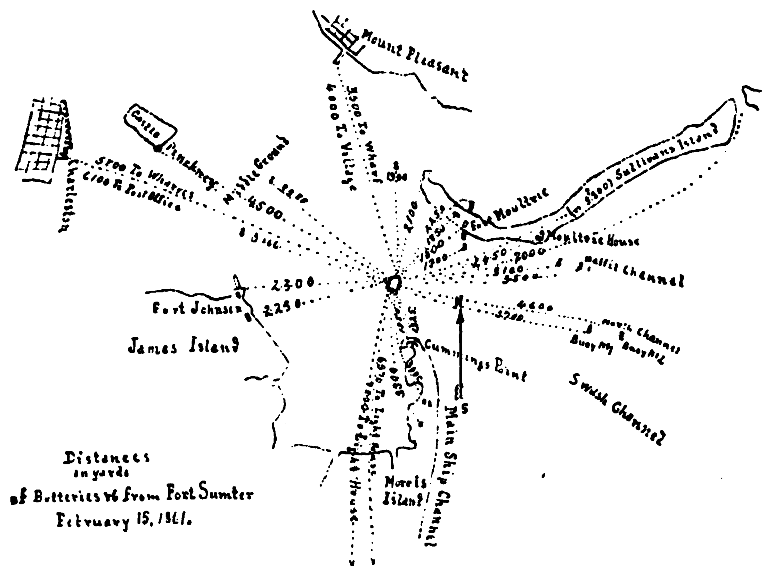
STATE FLAG OF SOUTH CAROLINA

army—the latter grade won by conspicuously gallant and meritorious services in the battles of Contreras, Churubusco, and Chapultepec, during the war with Mexico. This officer was at once commissioned as a brigadier-general in the Confederate service, and on the 1st of March assigned to command the military operations in the quarter of Charleston. For that command, I need hardly say, he was universally regarded, in the army from which he had resigned, as professionally fitted in the highest degree. Having gone to Charleston and closely informed himself of what had been accomplished there already, he assumed command on the 6th of March, or two days after the executive power of the United States had passed into the hands of Mr. Lincoln and his Cabinet.

Of the advent of so accomplished an engineer officer as Beauregard at Charleston, and what it directly portended, the newly installed President and his astute and experienced premier had immediate information. Major Anderson, three days after Beauregard entered upon his duties, in an official letter to his Government, spoke of him in these terms: "The presence here as commander of General Beauregard, recently of the United States Engineers, insures, I think, in a great measure, the exercise of skill and sound judgment in all operations of the South Carolinians in the harbor." On the 10th of March, Captain Foster, the engineer officer in Fort Sumter, also wrote to his chief at Washington: "Generally speaking there is more earnestness exhibited now than for several days previously to the 5th instant. * * * General Beauregard is understood to be in command of the forces here." Anderson also reported on the 9th of March: "It appears to me that vessels will *even now*, from the time they cross the bar, be under fire from the batteries on Morris Island until they get under the walls of this fort." * * * "Fort Moultrie will of course be a very formidable

enemy." Two days later he added that little seemed to be doing "except upon the batteries on Morris Island that commanded the entrance channel to the harbor." Moreover, on the 12th of March, Captain Foster reported to General Totten the character and military import of these same Morris Island batteries "extending southward along the channel," which he described as "redoubts connected by lines of parapets serving as curtains with their *rear protected from a reverse fire from Sumter.*"

Furthermore, Mr. Lincoln had not been in occupation of the White House twenty-four hours before he was made acquainted with the precarious subsistence situation of the garrison of Fort Sumter, which then



consisted of about one hundred and thirty souls all told, including some eight or ten hired men who had served at least one term of enlistment in the army, with forty-three engineer employés who had been trained or drilled as gunners. Thus he must have seen that starvation would oblige Anderson to abandon Fort Sumter to the Carolinians within a fortnight after the latter should simply refuse to supply his command with fresh meat and vegetables. In other words, within the first week after Mr. Lincoln became President, he and his constitutional advisers were made aware that the United States forces in Fort Sumter must be freshly provisioned without delay or hesitancy, or they soon must be exposed to be starved into the evacuation of the position at the pleasure of the authorities at Montgomery; and that meanwhile, with every day, one of the ablest of

American military engineers was girdling that position with works which must soon render any attempt to throw provisions into it or to reinforce the garrison wholly futile, thus assuring its fall without the discharge of a gun. Nevertheless this burning question cannot with historical verity be said to have been met by the new Federal administration, with more resolution or energy or promptness than had characterized the one to which it had succeeded—with such a flood of harsh criticism of that predecessor and such a din of injurious allegations of which "criminal weakness" was the very mildest. That no more was done to meet the question of secession under the regime of Lincoln than under that of Buchanan, until the fortress in question was captured by the impatient Confederate authorities, is due solely to precisely the same imperious reason in the one case as in the other: that is to say, to the inexorable constraint of the inherent fundamental principle of a constitutional republic such as that of the United States, which had led even the great Federalist, Alexander Hamilton, to declare in the convention of the State of New York that ratified the Constitution of the United States: "To coerce a State would be one of the maddest projects ever devised. No State would ever suffer itself to be used as the instrument of coercing another."

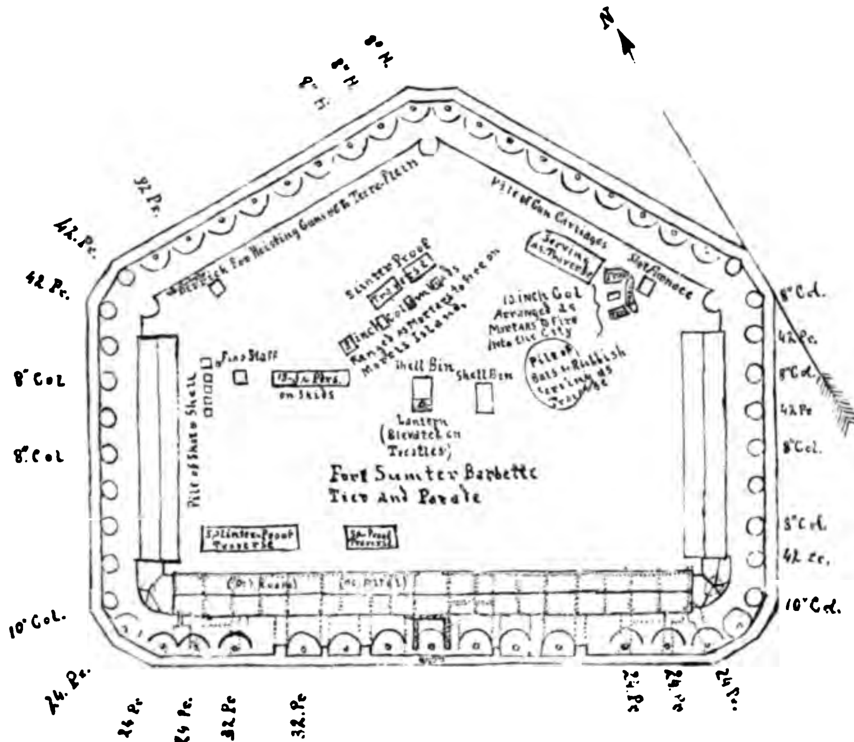
How widely, or generally, at the time, here in the North as well as at the South, this principle was recognized as being one of the chief roots of our political institutions may be seen in the following leading editorial article taken from *Harper's Weekly* of the 9th of March, 1861:

"We believe that the work of reconstruction is proceeding in the Gulf States. The Montgomery Convention has elected a very moderate man for President, and the most emphatic enemy of disunion for Vice-President. It has adopted the Constitution of the United States, and has altered none of the laws, and displaced none of the officials appointed by the general government. Mr. Davis has bestirred himself actively and successfully to prevent such a collision as would impede reconstruction. His Cabinet consists of Union men. The only South Carolinian who had the courage to avow himself a friend of the Union is also the only South Carolinian invited to a seat in the administration. You find nowhere in the proceedings at Montgomery any indorsement of the extreme *per se* disunionists. More than this, more than one-half of the ties existing between the Gulf States and the Union remain unsevered. The United States mail is carried throughout the seceding States. Foreigners in Alabama prepay letters to other foreigners in Georgia with United States postage stamps. Postmaster Huger, at Charleston, sends regularly to Washington for stamps and blanks, and renders his account as usual. The United States patent laws and copyright laws still obtain. Youths from Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama are still in their classes at West Point and Annapolis. Not five per cent. of the Southern officers in the United States army and navy have resigned their commissions. There has been a formal change in the revenue service. The United States collectors call themselves collectors for their several States. But they collect duties under the United States tariff, keep account of the receipts, and their States will account

for the money by and by. South Carolina, on the eve of certain secession, still sent her census returns faithfully to Washington. Surely this is a very mild kind of separation.

"It would undoubtedly be a very mischievous undertaking to keep half a dozen States in the Union against the deliberate wishes of their people. Whatever popular feeling, roused to frenzy by the seizure of forts, arsenals, revenue cutters and mints might prompt on the spur of the moment, there can be no question but the enterprise of holding the Union together by force would ultimately prove futile. *It would be in violation of the principles of our institutions*." *

In the profound study which he made of the polity of the United States,



based on his large personal intercourse with our public men of both political parties, as well as upon an intimate acquaintance with the political history of the country, and the utterances of American statesmen of the first quarter of a century on the existence of the Union, M. de Toqueville declared explicitly, as a settled matter, that no effort would ever be made to maintain the Federal Union by force. This was but a logical conclusion, in view of the fact that the compulsion of a State to remain in the Union against the consent of the people of that State practically involved the

* I presume from the pen of the present accomplished editor of the same journal.—AUTHOR.

complete overthrow of the Constitution itself by the destruction of representative institutions, with the substitution of a centralized despotism wielded by the Federal Government, with the power to wrench, with armed hand, from great and unanimous political communities, the right of being governed as they like; that is the right that underlay the war of Independence.

Coercion struck at the right of every People to decide for themselves how far a government may or not be conducive to their own general weal, and to set up, if they may so elect, a new or modified political system, subject only to moral responsibilities before the world for their action. Another basic principle of the Revolution of 1776 was wholly discordant with that of a compulsory union of the States; namely, that the people thus desiring to make the change are to be the sole judges of the sufficiency of the reasons for the change! Webster, in his famous debate with Hayne, of South Carolina, frankly admitted that the term "national government" was unanimously struck out of the draught of the Constitution of 1778, because inapplicable to the facts and opposed to the intentions of the parties to that compact.

Surely the will that had set up this Union and prescribed its federative metes and bounds and powers—or, indeed, any other form or system of government—may withdraw submission to or connection with it subsequently. The States entered the Union by a gradual accretion, one by one; so they logically might go away one by one.

The very equality of the States in the Senate, where Rhode Island, Delaware, and Nevada have the same power and voice with either New York, Illinois, or Texas, coupled with the express reservation by the States in the amendment to the Constitution before *ratification*, that all powers not granted to the central government are reserved to the States, affords *proof* of the unrelinquished sovereign character of the States. For that matter, the Constitution itself was expressly based on "the consent of the States present," and *not upon that of the people of the United States aggregately.*

Even the methods by which amendments to the Constitution of the United States are to be effected carry the idea of reserved separate State sovereignty plainly visible; for the polity known as the United States of America cannot of itself change a single word in the Federal Constitution. The people of the United States, acting collectively as one nation, cannot constitutionally change a clause or even a word of that organic instrument or charter. It is only the people acting by separate State communities that can change a syllable in the Constitution by either one of several

methods provided, in all of which are carefully guarded this inherent principle of our political system—that of State sovereignty and of separate State action. For that matter, the selection of the very administrator of the Federal Government is made not by the people of the United States as a people, but by the States through their electoral colleges; and every one of the vast number of subordinate administrators, from the Secretaries of the Departments down to the tide-waiters, is appointed by this State-chosen President and the State-chosen Senators. A remarkable illustration of this political essence and action of the States is given in the election of Abraham Lincoln, notwithstanding that by the aggregate vote of the people of the United States he stood in a popular minority of about 350,000.

In fine, under our system, the State governments have the exclusive guardianship of each and all of the most precious rights of the people, the making of the laws that regulate property, the domestic relations, our daily dealings, and those that guard life and limb; while the Federal Government touches us only in exceptional cases and situations.

Mr. Lincoln, a man of heart and of a high and acute intelligence unwarped by humanitarian theories—which breed a Robespierre that could grieve over the killing of a chicken as readily as they may breed the martyr for opinion's sake—must have seen from the outset that under the Constitution coercion was an impossibility, and that any attempt to employ the army and navy of the general government to the end of forcing the eight seceded States, or either of them, back under Federal authority amounted practically to a subversion of the spirit of our political system. He must have understood that the people of South Carolina and of her associated States could not, for example, be made to send constitutionally elected representatives to Congress at Washington by force of rifled guns and bayonets. Therefore, it must have been that the new President virtually confessed his impotency in the exigency to constrain the action or course of the seceded States, when he declared there should be "no invasion, no using of force anywhere," and assured the country he would forego even the exercise of Federal offices "in disaffected districts."

That he and his Cabinet must have been satisfied that no constitutional power was lodged anywhere in the Federal polity, by virtue of which he could call into action the military arm of the Federal authority for the compulsory maintenance of a union of the States, seems to me clearly shown by the fact that he suffered the sun to set on the day of his inauguration without the convocation of Congress, by proclamation, to provide the ways and means for so supreme an exigency as that which met him as

he entered the White House, not as an emperor, a dictator, or an autocrat, but as the chief magistrate of a constitutional republic.

To no less a degree than Mr. Buchanan and his Cabinet (even when it embraced Floyd and Thompson) did Mr. Lincoln, for more than thirty days after his inauguration, procrastinate, or, in military parlance, "beat time." Practically he hesitated, halted, and parleyed while Beauregard was swiftly constructing works and garnishing them with artillery, exterior to Fort Sumter, that soon, in the opinion of General Scott and the chief engineer of the army, and of Major Anderson and all of the officers in that fortress, must make its relief against the wishes of the Confederates, a wholly impracticable operation within the time inexorably prescribed by the limited supply of provisions in Fort Sumter! This fact was explicitly stated by Anderson more than once.* General Scott on the 12th of March declared that for the successful relief of Anderson he should need a fleet of war vessels and transports which could not be collected in less than four months, together with 5,000 regulars and 20,000 volunteers; and that "to raise, organize, and discipline such an army (*not to speak of necessary legislation by Congress not now in session*) would require from six to eight months." And he added these words: "As a practical military question, the time for succoring Fort Sumter with any means at hand passed away nearly a month ago. Since then a surrender under assault or from starvation has been merely a question of time." †

The commission which had been dispatched from Montgomery in anticipation of the change of administration at Washington, Messrs. Crawford, Forsyth, and Roman, had not indeed been formally or personally received either by Mr. Lincoln or Mr. Seward; but, all the same, the subjects of their mission had, through Judge John A. Campbell ‡—a judiciously selected in-

* *Reb. Official Recs.*, Series I., Vol. I., p. 197.

† *Ibid.*, p. 197. However, under the light of subsequent events, it is apparent that even had the succor been effected at the time General Scott refers to, or immediately after the occupation of Sumter, it could not have averted its capitulation at the time Anderson took that step. As the veteran chief engineer of the army pointed out, if that fort had been "filled with men and munitions it could hold out but a short time. It would be obliged to surrender with much loss of life, for it would be bravely and obstinately defended, and the greater the crowd within, the greater the proportionate loss (*Reb. Official Rec.*, Series I., Vol. I., p. 233)."

‡ Judge Campbell, an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, who subsequently resigned from the Federal service when he saw clearly that the interposition of military force was at hand, because he knew that *inter arma silent leges*. Ranking with the very ablest of the judges of that exalted tribunal for learning and judicial qualities, Justice Campbell was without a peer in the country for his knowledge of the Roman or civil and ecclesiastical law, of which he had made a profound study—a study that naturally equipped him also for the higher reaches of statecraft. The fact is, the two men of the South best fitted to have guided the Confederate States safely and

termediary of the ablest character—been brought to the attentive consideration of the Federal Government at an early day and with such results as led them to report in substance, within the first fortnight of the Lincoln administration, that "if there is faith in men" there would be a peaceful issue to their mission, but that in "the present position of affairs precipitation is war." As early as the 14th of March, Mr. Forsyth, one of this commission, telegraphed Governor Pickens: "I confidently believe Fort Sumter will be evacuated." Ex-Senator Wigfall had also telegraphed both to Mr. Davis and to General Beauregard on the 11th of March, that it had certainly been settled at a Cabinet meeting that Sumter should be soon vacated. And that these conclusions of the Confederate agents and their friends were not hastily formed or groundless is made apparent from the fact that Colonel Ward H. Lamon, of the personal *entourage* of President Lincoln, a gentleman notoriously in his confidence, who visited Charleston and had an interview with Major Anderson as well as with Governor Pickens, gave both to understand that orders would soon be issued from Washington for the abandonment of Sumter. The testimony of Anderson's official letters upon this point would seem conclusive; as, for example, this language in his letter of the 2d of April to Adjutant-General Thomas: "Having been in daily expectation, since the return of Colonel Lamon to Washington, of receiving orders to vacate this post." * And again April 6: "The remarks made to me by Colonel Lamon * * * have induced me to believe that orders will soon be issued for my abandoning this work." † How clearly, indeed, the dutiful soldier Anderson had, in these days, been

successfully in their effort to establish either a separate Federal Government from that of the Northern and Western States, or to have brought about a re-established Union of all the States upon a satisfactory basis, were Howell Cobb of Georgia, and John A. Campbell of Alabama. With the first as President and the second as Secretary of War, consummate statesmanship would have presided over the affairs of the Southern States. Both possessed high administrative ability and had broad views. Under them the Confederate armies and all vital positions would have been entrusted exclusively to the ablest soldiers of the South. There would have been none of that incredible, insensate favoritism which placed the Confederate commissariat administration in the hands of a Northrop and the guardianship of the Mississippi Valley in 1862–3 subject to the military inaptitude of a Pemberton. There would have been a proper conception and energetic use of the great advantages given to the Confederate States by their full possession of the interior lines. That immense sinew of war, the vast cotton crop of 1860, would have been utilized by exportation to Europe in the first twelve months of the war, and supplied the Southern armies with arms and ammunition, and also provided a fleet of cruisers sufficient to have swept the commerce of the United States from the ocean. Every element of success would have been sagaciously foreseen and employed with statesmanlike address.

* *Reb. Official Recs.*, Series I., Vol. I., p. 230.

† *Ibid.*, p. 237. See, also, correspondence between Anderson and Beauregard, *ibid.*, pp. 222–223.

led to believe by his government that it was their purpose that he should be ordered to evacuate Fort Sumter, is placed beyond honest doubt by these remarkable passages from his letter to the Adjutant-General at Washington, of the 8th of April, upon learning that the Fox expedition for his relief had been ordered: "I had the honor," he wrote, "to receive by yesterday's mail the letter of the honorable Secretary of War, dated April 4th, and confess that what he there states surprises me very greatly. * * * It is, of course, now too late for me to give any advice in reference to the proposed scheme of Captain Fox. I fear that its result cannot fail to be disastrous to all concerned. Even with his boat at our walls the loss of life (as I think I mentioned to Mr. Fox), in unloading her, will more than pay for the good to be accomplished by the expedition, which keeps us, if I can maintain possession of this work, out of position, surrounded by strong works, which must be carried to make this fort of the least value to the United States Government. * * * I ought to have been informed that this expedition was to come. Colonel Lamon's remark convinced me that the idea, merely hinted at to me by Captain Fox, would not be carried out." *

That Mr. Lincoln, meanwhile, must have been exceedingly loth to engraft upon our political system, as a means of resoldering and keeping the Union together, what Henry Heine characterized as the "Prussian political triad," *the artillery, cavalry, and infantry*, I cannot doubt. I am not one of those who believe that either he or Mr. Seward plotted and worked deviously to the ulterior end of forcing the Southern leaders to eject Anderson by violence, in order to inflame the passions of the Northern people and thus unite them in a war against the Southern States. Neither do I regard his courses or purposes as those of a man who

"Would not play false and yet would wrongly win."

* *Reb. Official Recs.*, Series I., Vol. I., p. 294. The letter referred to will be found *ibid.*, p. 235. It began by professing some anxiety on the part of the President, caused by a letter from Anderson to the adjutant-general of the 1st of April, recalling that he had told Mr. Fox that if he placed his command on short allowance he could make the provisions last until after the 10th of April; but, as he had received no instructions from the department that it was desirable that he should do so, it had not been done. Further, that if Governor Pickens allowed him to send off the engineer laborers he would have rations enough to last for a week from the 1st of April. He also reminded the department that it had been kept fully apprised, from time to time, of the precise state of his supplies verbally, through Lieutenants Talbot and Hall, as well as by detailed written statements to the Commissary Department. This letter becomes historically important when read in connection with the statement made by the Federal Secretary of War of April 4th, that on the "information of Captain Fox, the President had supposed that Anderson could hold out until the 15th of April without any great inconvenience, and had prepared an expedition to relieve him before that period."

On the contrary, as I read the history of his hesitations and unsteady policy between the 4th of March and the 4th of April, 1861—while finding no room for doubt that at one time it was decided in full Cabinet meeting, by a majority of five out of seven that Anderson's command should be withdrawn from Charleston Harbor, or as late as the visit of Colonel Lamon to Anderson on the 25th of March—I can best explain his final acceptance of the preposterous project of the ex-naval officer Captain Fox, as an adroit, legitimate method of escape from such a dilemma as that of ordering Anderson to evacuate Fort Sumter; an act that might be construed at home and abroad into "a recognition of the fact of the dissolution of the Union." * Regarded as that expedition was by the General-in-Chief and the Chief Engineer of the army, as without the least possibility of success, and deprecated by Major Anderson himself and all his officers, Mr. Lincoln's intelligence surely was too high and practical to look upon it as likely to succeed when the highest professional authority had so utterly condemned it. Hence, it can only be rationally regarded as a mere sop thrown by the sagacious, kindly-hearted Western statesman to the growling Cerberus of sectional passions which had been urging him to courses that must flood the land with blood. As we have seen, Anderson asserts positively that he informed Captain Fox, that only by resorting to short rations and getting *rid of* certain supernumerary mouths could his provisions be made to last as long as the 10th of April. Further, that Colonel Lamon failed to inform the President of the true situation in Sumter with regard to subsistence, is not to be rationally supposed. Hence it is apparent that not only the order issued in Washington placing Captain Fox in charge of the transportation, "to the entrance of Charleston Harbor," of the subsistence and supplies destined for the succor of Fort Sumter, but the order to the quartermaster in New York to charter such vessels as Captain Fox might designate for that operation was not issued until the 4th of April. Only on that day also did General Scott order from Washington the organization of a body of 200 recruits, with a competent equipment "of officers and ammunition and subsistence," with "other necessaries for the augmented garrison of Fort Sumter." †

* See Major Anderson's feeling, manly letter of April 5. (*Reb. Official Recs.*, Series I., Vol. I., p. 241.)

† It is true that on the 29th of March the President handed to the Secretaries of War and Navy respectively "preliminary orders" to the effect that the war steamers *Pocahontas* at Norfolk, *Pawnee* at Washington, *Harriet Lane* at New York, should be held under sailing orders for sea with stores, etc., for one month, and three hundred men to be kept ready for departure from on board the receiving ships at New York. Also that two hundred men be held ready to leave Governor's Island in New York. Supplies for twelve months to be put in portable shape ready for instant shipment. A large steamer and three tugs conditionally engaged.

Assuming that all energy was exerted in selecting and sending the four transports required for the enterprise projected by Captain Fox for the succor of Sumter,* Mr. Lincoln and his Cabinet must have expected that such an expedition could not reach Charleston before Major Anderson had exhausted his subsistence, hauled down his flag, and retired from his position under a stress that did not necessarily involve war. This expectation is found in the instructions to Captain Talbot directing him to proceed to Charleston and notify Governor Pickens "that an attempt was about to be made to supply Fort Sumter with provisions only, and that, if such an attempt be not resisted, no effort to throw in provisions, arms, or ammunition will be made without further notice, or in case of an attack upon the fort"—which instructions both opened and ended with the significant suggestion that, upon arriving at Charleston, he might find that Fort Sumter had been already evacuated!

Captain Talbot having reached Charleston and discharged his commission by reading to Governor Pickens in the presence of General Beauregard, on the 8th of April, the notification of the purpose of the Federal Government to provision the garrison of Sumter, of course General Beauregard telegraphed the Confederate War Department concisely: "Authorized messenger just informed Governor Pickens and myself 'that provisions would be sent to Sumter.'" † At the same time, however, he was also at the pains to inquire by telegraph of the Confederate commissioners at Washington as to the authenticity of the notification. Commissioner Crawford replied affirmatively on the 9th of April; adding that "diplomacy had failed," and that "the sword" must now be relied on to "preserve the independence" of the seceded States.

On April 10th, the Confederate Secretary of War telegraphed Beauregard that, if satisfied of the authenticity of the notification of the purpose of the Washington government to supply Sumter by force, he should at once demand its evacuation; and in the event this were refused, to proceed to reduce it in such manner as he might determine. That demand was accordingly made in writing at 12 meridian, on the 11th of April; simply a demand for the "evacuation" of the fort, coupled, however, with a proffer of all proper facilities for the removal of Major Anderson and his command, together with company arms and property and all private property, to any post in the United States that the Major might select. "The flag which you have upheld so long and with so much fortitude, under the most trying circumstances, may be saluted by you on taking it

* Steamer *Baltic*, and the steam-tugs *Uncle Sam*, *Yankee*, and *Freeborn*.

† *Reb. Official Recs.*, Series I., Vol. I., p. 245.

down," were the courteous words with which this important summons ended. Major Anderson, if with soldierly brevity, also with felicitous freedom from bravado, declined in writing to comply. As he had, however, casually remarked to the aides-de-camp of the Confederate general, that he "must be starved out in a few days" should he "not meanwhile be battered to pieces," Beauregard—having communicated these words to his superiors at Montgomery—was authorized to inform Anderson, as he did on the 11th of April, that if he would fix a time for the evacuation of his position and agree meanwhile not to use his guns against the Confederates, unless theirs were employed against him, fire would not be opened upon Fort Sumter.

To this Anderson replied on the 12th of April, that, if provided with the proper transportation, he would evacuate Fort Sumter by noon on the 15th of April, and that he would not in the mean time open fire upon the Confederate forces unless compelled to do so by some hostile act against his fort or the flag of his government by the forces under Beauregard, or by the perpetration of some act showing a hostile intention against Fort Sumter, or the flag it bore, should he not receive prior to the 15th of April controlling instructions from his government or additional supplies.*

As this answer, on its face, was unsatisfactory, and Messrs. James Chesnut, Jr., and Stephen D. Lee, aides-de-camp to General Beauregard, who received it, were under instructions in that event to give formal notification in writing, that within one hour thereafter the Confederate batteries would open fire upon Fort Sumter, the notice was duly given under their official signature, at 3.30 in the morning of the 12th of April, that hostilities would begin at 4.30.

Meanwhile, and of course, Captain Fox was unable to leave New York until the 10th of April on the *Baltic*. Preceded twelve hours by one of his steam-tugs, he left the other two to straggle on to the rendezvous off Charleston as best they might. The *Baltic* reached its destination, as Captain Fox reported, at 3 o'clock in the morning on the 12th of April; that is, barely one hour and a half before fire was opened on Fort Sumter. At the time, a gale was blowing, and of the war vessels only the *Harriet Lane* had come upon the scene. At 7 A.M., however, the *Pawnee* anchored twelve miles to the eastward of the lighthouse to await the advent of the *Powhatan*, the flagship of the naval force, which, as well as the *Pocahontas*, had not come in sight, and neither of which ships seems to have made its appearance subsequently in that quarter, wherefore, as respects the

* *Reb. Official Recs.*, Series I., Vol. I., p. 14.

Powhatan alone, it is explained by Fox that that vessel had been withdrawn from the expedition without his knowledge on the 7th of April, or "without the least intimation to him that the main portion—the fighting portion"—of the expedition "was taken away." That is to say, the *Powhatan* and the 300 extra sailors aboard of her that were relied on as essential to the success of the enterprise had been deliberately eliminated from it by the authorities at Washington—a course which can only be rationally accounted for, I repeat, by the theory that the Fox expedition was dispatched only because it was expected that Major Anderson would have been starved out of Fort Sumter before its arrival! Be this as it may, in the condition it reached the scene of its projected operations any attempt to execute its mission Captain Fox himself has said would have been absurd.

At 4.30 in the morning, the hour designated by General Beauregard, a signal shell was thrown into Sumter from the mortar battery on James

Island. This was immediately followed by all the Confederate batteries which encircled the doomed work. In a few moments thereafter 30 guns and 17 mortars were being actively served against it. Anderson did not respond, however, until 7 o'clock, when Captain Doubleday replied, with the first shot from the battery in the right gorge angle of Sumter. All the officers and soldiers of the Federal command had been divided into three reliefs, of two hours each, for the service of their pieces, including the 43 engineer workmen who had been previously trained for such an exigency, and nearly all of whom volunteered and acted as cannoneers or to carry shot and cartridges.* The armament disposable embraced 21 pieces in casemates, 27 in barbette, and 5 heavy columbiads on the parade, mounted for mortar service—in all 53 pieces. Only the casemate guns, however, seem to have been used.

* One of the officers who took an active part in the defense of Sumter, Lieutenant R. K. Meade, of the engineers, subsequently resigned and entered the Confederate service when his native State, Virginia, seceded.

The Confederate vertical or mortar practice appears to have been so good that one-half of their ten-inch shells either fell within the fort or exploded immediately above it, the fragments falling within the parapets. Such was the precision of this vertical fire, Captain Foster tells us, that Major Anderson soon determined not to subject his command to the great loss that must have ensued had he attempted to man and fight the first tier or barbette guns, notwithstanding the traverses and bomb-proof shelters which the engineers had provided. Therefore, those guns were only fired once or twice by volunteers who ventured the service, without effect at all commensurate with the hazard, as was found.

From all quarters of the compass meanwhile the Confederate shells sought and reached every part of the beleaguered fortress, and, as Foster reports, their fuses were so well graduated or timed that they exploded

just within the parapets. The direct firing, however, was not so well directed and effective.

Starting with but 700 cartridges for his guns, and unable to keep more than six needles busy making the necessary cartridge bags, Anderson had so reduced his stock by midday that he was forced to narrow his service to six guns during the afternoon. Two of these were addressed to Fort Moultrie, two to the batteries on Morris Island, and the others to the works on the west end of Sullivan's Island; that is, he in right soldierly fashion devoted himself chiefly to seeking to disable the batteries that would be used against the impending effort to relieve him from the side of the sea.

Several times during the afternoon of the 12th the barracks were set on fire from the exploding shells, but were readily saved from conflagration. However, the quarters were soon completely riddled through and through to their basements by shells fired from the west end of Sullivan's Island.

The night of the 12th was very stormy, and both wind and tide were high, so that had the whole Federal fleet been outside, as efficiently constituted for the enterprise as Fox claims it was projected, it could not possibly have done aught to succor Anderson and his little force. About every fifteen minutes, through the dense darkness, Beauregard's mortars threw a shell at Sumter—however, without reply. But meanwhile the supply of cartridge-bags was increased—to which end all the extra clothing of the men was cut up, and all the coarse paper to be found and extra hospital sheets were consumed. On the morning of the 13th of April, for twenty-four hours without bread, the last of some damaged rice that had been used as a substitute was cooked with the salt pork, the only character of food remaining. The Federal fire was now resumed as briskly as the supply of cartridges justified. The Confederate artillery service also was resumed at daylight with vigor, and the direct fire with better aim, from practice, than on the 12th. Hot shot were now thrown from Moultrie, and with such effect that the already riddled officers' quarters were soon so completely ablaze that the safety of the garrison from a sudden terrible death made it necessary to hermetically close the magazine. Before this was done only fifty barrels of powder could be brought forth and distributed in the lower casemates for future service, barely in time to save them from explosion, when the magazine doors were closed, and earth heaped and packed against them. In this and in the service of the guns the officers worked manually as well as the men. All the time the Confederate batteries rained down shells, or, for the most part, red-hot shot. By 12 M. all the wood work of the casemates and barracks was in flames; and only by unrelaxing effort was the fire kept from sweeping down the stairways to the wood work of the quarters below, and soon it became necessary to throw away all the powder to avoid its explosion from flying sparks that began to penetrate even to the casemates. Therefore, all but five barrels were thrown into the bay. Thus the ammunition was so reduced as to enable Anderson only to fire a gun every ten minutes.

The flagstaff, that had been repeatedly struck during the forenoon, finally came down at 1 P.M. The flag, secured as it fell by Lieutenant Hall of the artillery, was speedily rehoisted on a temporary staff by Lieutenant Snyder of the engineers.

By this time ex-Senator Wigfall, a volunteer on the staff of Beauregard, had made his way by an open boat from Morris Island to Sumter, with a white flag, and was permitted to enter through an embrasure, whereupon, previously to meeting Major Anderson, he represented in substance to the other officers, that as their flag had been shot away and a fire

was raging in their quarters, he had been sent to propose a suspension of hostilities, and that a white flag, to that end, should be raised; in fact, proposed to wave his own white flag to the Sullivan's Island batteries to stop their fire, those on Morris Island having already done so. This he was allowed to do from an embrasure facing Moultrie; but it seems the flag was not respected, doubtless because not observed. However, Major Anderson joined the group, and Wigfall, with some compliments touching the character of the defense, made known his mission. Of course, Anderson asked of the Confederate precisely what terms he had come to offer. The answer was: "Any terms you may desire—your own terms; their precise nature General Beauregard will arrange with you."

Anderson now broached the terms tendered several days previously by General Beauregard; that is to say, to evacuate the fort with his command; taking arms and all private property; saluting the United States flag as it was lowered, and being conveyed, if he desired, to any northern port. With this understanding, the United States flag was taken down and a white flag raised in its place, by Anderson's order. Very soon a boat reached the fort from Charleston, with several aides-de-camp of the Confederate general, bearing a message proffering aid to extinguish the flames. The circumstances of Wigfall's recent visit, and the consequent arrangements having been mentioned, the Federal commander was informed that Beauregard had not seen Wigfall for several days. This led Anderson, at once, to say that he must therefore rehoist his flag. The Confederate officers advised delay until they could report the situation to their chief, to whom they immediately bore a letter from Anderson explaining under what circumstances his flag was down, and declaring that, under existing conditions. he would evacuate his position upon the terms offered him on the 11th of April at any hour that might be named for the next day, or so soon as transportation could be arranged, and concluded: "I will not replace my flag until the return of your messenger." This note was written at 2.20 P.M. At five minutes of 6 P.M. Beauregard replied affirmatively in all respects, doing so "cheerfully," as he wrote to Anderson, "in consideration of the gallantry" with which he had defended the place under his charge.

Anderson's brief reply should be added as a part of the history of this most eventful incident—in its consequences—of modern history:

"General: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of this evening, and to express my gratification at its contents. Should it be convenient, I would like to have the *Catawba* here at about nine o'clock to-morrow morning.

With sentiments of the highest regard and esteem, I am, general, very respectfully your obedient servant Robert Anderson

Major, U. S. Army, Commanding"

Another creditable and, as I believe, characteristic document, also rightly belongs to this page of the history of the beginnings of the civil war:

"Headquarters Provisional Forces, C. S. A.,
Charleston, April 15, 1861.

"The commanding general directs that the commanding officer of the garrison of Fort Sumter will bury the unfortunate—[Federal]—soldier who has been accidentaly killed by explosion of misplaced powder while saluting his flag. He will be buried with all the honors of war in the parade of the fort.

By order of Brigadier General Beauregard:

W. H. C. Whiting
Adjutant and Engineer General.

"P. S.—The wounded will receive the best attention, and will be placed in the State hospital.

By order ot General Beauregard.

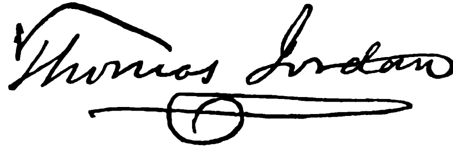
W. H. C Whiting
Adjutant and Engineer General."

At the request of Major Anderson, one of his officers, escorted by Captain Hartstene, a South Carolinian who had recently resigned from the Federal navy, and was then of the Confederate naval service, and accompanied by several of Beauregard's staff, was permitted to visit the commanding officer of the United States fleet in the offing to arrange for receiving the Sumter command. Captain Gillis, of the fleet, also in return visited Major Anderson.

It was thus settled that Anderson and his gallant command should be conveyed, at his own convenience, by a Confederate steamer outside to the anchorage of the abortive relieving fleet and placed aboard the *Baltic* for transportation to New York; the *Baltic*, whose mission in those waters, as we have seen, had been an altogether different one in the sanguine, self-confident brain of the ex-naval officer whose family political influence had been weightier in the councils at Washington than the professional opinions of those highest in rank and experience of the military service, as well as Anderson and all his officers, who regarded that mission, as it was, a barefaced folly.

Late in the afternoon of the 15th of April the flag of the Federal Union having been rehoisted by Major Anderson in the presence of his officers and men under arms—those who had upheld it with so much professional intelligence and soldierly honor—it was ceremoniously saluted with the proper number of guns and then hauled down! The command was now marched aboard the steamer *Isabel*, and the evacuation of Fort Sumter was completed.

It has been said that "all the virtues of humanity cluster around the sword." Without asserting this to be rigidly the fact, I may claim that very many of the noblest traits of our common humanity have shown brightest during the hours and excitement of battle. When Fort Sumter was ablaze under the converging fire of some fifty guns and mortars, the Confederate company manning the battery on Cummings Point, Morris Island, on the morning of the 13th of April, at every shot which their resolute foe, when thus mortally imperiled by their burning barracks and exposed magazines, continued to discharge from their guns at Fort Moultrie—paused in their own fire to lustily cheer the resplendent resolution of the Union garrison. And as the *Isabel* subsequently bearing Anderson and his men to the *Baltic* for final embarkation for New York passed the same company, the soldiers of that Confederate battery lined the shore and stood with uncovered heads out of respect for their late gallant adversary.



MILITARY AFFAIRS OF NEW YORK STATE IN 1861

SOME PERSONAL EXPERIENCES AND IMPRESSIONS

(*Continued from page* 52)

Governor Morgan, at the opening of the rebellion, was in the fifty-first year of his age, and in the full vigor of a rugged manhood. Above six feet in height, with a massive, bony and sinewy frame, and an iron constitution, he supported toil, anxiety, and unexpected calls in all directions without apparent exhaustion. This insensibility to fatigue, partly the result of early training, made it impossible for him to understand that others, not yet seasoned and developed by time, were not, as a matter of course, to be called upon to devote even more hours to harassing mental effort than he himself was accustomed to encounter. He was, for instance, unable to comprehend that because a robust man of fifty could work sixteen hours a day, it did not follow that a boy of twenty-three could labor nineteen or twenty. In consequence of this, it was my duty as chief of staff to be so incessantly employed that for days I had no out-of-doors exercise, and frequently but one "square meal" per diem, while sleep was almost out of the question.

Governor Morgan stood like a rock in favor of the general government, and no one who saw the chief magistrate of New York in 1861 will ever forget his promptness, his accuracy, his zeal—tempered by a cool and cautious judgment. With all his practical qualities in private and public life he possessed a certain element of superstition, which I have remarked is frequently the accompaniment of an otherwise strong and solid understanding. I well remember that on one occasion during the war I emerged from the Capitol with him at a late hour of the night and found a new moon riding in the sky. Knowing his peculiarity, I immediately cried: "Be careful, Governor; here's a new moon!" "Ah!" was the reply, "wait a bit; give me your arm." Then, wheeling about, he deliberately backed out of the door, and when he had arrived at the verge of the steps he stopped and awaited my assurance that he was correctly placed to see the orb over his right shoulder.

The strictest integrity characterized all his dealings; and although the money-getting faculty was largely developed in his private undertakings, it was never exercised in public affairs except to benefit the State. For he most conscientiously applied to the concerns of the government the same care,

shrewdness and foresight which he gave to his own business. As a natural result he saved the State and National treasuries large sums which a less able or less scrupulous agent would have squandered or pocketed.

His countenance had a certain rigidity, and his usual expression seemed to say: I wish you would get through with your business as quickly as possible and let me go on with mine. But although he could not be called sympathetic in appearance or manners, he was lacking neither in humanity, generosity, or courage. The popularity which he attained, and which puzzled many who looked merely at externals, had its origin in a most honorable incident in his early political career. In 1848, while he was an alderman, the cholera invaded New York city like an avenging angel, and every one who could do so fled from before its face. Governor Morgan was the exception, for he remained and fought it from bedside to bedside, in the hospitals and dwellings of the poor, and his brave, Christian spirit carried hope and healing to the victims of despair, and snatched many deserted beings from the very jaws of death.

With all his apparent coldness Governor Morgan had a keen sense of humor. I distinctly recollect that at a meeting of the trustees of a certain learned University the secretary failed to arrive, and I, being the youngest member of the Board, was called upon to act as scribe *pro tem.* In the course of the subsequent proceedings Mr. Horace Greeley handed me a Resolution which he had prepared with great care at his hotel. After vain efforts to decipher the extraordinary hieroglyphics, I handed back the paper with the request that Mr. Greeley would read it himself. Turning it in every direction, with a most perplexed countenance, he suddenly exclaimed in his high, piping voice: "D—n it! I can't, it's cold!" Whereupon Governor Morgan, who was sitting next to him, burst into a tempest of laughter which carried with it every one in the room.

Mr. Greeley's appearance and garb at Governor Morgan's evening receptions are worthy of remembrance. One leg of his baggy, black trousers was hitched up, sometimes at the side, sometimes behind, while on the breast of his ancient dress-coat appeared a disorderly series of dilapidated pins, both black and white, which he was supposed to pick up in thrifty imitation of his cherished model, "Poor Richard." I have spoken, in a preceding number, of the ceremonies attending the reception of President Lincoln's body at Albany. There was one strange feature which marked its passage up State Street. As the crowd of eighty thousand surged in dense masses on roadway and sidewalk Mr. Greeley was caught up by the human wave and swept with irresistible force upon the doorstep of his political enemy, Peter Cagger. Just then Commodore Van

Santvoord, who was whirling by in the throng, descried Mr. Greeley with horror in his face vainly striving to escape from the contaminated vicinity, while Mr. Cagger with his customary politeness and *bonhomie* was beckoning for him to come within the house itself. Mr. Greeley was an interesting study, and I found that his many-sided character repaid prolonged attention; for with all his vagaries and eccentricities he possessed a very tender heart and a most capacious brain. He was the friend of the needy, and while his hand was always open to their individual wants, his busy mind was continually engaged in originating plans to ameliorate the condition of large classes of his countrymen. No one ever appealed in vain to his generosity, and there was no surer road to his friendship than to point out a way in which he could be useful to those requiring help. He wished to benefit his fellow-man and his country, and this led him sometimes into extremes which may have appeared for the moment to indicate lack of wisdom, but in the end he accomplished far more good than many who seemed to be more perfectly balanced. No one felt more deeply than he did the necessity of pushing the war to save the Union, and his fiery patriotism even led him to urge the advance of the army, which culminated in the defeat at Bull Run. The agony which he suffered when the news of that disastrous battle arrived, deprived him of sleep for many long nights, and in his great distress he used to drive from his farm at Chappaqua several miles to a neighbor's house to seek consolation and sympathy. In the course of one of these visits the restful conversation calmed his agitated nerves, and he suddenly sank into a peaceful slumber upon his friend's piazza. When he awoke his spirit was refreshed and his tired intellect had recovered its accustomed tone.

We have noted that the remains of the martyred Lincoln, on the twenty-fifth of April, 1865, were borne in a vast procession to repose for twenty-four hours in the Assembly Chamber of the old Capitol. On the fourth of July following another historical gathering took place in Albany in honor of the delivery to the State of the battle-flags of the regiments of New York. On that occasion the author of these pages by appointment read the Declaration of Independence, and the Rev. Dr. Chapin delivered an eloquent discourse. In a great tent on Washington Parade Ground, now a part of the park, was gathered an immense audience, and upon a high platform was seated a galaxy of renowned generals, including Sherman and Sheridan, but General Grant was the center of all eyes. There he sat as if he was carved out of stone; not a muscle moved, and even his eye betrayed no emotion. Just as the speaker was in the midst of his peroration an ominous sound was heard, and it was plain that the platform was giving way.

General Grant took in the situation at a glance. He made no sign, but awaited quietly until Dr. Chapin's last word had died upon the ear. Then he advanced without apparent concern across the quivering timbers and jumping into the crowd, which instantly divided to the right and left, he opened a way of retreat for all the other occupants of the dangerous platform, which fell with a loud crash as the last man leaped from it. Even as I am writing these words, twenty years later, the remains of the dead hero and patriot, General Grant, are ascending the same hill where Lincoln passed, to find a temporary resting place in the splendid Capitol—which has taken the place of the small and primitive one where Lincoln lay in state. The difference in grandeur between the old and the new Capitol symbolizes the difference between our country before and since the war.

The office of the adjutant-general when I entered it in January, 1861, was the finest in the old Capitol. With its deep-seated windows, to the east and the north, it commanded superb views of the park, the town, the river, and the opposite hills which rolled in undulating lines until they blended with the horizon. Its great size and height were in keeping with its huge fire-place in which great hickory logs burned cheerily. In this large and airy apartment, surrounded by paper-cases and specimens of arms, sat the adjutant-general with his assistant and clerk within sound of his voice. These handsome quarters had proved amply sufficient under all preceding administrations to accommodate the delegations from various parts of the State which from time to time called to pay their respects, or in answer to instructions came thither to deliver their views upon sundry military points.

But when war with its consequences burst like a thunder-cloud upon the astonished country, the place was deluged with an eager crowd which filled every available nook and overflowed into the adjoining halls and corridors. No one who did not witness it can imagine the excitement which ensued when Sumter fell and troops were called for to defend the national flag, and I can only feebly portray the patriotic thrill which ran from heart to heart, and brought thousands thronging to the Capitol. To receive the multitude in my hitherto spacious premises became impossible, and I was obliged to retire to a large room in the rear, formerly the Assembly Library, and to order the construction of two new rooms in a space taken from the great hall. These, together with my former room, I assigned to my assistant adjutants-general—who eventually numbered five instead of one—and to my ten or twelve clerks. My particular office was dark, cold and damp, and I often sighed for the commodious and sunny quarters which I had before occupied.

On the 17th of April, 1861, the requisition for troops of the President of the United States was received at Albany, and on the following day the governor issued his proclamation, and by his direction the adjutant-general promulgated the following:

GENERAL HEAD-QUARTERS—STATE OF NEW YORK,

General Orders, No. 13.

Adjutant-General's Office, Albany, *April* 18, 1861.

I. The President of the United States having made a requisition upon the State of New York for an aggregate force of 13,280 men, under the act of Congress approved February 28, 1795, "for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, repel invasions," &c., the Commander-in-Chief, in accordance with an act passed by the Legislature of this State, April 16th, 1861, entitled "An act to authorize the embodying and equipment of a volunteer militia, and to provide for the public defense," hereby directs the organization and enrollment of the quota so called for, in the following manner:

II. The forces will be divided into:

Two Divisions,

Four Brigades,

Seventeen Regiments, and

One hundred and seventy Companies; and will comprise two Major-Generals, with two Aids-de-Camp (rank of Major); two Division Inspectors (rank of Lieutenant-Colonel); four Brigadier Generals, with four Aids (rank of captain); four Brigade Inspectors (rank of Major); seventeen Colonels; seventeen Lieutenant-Colonels; seventeen Majors; seventeen Adjutants (rank of Lieutenant); seventeen Regimental Quartermasters (rank of Lieutenant); seventeen Surgeons; seventeen Surgeon's Mates; seventeen Sergeant-Majors; seventeen Drum-Majors, seventeen Fife-Majors; and each Company will comprise one Captain, one Lieutenant, one Ensign, four Sergeants, four Corporals, two musicians and sixty-four privates.

III. The force volunteering under the provisions of the said act, *will be enrolled for the term of two years*, unless sooner discharged.

IV. Privates and non-commissioned officers below the age of 18 years, or above the age of 45 years, will not be enrolled as volunteers, nor will any person of any age who is not "in physical strength and vigor."

V. Company rolls, in the form prescribed by the Adjutant-General (who upon application will furnish the same), must be signed by those volunteering, who shall indicate upon these rolls the names of the persons they shall desire to be commissioned as Captains, Lieutenants and Ensigns of their respective companies. The persons thus indicated for the several company offices will, in like manner, specify upon the same rolls the names of the persons as field officers under whom they desire to serve. Whenever any such roll shall have been signed by at least thirty-two persons, and not more than seventy-seven, inclusive of the indicated commissioned officers of the company, it shall be transmitted to the Adjutant-General, who, upon its approval by the Commander-in-Chief, will direct some proper officer to inspect the company making the return, and to preside at an election, to

be determined by written ballot, for the choice of persons to fill the offices of Captain, Lieutenant, Ensign, four Sergeants and four Corporals. Upon the return of such inspection and election, the Adjutant-General will transmit to the officers so elected their commissions and warrants, with a notification that the company has been accepted into the service of the State, pursuant to the above mentioned act, and will also direct the commandant of the company to report himself and his command to such Brigadier-General as he may designate in charge of a depot of volunteers.

VI. Upon the assembling, at any designated depot, of six or more companies, thus organized, who shall have indicated the same persons as their choice for the field officers of the regiment to which they desire to be attached, the Brigadier-General in charge, will direct the assembling of their commissioned officers for an election, at which he shall preside, to determine, by written ballot, the choice of persons to fill such field offices. Should it so happen that companies assembled at any depot, without having indicated a preference for their field officers, on the reporting of at least six of such companies, the Brigadier-General in charge will, in like manner, direct the assembling of their commissioned officers for an election to fill the field offices of such regiment, and make return of these elections to the Adjutant-General, for the commissions of the officers elected, who will at once be assigned to their respective regiments.

VII. Should any additional companies or men be necessary to complete the organization of a regiment, it shall be recruited to its full complement and be mustered by the Inspector-General, and turned over by him to the authorities of the United States.

VIII. The pay and rations of the general officers, staff officers of the divisions and brigades, and of the field and staff officers and non-commissioned officers of regiments, shall commence from the date of their commissions or warrants. That of the company officers, non-commissioned officers, musicians and privates, will commence from the date of the notification of the acceptance of the company by the Commander-in-Chief. The pay and rations will be the same as those of the officers and men of the same grade in the army of the United States, which will be discontinued on the part of the State when the force shall be mustered into the service of the General Government, and be resumed again by the State, on the return of the force to the State authorities. During the time the force is in the service of the United States the pay and rations will be furnished by the General Government.

IX. The requisite clothing, arms and accoutrements will be furnished at the expense of the State or the United States, to the non-commissioned officers, musicians and privates.

By order of the Commander-in-chief.

J. MEREDITH READ, JR.,
Adjutant-General.

The moment the above order was disseminated innumerable offers of service rolled in from all parts of the State ; and it is no exaggeration to say that the mails were burdened with matter, and hundreds of telegrams were received in a single day.

As early as the 9th of January, by the governor's direction, the adjutant-general had commenced to stir up a patriotic, military spirit, and if

the legislature had been equally wise, in answer to our urgent appeals, it would have immediately appropriated a sum sufficient to place the State upon a war footing. Had this been done everything would have been ready to meet the gigantic emergency which found us without arms, ammunition, accoutrements, clothing. Instead of the half of one million of dollars which we had asked for three months earlier, we found ourselves suddenly in possession of three millions and a half. But a large sum in such a moment is of little consequence when supplies are scarce, and when time is of such vital importance.

The situation was aggravated by the fact that a Board of State Officers had been created, by the laws of April 15th and 16th, who claimed the right to exercise, and did exercise functions which had hitherto belonged to the governor and commander-in-chief. The Board was unyielding, and the governor could not move without its consent. The struggle began upon the General Order No. 13, just cited, to which the Board was strenuously opposed. To add to the excitement, messages of the most urgent character came from all quarters urging the governor to assume the whole responsibility and to act independently of the Military Board—insisting with entire unanimity that he would be fully sustained by the people. But the governor was a law-abiding citizen who was unwilling to antagonize a body which had been formally constituted by the Senate and Assembly, especially as the attorney-general, the legal adviser of the Executive, was a prominent member and argued in season and out of season that the chief magistrate had no right to stir without the approval of those to whom the legislature had confided the fund for arming the the troops. In consequence of this absurd state of things the military authorities, instead of being enabled to attend to their legitimate duties, were obliged also to follow the whims of seven governors instead of one. The amount of strength and power which were subtracted by this process, from those engaged day and night in organizing, equipping and dispatching troops to uphold the Union, was simply incalculable. It is to be hoped that such an experiment will never be tried again.

When the General Order No. 13, just quoted, was read in the Military Board objections were immediately raised to the acceptance of companies by the governor. His Excellency replied that it was the form, so far as the same was possible; otherwise it would be necessary to have the State officers present all the while; that if they were absent he should feel it his duty to accept the companies as they presented themselves under the provisions of the above order. This position was dissented from by members of the

Board who held that as the law of April 16 conferred joint authority, it could not be exercised by a single member.

The comptroller offered the following: *Resolved*, that as soon as a sufficient number of companies of volunteers have their full complement of seventy-eight men each, including officers, this Board will proceed to pass upon the acceptance of such companies; and that when a sufficient number of companies, fully organized, are accepted, this Board will proceed to divide them into regiments and designate the companies to compose each regiment; and that the companies accepted by the governor since the last meeting of the Board, will, when filled, be distributed into regiments by resolution of this Board. The secretary of State, comptroller, attorney-general, and State engineer and surveyor voted in the affirmative, and the governor in the negative, and it was consequently adopted by a majority of four.

This clearly indicated the intentions of the Board to exercise executive functions, and the latter proceeded to emphasize their position by passing another resolution, viz.: That with a view to greater efficiency and dispatch in mustering volunteers into the service of the State under the late act of the legislature providing for that purpose, the governor is hereby authorized and empowered by this Board, in any case of emergency that may hereafter arise, when a meeting of a majority of this Board cannot speedily be obtained, to accept into the service of the State *such companies as when completed in conformity with the terms of the resolution yesterday adopted by this Board shall apply therefor*. The italics are mine, and indicate the sting in the tail of this measure. The governor of course voted against this resolution, because it was a direct reprimand, and if complied with would require the abrogation of General Order 13, which was already bearing admirable fruit.

In a future article we shall show how the matter resulted in a compromise—the issue of another order.

In the mean time the most stirring news was arriving at each instant, and the public mind was filled with increasing alarm, which found voice in excited appeals to the governor and adjutant-general. Enthusiastic men, ignorant of the real situation and impelled by patriotic feeling, telegraphed advice, even in peremptory terms. The following messages illustrate this point:

NEW YORK,
April 19, 1861.

Citizens of all parties demand that you should instantly order all available troops to Washington. Great complaint here.

ISAAC SHERMAN.

The secretary of War telegraphed, however, at the very same moment in an exactly opposite sense:

WASHINGTON,
April 19, 1861.

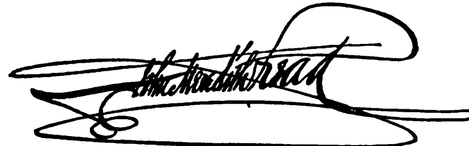
Wait for further directions.

SIMON CAMERON.

The governor had early in the morning of the 19th of April, before the reception of the foregoing, telegraphed to Mr. Cameron:

The Seventh Regiment leave for Washington to-day. I can send immediately to Washington additional regiments of our present militia force. Shall I do so, or wait for volunteer regiments?

Hearing nothing, he then directed me to order the Sixth, Twelfth and Seventy-first Regiments of New York, and the Twenty-fifth Regiment of Albany to Washington. Within half an hour after giving the above orders the telegram from Mr. Cameron arrived telling us "TO WAIT."



THE CLOSING DAYS OF LOUIS XIV

During the year 1715, the great ruler, who for a period of upwards of fifty years had, by his ambitious and restless spirit, kept Europe in a state of agitation and alarm, and whose influence had been that of a master mind for good or evil, advanced in years and bowed down by mental affliction and grave maladies, became, from day to day, more incompetent to wield the extensive powers intrusted to him.

When the great King became failing in his bodily health and despondent in spirit, everything was done about the Court to divert his mind and overcome the grief, lassitude, and *ennui* which oppressed him. Concerts, theatrical exhibitions, and other entertainments were arranged, in his private rooms, to give amusement to one who had exhausted life and its pleasures. Actors, dancers, and singers—the charms of beauty and the luxuries of the banquet, however, now gave no relief to his jaded mind, nor turned it from its sad contemplations. Madame de Maintenon, who had the task of entertaining him, exclaimed in despair: "What a punishment to have to amuse a man who is no longer to be amused!"

The diversions of Courts, the dreams of ambition, the incense of flattery no longer beguiled him from reflections on the vanity of life, nor from an appreciation of its mournful realities. He had been chastened in his pride and humbled in his power. The Past had chronicled disappointments and humiliations, as well as triumphs, and was reviewed with regret or self-condemnation. The Future opened visions of terror, which no reflection on his own grandeur could shut out; and *Conscience*—sternest of judges—began to unfold her pages, and to point to the records of a life of vice, and to deeds of selfishness and crime.

A prey to superstitious influences, and always prone to sectarian bigotry rather than to sincere devotion, the King had taken refuge in a new war against freedom of thought, under the influence of De Maintenon, and of his confessor, the Jesuit Le Tellier. Jansenism was now the object of attack; and the famous Bull, "*Unigenitus*," of September, 1713, concocted by Le Tellier and his *confrères*, condemning, as heretical, many theretofore orthodox doctrines of the Roman Church, was the result; and divided the French Church into two bitterly contending parties. One hundred and one propositions upheld by Quesnel and other followers of Jansenius, Bishop of Ypres, were the subjects of this new crusade by the Pope, the King, and

the Jesuits, who formed alliance against anything that looked like Evangelicism in the Holy Church.

The decease of another grandson, the Duke de Berry, added to the many afflictions which desolated the spirit of the King during these latter days, and dulled the satisfaction he had experienced at overcoming all obstacles, and, at length, restoring peace to his afflicted country. The Duke de Berry died in May, 1714, after a few days' illness, of a mysterious disorder that bore a strong similarity to that which had carried off his brother, the Duke of Burgundy, and the wife of the latter. The deceased Prince is recorded as being sensible, truthful, and just; gay and frank in disposition, and, theretofore, in robust health. Poison was again suspected, but the mysterious hand that gave the cup remained unknown.

The King himself, about the middle of August, 1715, was attacked by his last malady in an acute form. His legs swelled, and gangrene became apparent, which gradually ate away his life in great suffering. On seeing this, the fickle Court began to waver in its homage, and to flutter toward the long-despised Duke of Orleans—the supposed rising sun—who became, now, active in his machinations for the Regency. The temporary relief afforded by palliatives, especially those prescribed by a quack from Marseilles—who claimed, also, to cure—at times brought back the sensitive Court, and the crowd about the future Regent sensibly diminished; but the malady was deep and mortal, and neither the subserviency of courtier nor the science of physician nor the elixir of empiric could stop the progress of the fell disease that preyed remorselessly upon the King. The oblivion and relief of sleep, even, was denied him, under the terrible pains that tortured the body and distracted the spirit.

Some days before his decease, he called for the heir to the Crown of France, his little great-grandson, then about five years of age. As he reclined on his last bed, the dying King spoke to his future successor, in the presence of assembled ministers and nobles, these pathetic and touching words—words which were ever in the memory of Louis XV., but never acted on:

"My child, you will soon be the King of a great kingdom; that which I recommend most strongly to you is to never forget your obligations toward God. Remember that you owe him all that you are. *Try to preserve peace with your neighbors. I have been too fond of war—do not imitate me in that, nor in the great expenses I have made.* Take advice in all things, and try to ascertain the best course, and follow it. Console your people as much as is in your power, and do that which I have been unable to accomplish myself. Never forget the obligations you owe to

Madame de Ventadour. Madame" (addressing her), "let me embrace him." Then taking the little child in his arms, and embracing him, the King, deeply affected, said:

"My dear child, I give you my benediction, with my whole heart." As the little Prince was about being taken off the bed, the King asked for and embraced him again; and, raising hands and eyes to Heaven, blessed him once more.

The eyes both of King and child were filled with tears, as were also those of all the courtiers and attendants present.

What a pathetic and touching picture! What a striking and beautiful subject for the pencil of painter, or the verse of poet—for the reflection of the moralist and the philosopher! The once all-powerful monarch now sinking under the burden of age and disease, on the verge of the unseen world—worn down by the weight of long years of care and the desolation that had struck his home—conscious, at length, of the helplessness of earthly honors—taking, as a last sad delight, to his arms the innocent child-king, in all his fresh and bubbling life, and pouring into his wondering ear, as if in confession, some of the errors and the sad experiences of a wearied existence.

Turning then to the assembled ministers and nobles, the King, raising his voice with earnestness, again spoke:

"I recommend to you this young King—he is not yet five years old. What want will he not have of your care and fidelity? Show him the same kindness you have for me. *I recommend you all to avoid wars—I have made too many—they were the cause of my loading the people with burdens, and I seek pardon of God for it.*"

Wearied by his thoughts, and depressed by the disease that was surely making its dread progress, the once proud monarch—now abased before the King of Kings—exclaimed, at times, as he pondered with compunction on his past career: "My God! life or death is all one to me now!—I only ask you for my salvation.—I have no restitutions to make as a private man, but as a Prince, who will pay the debts of the kingdom?—My God! I hope in your mercy.—I suffer—but I do not suffer enough; and that is what afflicts me!"

Lingering in anguish from day to day, waiting for the event, he cried: "Oh, my God! when will you bestow the grace on me of delivering me from this miserable life?—It is a long time since I have desired it, and I ask you for it, now, with my whole soul."

What a commentary—such dreary words—on past pride and power!

Louis' departure from life was characterized by decency, tranquillity, and

firmness; and, it may be said, by repentance toward God and man—a repentance not infrequent when age and disease have brought home their sad lessons of human helplessness. There was no more affectation of grandeur or superiority; but there was ever the courtesy that had graced his life, and that caused him, even now, to ask pardon of those at his bedside, who were moved to tears, for the distress he was causing them.

Wearied with these sad scenes, on the 30th of August, in the evening, Madame de Maintenon set off for St. Cyr—never again to behold the man who had ever treated her with confidence and respect, and whose generous kindness had raised her from obscurity to grandeur in the State.

At length, overcome by the great conqueror of all, and abandoned by her he had loved, on the first of September, Louis XIV. quitted the scenes of his pride and his power.

He exclaimed, as the scepter at last fell from his relaxing hands:

"Now is the hour of death.—Oh, my God! come to my aid, and hasten to succor me!"

Thus passed from the great political arena, in the 72d year of his age and the 57th of his reign, another royal shadow to its last account!

The decease of Louis XIV. closed an eventful epoch of European history—an epoch characterized by extraordinary political disturbance among States and Dynasties, and by a series of prolonged contests that spread over Western Europe, and were conducted by leaders whose names are still foremost in the annals of war and statesmanship. The Peace of Utrecht, which terminated this series of international disturbances, is memorable as making great and important changes in the political map of Europe. The development of thought, too, during this period, was marked, and was manifested in the extraordinary progress made in science and art; while master minds in literature, both in France and England, contributed to make the epoch brilliant and distinctive.

The decease of Louis XIV. caused no great regret in France—all classes, even the nobility, seemed to find relief in the cessation of this terrible reign. He left behind him troubles in the church and a discontented Parliament: the provinces were ruined, the kingdom was left overwhelmed with debt, the long wars had burdened the people with taxation, and the continuous sacrifice of life had brought sorrow to every home. The young nobility, long depressed by the dolorous features of a Court full of superannuated contemporaries of the late King, longed for the life and gayety promised by a new *régime;* and Frenchmen at large looked foward, with anxious hope, to some such change in the administration of government as would bring permanent benefit, and give the kingdom prosperity and re-

pose, after the prolonged drain upon its resources and the strain upon its vital powers. The old employees of the Court were glad to get rid of the yoke they had been suffering, and those seeking places were eager for the opportunities afforded by a change of reign.

It is related that, on the decease of the King, the people gave themselves up to festivities and wild rejoicings, and vociferated imprecations on his memory; and that the funeral *cortège* which bore his remains from human sight was obliged to pass through by-roads to St. Denis, in order to avoid the menaces and disorder of the mob. "The people," says a contemporary, "thanked God for their deliverance."

It would be no easy task to portray at length the character and attributes of this great King—the chief motor in the events of his time, and the grandest of all the actors moving on the historic scene. Born to rule over a great kingdom and a chivalrous and warlike people—with a power despotic, and a will left to its own biddings—receiving an adulation and homage sufficient to destroy, in most men, all sense of responsibility and of moral obligation—there is little wonder that great gifts of mind and heart were made subordinate to the brilliant circumstances of his surroundings and to the magnitude of his power. Ambition that knew no bounds, pride that acknowledged no superior, and love of a dominion that could brook no opposition, led him into courses of government that beggared and desolated his kingdom, and brought it to the verge of ruin. Thousands of his subjects became victims to his ambitious aims; and, to promote his grandeur and his pleasures, humanity was abased, and all principles of morality disregarded.

And yet, with all his faults there were great and noble qualities that well became a king. He was naturally good, humane, and just, with an elevation of character that placed truth and honor high and scorned deceit. Magnanimity that could readily pardon, sincerity that disdained petty artifice, courtesy that was never absent, and a courage that became heroic in adversity, were also among his prominent characteristics; but his love of glory caused his reign to be disastrous to humanity, and his bigotry stultified his character, and made him often cruel and unrelenting. It was not until the close of his reign—when chastened by adversity—disappointed and bereaved—that what was really great and good in him shone out with luster against the dark features of his earlier career.

If Louis had followed, from his youth, the precepts given by him to his grandson, the King of Spain, no monarch would have equaled him in the favorable verdict of posterity. The remarks of the keen-witted and eloquent St. Simon may be fitly added here: "Thus we see," he says

"this monarch, grand, rich, conquering—the arbiter of Europe—feared and admired as long as the ministers and captains existed who really deserved the name. When they were no more, the machine kept moving, sometime, by impulsion, and from their influence. But, soon afterward, we saw, beneath the surface: faults and errors were multiplied, and decay came on, with giant strides; without, however, opening the eyes of that despotic master, so anxious to do everything and direct everything, himself; and who seemed to indemnify himself for disdain abroad, by increasing fear and trembling, at home. So much for the reign of this vainglorious monarch!"

Voltaire's judgment is more eulogistic. "Although he has been reproached with small weaknesses, with severity in his treatment of Jansenism, with haughtiness in his treatment of foreigners in the days of his success, with vitiated moral tastes, with too great severity in matters personal to himself, with wars lightly undertaken, with the devastation of the Palatinate and the persecution of Protestants, nevertheless, his grand qualities and his actions, put in the balance, outweigh his faults. Time, which ripens the opinions of men, has put the seal on his reputation; and, in spite of all that has been written against him, his name will never be pronounced without respect, and without association with that period forever memorable."

The success and splendor of the earlier part of the reign of the great French King were much due to the ability of the men by whom he was surrounded. His choice of their successors showed weakness, and was prompted by a vanity that deemed his own powers sufficient for all the emergencies of the State, and believed that his fortunes could never decline.

Thence came disasters in the State and in the field, civil disorder, maladministration, official plunder, and oppressive taxation. All the great reforms and successes with which his reign began were reversed at its close.

The thirst of Louis XIV. for dominion gave example and impulse for a system of attack and spoliation between the European States that prevailed throughout the century, and caused the various leagues and alliances that were formed for international support and defense. Within his own territories the rule of Louis was almost despotic, and he loved to feel it so: to thwart his will or his desires might result in a life imprisonment, and libels against him were often punished by the scaffold. No intrusive writ of "*habeas corpus*" was there to penetrate into the dungeons of the Bastile, and every fortress held its prisoner of State who was innocent, and even ignorant, of offense. The whim of the monarch, the revenge of a

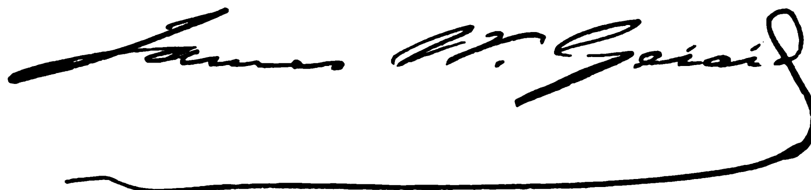
courtier, the greediness of an heir, the caprice of a favorite, trifled with the liberty and life of the subject, and helped to make firm a despotism from which there was no appeal, and which made light of the rights of humanity and the authority of law.

Under this reign, the royal prerogative was so extended and exercised that all other authority was practically annulled; and the exactions, the oppressions, the licentiousness, the wild excesses, the abuses tolerated and the rights outraged, under this and the following infamous reign, caused a reaction against the restraints of any government, which fell upon the head of the succeeding Bourbon—kindly and humane king that he was—and rested not until the Bourbon dynasty, once loved, was swept from the land—never to return, except for a new dismissal.

The rays of Liberty that had beamed in America, penetrating to France, and awakening her people to a knowledge of their political degradation, shone, in that country, lurid and terrible, through an atmosphere of crime and blood. They brought no bloom nor beneficent growth, but blasted and scorched. The wrathful people, eager for self-assertion, arose in the savagery of natures schooled amid the traditions of tyranny, fashioned amid vice, and irritated by the brutal oppression of irresponsible power.

The decrees of Jacobin clubs usurped the prerogatives of the Crown, the pike took the place of the scepter, law was administered by assassins, and the axe of the guillotine fell not only on Feudalism, but on Liberty!

The license and fury of the *many* far transcended the excesses of the despotism of the *one*, but were its legitimate and terrible results.



GENERAL GRANT

PROMINENT TRAITS OF HIS CHARACTER

The Honorable Hamilton Fish, who was Premier of the nation during the eight years of General Grant's Presidency, writes for the *New York Independent:*

My acquaintance with General Grant began in 1865, in Philadelphia, on his first visit to the North after the close of the war. Thereafter I saw him frequently. His son, Colonel Fred. D. Grant, was a cadet at West Point, and the General and his family often went there to see him. My country residence is on the Hudson River, immediately opposite West Point, and on the occasion of one of his visits I invited him to make my house his home on such occasions, and thereafter he and his family were frequently my guests. Thus acquaintance grew into intimacy, and ripened into friendship.

You ask, "What were his most prominent traits of character?" Well, with a man so full of strong distinctive traits, it is hard to say which may be most prominent; but I have been much impressed by his steady firmness and his generous magnanimity. His whole military career manifested his firmness both of purpose and of action. His answer to the War Department, "I will fight it out on this line if it takes all summer," was but the spontaneous utterance of his general fixedness of purpose.

He was generous and forgiving in the extreme; not that he could not hate well when he had cause for hating, but he never did hate without having, or thinking that he had, sufficient cause, and was ever ready for an explanation and reconciliation. With few exceptions his dislikes were not long cherished. He was too busy and to generous to nurse them.

His unselfish generosity at the fall of Richmond and the surrender of Appomattox stand out among the most noted instances of magnanimity on the part of a conqueror. He sought no triumphal entry into the Confederate capital, which had been the objective point of years of maneuvering and of fighting; he fed the army which he had defeated, and gave to Lee and his army terms of capitulation and surrender that commanded the admiration of the civilized world, and to this day receive the grateful acknowledgment of those who were their recipients.

After Sherman had accepted terms of surrender from Johnston, which the Government had so far disapproved as to send Grant to supersede him, instead of taking to himself the credit of Johnston's surrender on terms satisfactory to the Government and to the people, he telegraphed, "Johnston has surrendered to Sherman," leaving the full credit to Sherman of what he himself had accomplished.

On his tour through the South after the war, to investigate, for the Govern-

ment, the condition of the people, he showed a broad, generous spirit. His report was denounced by some politicians in Washington as a "whitewashing report;" but, had it been acted upon, there would have been no "solid South," and the restoration of good feeling would have taken place soon after the war had closed.

His feeling toward the South was, throughout his civil administration, in accord with that which he had exhibited in dictating the terms of surrender to Lee—full of generosity and of confidence. That confidence arose from the respect which a brave soldier has for the bravery and sincerity of those whom he has fought, and was undoubtedly increased by his visit through the South shortly after the war had closed.

He was anxious to give appointments to Southern men; but in several instances gentlemen from the South, who had been engaged in the Rebellion, and to whom he was willing to offer appointments, refused to accept them.

The President, in the disposal of offices over the wide extent of the United States, must depend upon the representations of others for his information as to the character and capacity of the larger number of those who are to fill the public offices on his appointment. These representations are not always candid, and, even when honestly given, are not always correct. Unfortunately—perhaps owing to the quarrel between Andrew Johnson and the Congress, or from whatever cause, and notwithstanding the very friendly and favorable report of the feeling and the behavior of the Southern people made by Grant to Congress, after his tour through their States—the Southern men of note and of prominence held themselves aloof, and not only would not volunteer advice, but often withheld information when asked.

The result was inevitable. At the close of the war, the condition of the South, now opened to a new class of labor, seemed to afford a wide field for industry and enterprise, and tempted a large class of men from the North, whose business had been broken up by the war, to seek their fortunes, and to cast their lot with the South.

The South had had little experience of an "immigrant" population. It was jealous and suspicious of the new-comer; perhaps, under the circumstances, not unnaturally so, but very unfortunately so. Of those who went among them, very many were men of character, enterprise, and simple purpose, migrating with none other than a sincere desire of becoming part and parcel of the community among whom they went. Others there were—adventurers of the "Dugald Dalgetty" stripe—ready to take whatever chance might throw in their way. Their "chances" were advanced by the quarrel, then at its height, between President Johnson and the Congress, and they lost no opportunity of playing upon the passions already unduly excited. The North was flooded with accounts of indignities and outrages heaped upon Northern men, and of the continued disloyalty of the South; and the South, smarting under its defeat and loss of property, isolated itself, and became united in a political combination bitter in its antagonism to the ruling power

in the nation. Such was the condition when General Grant came to the Presidency and found nearly all of the Federal offices at the South filled by men of Northern birth. He felt the wrong of such condition, and desired to change it; but the reticence of Southern men, and their unwillingness to co-operate with him, or to give advice or information to aid him in the matter of appointments to office, left him unable to carry his wishes in this regard into effect.

His knowledge of men was generally accurate; but he was apt in this respect, as in others, to reach his conclusions rapidly, and was thus not infrequently led to give his confidence where it was not deserved; and it was from the abuse of his confidence, thus reposed, that rose most of the censure which, after the close of the war, was visited upon him.

Where he gave his friendship he gave it *unreservedly*—whether friendship or confidence, he gave it unreservedly—and was slow to believe anything to the discredit of those of whom he was fond.

When he entered upon the Presidency he did so without much, if any, previous experience in civil administration. He soon, however, very soon, made himself thoroughly familiar with all the questions that were brought to his consideration, and he may truly be said to have applied himself to the great problems of government.

In his Cabinet meetings his habit was to bring before his counselors such questions as might have been suggested to him, either by friends or as the result of his own thought. He would generally ask of the members of his Cabinet, in order or successively, their views, and would then reach his own conclusion, and direct the course to be pursued which he thought best. So far as my own department was concerned, he kept thoroughly up with all the questions that arose; and, so far as I could judge, he was equally familiar with the questions in each of the other departments.

He was very free to accept the opinions and views of his Cabinet, often antagonistic to his own preconceived notions. As an instance of this, when the inflation bill had passed Congress, and was strenuously urged upon him for approval by many of his most influential friends in each house of Congress, and by a majority of his Cabinet, he at first reluctantly yielded to a determination to approve the bill, and prepared a paper to be submitted to Congress, explaining his reasons for approval of the bill, which paper was laid before the Cabinet, but not read. I had most strenuously advocated his vetoing the bill, and an evening or two previous to this Cabinet meeting he sent for me and read me the paper. Having done it, he remarked: "The more I have written upon this, the more I don't like it; and I have determined to veto the bill, and am preparing a message accordingly." At the Cabinet meeting he stated that he had prepared a paper assigning the reasons for approving the bill, but had determined not to present it, and had written another message vetoing the bill, which he then read to the Cabinet and subsequently sent to Congress. He had consulted his own good sense, and had given careful study by himself to this important question affecting the currency.

Another illustration of his readiness to yield a preconceived opinion is afforded by his action concerning the Treaty of Washington. After the beginning of negotiations about the treaty, it became necessary to determine upon commissioners on the part of the United States. I felt it important that the commission should not be partisan, and that there should be at least one Democrat on it. The suggestion at first did not strike the President as important, and it was opposed by many of his confidential friends; but on presenting the question fully and strongly to him he abandoned his position, and decided the question in favor of appointing Judge Nelson as one of the commissioners. Subsequently, when an arbitrator was to be appointed to the tribunal at Geneva, strong objections were urged from various quarters against the selection of Charles Francis Adams, which made an impression adverse to him in the mind of General Grant—strongly adverse. But upon my urging upon him that Mr. Adams was more familiar than any other man with the incidents attending the escape of the rebel cruisers, that he had conducted the legation in London during the Rebellion with admirable discretion and under a great deal of personal trial, and was entitled to recognition, General Grant cordially yielded his opposition, and over-ruled the objections of many close and confidential political advisers.

So, too, was it in the appointment of Mr. Evarts as counsel. Some things had occurred at the close of Johnson's administration, while Mr. Evarts was Attorney-General, which left a strong feeling of irritation in General Grant; but on the representation of Mr. Evarts' ability, and his fitness for the position, he yielded all personal feeling, and cordially agreed to his appointment. As a general rule, he asserted his own views tenaciously and firmly.

Until his election to the Presidency, I don't think he had taken much interest in party politics. He had been brought up—following the political views of his father—in sympathy with the old Whig Party. But while in the army he never voted until the election between Fremont and Buchanan, when, from want of confidence in General Fremont's civil capacity, and being then out of the army, he voted for Buchanan. And he often, jokingly, said to me, that his "first attempt in politics had been a great failure."

He was not indifferent to public criticism, but not unduly excited by it. I never knew him but once to be led into an action of the policy or expediency of which he had doubt by the criticism of the press or the public. It was not a very important matter, relating only to the employment of a certain individual, in the conveyance of a message, whom a hostile journal had boastfully said should never again be thus employed.

I never met any one who formed, in advance, better estimates of elections that were about to take place than General Grant. On the evening preceding the Presidential election of 1872 I was sitting with him, and he gave the probable result in each of the States. I noted it down, and found that it varied in each State almost inappreciably.

He was not a great leader. He wrote with fluency, tersely, strongly, and with great rapidity. He was methodical in his habits, and punctilious in the discharge of whatever duties might be before him.

He had no historical models, but worked out his own course from his good sense and thoughtfulness. He formed his opinions, apparently, from intuition.

I think he was the most scrupulously truthful man I ever met. He had little idea of the value of money, and had no tendency to its accumulation. He was lavish in his expenditures and generous in his charities. He gave to all who asked of him, being often unnecessarily and unwisely profuse in his donations. I have not infrequently known him to give sums from five to ten times the amount of what the applicants could have reasonably or probably expected.

In his family he was the fondest and most indulgent and liberal of husbands and fathers.

He had a large fund of humor, enjoyed a good story, and had the faculty of telling a good story, and of telling it well. I never heard him use a profane or an obscene word.

The habit of public speaking came to him after the end of his Presidency. While he was President, on one occasion a large body of clergymen called upon and made him a long address to which he had to reply, and which he always disliked to do. After a sentence or two I noticed that his voice faltered, and fearing that he might be at a loss what next to say, standing next to him, I caused a diversion by beginning to cough violently so as to interrupt his speech. He afterward told me how fortunate it was for him that I had *that* cough, as he had felt his knees begin to shake, and did not think that he could have spoken another word.

His indignation was always intense against any case of marital infidelity; and I have known an instance of his refusing consideration of applications in favor of an individual of high public position who lay under such a charge. And once, where a man of much political influence, who had been thus guilty, recommended and was urging upon him some action, the General remarked, after his withdrawal: "That man had better take care of his own moral conduct than come and give advice to me on any question."

He was strongly impressed with religious views, and was a firm believer in the fundamental principles of Christianity. He was brought up in connection with the Methodist Church, which he attended in Washington. On the Sunday either succeeding or preceding—I don't remember which—his second election in 1872 he invited his Cabinet, in a body, to accompany him to the Metropolitan Church in Washington, which he was in the habit of attending, to listen to a sermon from Dr. Newman appropriate to the occasion. The moral side of questions of a public nature, or otherwise, whether presented by his Cabinet or by his friends, always had influence with him.

Before strangers, or before a large number of persons, he was naturally inclined to be taciturn. But few men had more powers of conversation and of narration

than he when in the company of intimate friends, without the restraints imposed by numbers.

His memory was minute and accurate to a degree. He was not fond of talking of the war, or of his battles; but when he could be induced or led to the subject, he would carry it through, giving the incidents of a fight, stating minutely, at the various stages of the engagement, the location of each division or separate corps or regiment.

I asked him once: "General, in case we should get into another war, how about our armies?"

"Well," he said, "we have the best men in the world to lead them. No three men living are more capable of leading an army or conducting a campaign than the men we have. There is a difference between fighting and planning and conducting a campaign; but there are no three men living better fitted to plan a campaign and to lead armies than Sherman, Sheridan, and Schofield."

I said: "But I hope we may have no war until these gentlemen may be too old to lead our armies. What then?"

"There are young men coming up who will quite fill their places."

"Such as who?"

He answered: "Upton, McKenzie, Wilson; and there are more."

He said that during the battles around Richmond he placed McKenzie in charge of the cavalry operating with Sheridan, and this assignment of command at once added fifty per cent. to the efficiency of that division of cavalry.

You ask, "What position will General Grant take in the history of this country?" I hope it will not be considered irreverent to say that Washington, Lincoln, and Grant will be regarded as a political trinity—the one the founder, the second the liberator, and the third the saviour of the United States. It is admirably illustrated in that medallion in which they are represented as the *pater*, the *liberator*, and the *salvator*. The work of each was necessary to the completion of the whole.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF GENERAL GRANT

In a sermon preached in the Madison Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church, New York, on the 26th of July, 1885, Rev. O. H. Tiffany, D.D., the well-known pastor of the Metropolitan Church in Washington during General Grant's administration, said:

The first time I ever saw General Grant was on a visit that he made to Chicago near the close of the war. I had been requested by the governor of the State to assist in raising funds for the purchase of a soldiers' orphan home, and had informed the governor that with his and General Grant's indorsement I believed the effort would be a success. I was impressed with the aptness of the questions which General Grant put to me; they were brief, methodical, and seemed to cover the whole ground. Appointing the next day for an interview, at the hour

named I found him in a room full of friends and visitors. When recognizing me, he directed one of his aids to bring writing materials, and sat down in the midst of the confusion and wrote a commendation of the enterprise to the people of the State, who gladly responded.

A trait of his character was developed when on a subsequent visit to the same city he remained there over Sunday. Great interest was manifested in knowing where he would worship on that day. Pews were offered for his use in almost all the principal churches, and carriages were proffered by their owners for his accommodation. On Saturday afternoon he sent one of his aids to inquire of a well-known Methodist lady whether a clergyman by the name of Vincent, who used to preach in Galena, was not preaching somewhere in Chicago, and was informed that Mr. Vincent was pastor of Trinity Church in the southern part of the city. Trinity Church was then a mission station, and Dr. Vincent had not attained his present conspicuous position. And so, on Sunday the General quietly, with his staff, entered a carriage and drove down unannounced to worship in the little church, and listen to a sermon by the pastor whom he had heard in his former home.

I next met him at a reception given by ex-Governor Ward, of New Jersey, at his residence in Newark. The question of my going to Washington was then under consideration, and the General very kindly offered to make me welcome, and encouraged the idea of my going. This interview became memorable with me, for I left the house of Governor Ward, in company with Senator Frelinghuysen and Justice Bradley, and as we separated we noticed that the illuminated clock of one of the churches pointed to the hour of one, and there were doubts expressed as to our complying with the request of General Grant to meet him at the railroad at seven next morning. We did so, however, and came to New York with him, and were surprised to read subsequently in the press a total misrepresentation of the facts in the case, occasion having been made by ribald defamers of the General to invent a succession of excesses, and to wickedly decry his good name and personal respectability. When I went to Washington to become pastor of the Metropolitan Church, I found him one of the most regular of the congregation in attendance upon public worship. He seemed to be scrupulously careful on this matter, frequently explaining, when necessarily absent, the occasion of his non-attendance. His attention to the service was marked and unflagging, and the subjects of sermons were frequently matters of subsequent conversation. He never seemed conscious of the fact that the eyes of the great congregation were often fixed upon him, and always in passing out at the minister's private exit (to avoid the crowd) he spoke cheerily and appreciatingly to the clergyman. He enjoyed all of the religious services of the church excepting the singing, having a constitutional inability to appreciate music. He told me once that all music seemed to affect him as discord would a sensitive and cultivated ear, and that he would go a mile out of his way rather than listen to the playing of a band ; and when the hymn to be sung consisted of four stanzas, he experienced a feeling of relief as each one was sung, and so disposed of.

Not long after my arrival in Washington, at a reception given by ex-Postmaster-General King, I was asked by his daughter whether it was true, as she had heard, that General Grant had never sworn a profane oath. I was surprised at the question, and took opportunity to speak to the General about it; when he told me that he never had used profane language, and he was quite sure if he had ever done so under any provocation he would have remembered it. On one occasion a friend whom I wished to hear was to preach for me on a Sunday night. I called upon the President to inform him of this fact, and said that I had done so because I had observed that he attended service only once on a Sunday, and thought that if he knew of this arrangement for the pulpit he might prefer to attend the evening service. He said to me: "I am glad of an opportunity to explain this matter to you. Secretary Fish and some others have an absurd notion that I ought not to walk about the streets of Washington at night, and consequently I never get to the evening service, though I should be glad to do so." And seeing that I was surprised by this statement, he said: "Perhaps you think that I might have the carriage and ride to service; but, Doctor, when I was a poor man, long before I ever thought that I should have a servant, I made up my mind that if I ever did have one, he should have his hours of Sunday for worship; and no servants or horses are ever called into use by me upon that day for my own personal convenience."

I was a stranger to him when I assumed that pulpit, and his Methodist training and education is shown in an incident narrated to me by Bishop Ames. There is in Washington a Methodist church much nearer to the White House than the Metropolitan, and the official members of that church believed that it would be greatly to its interest if a minister who was well known to the General, and much liked by him, could be induced to become their pastor and the General induced to attend the service. And they waited upon him with a statement of their views, when General Grant simply remarked to the spokesman at the interview, that he believed it was the Methodist custom to change pastors and not to change churches. Some months before his second inauguration he asked me if I expected to be at home on the Sunday preceding that ceremony. I informed him that I did, and asked him why he put the question. He said he thought it would be appropriate to invite the members of his Cabinet to attend service with him on that day. Accordingly, they were invited, and came. Chief Justice Chase, learning of this intention, invited the members of the Supreme Court; and perhaps this is the only occasion in the history of the Government that these chief officers, with other military and civil functionaries, have been present at a similar religious service.

The home life in the White House during the Grants' residence was beautiful in its domestic simplicity and purity, and the influence of the family in society was markedly beneficial. In former times, public receptions had been made the occasion of conviviality and excess; and the banishment of wine and spirits from the public receptions of the office was requested by General Grant, and promptly

complied with. Due credit was never given by temperance crusaders and politicians to the wholesome effect of this, and the admirable example thus set before the American people. The tenderness and love of the General for his family was simple and unrestrained—without affectation, without ostentation. It was a sore trial to both parents to allow their daughter to leave their home ; but when, after complying with the General's direction that Mr. Sartoris should become an American citizen, he took the necessary steps, their consent was given. The marriage took place in the East Room of the White House, and was conducted, according to our Methodist forms, with simplicity and dignity ; but the parting of the father from his only daughter seemed for a time to completely unnerve him. I found him in the evening of that day sad and depressed and lonely. His treasure had gone, and was to be parted from him by the seas ; for a death had occurred in the Sartoris family which made it necessary that Mr. Sartoris should return to his English home. The life of that daughter was to him an inspiration. He longed for her presence, and wistfully counted the hours of their necessary separation, and rejoiced at the promised speed of the vessel which would bring her to him. Her face was fittingly the last upon which his conscious gaze rested, and the love of the two has thus become immortal.

He was silent under bitter accusation and calumny, and I remember well one evening at the White House when my family and Mr. Colfax and his sister were the only guests. Mr. Colfax remarked : "During the campaign, General, I marveled at the quietness of your endurance of wrong and misrepresentation. Now that I myself am passing under similar trials, it seems to me that your endurance was almost more than human." The General quietly remarked, "Did you ever believe, Mr. Colfax, that I was insensible to it, and that it did not hurt?" He made no special religious profession, and yet he was a man of religious habit, and thoroughly honest and earnest in his belief in a superintending Providence, regarding certain facts in history as inexplicable without this, and admiring the firm faith of a devoted sister, and reverencing, with a sacredness that was beautiful in its exhibition, the piety of his parents.

He made a visit of a week to Martha's Vineyard, which was then, as now, my summer home. I preached a sermon on the victory of the faith from the text, "They overcame him by the Blood of the Lamb." He was more moved than I had ever seen him under a discourse, and at the close of the sermon, at his suggestion, we wandered away from the crowd, and engaged in earnest and serious conversation. He said, "Why is there so much stress laid on the blood in your preaching and in the New Testament?" I explained to him in the simplest terms the doctrine of atonement, and he seemed fully to comprehend it. The giving up of life as a test of love was an incontrovertible argument to a man who had led thousands through death to victory, and I have always had a strong confidence that on that day the General had a personal realization of the truth as it is in Jesus.

AN INCIDENT OF VICKSBURG—GENERAL GRANT'S KINDNESS REMEMBERED

On the 5th of July, 1863, a Southern planter and Mrs. Dockery, of Arkansas, slowly made their way to General Grant's head-quarters, in the rear of Vicksburg. The day before the long, tedious siege ended in the surrender of the Confederate forces to General Grant. All was, therefore, in confusion and bustle, but the Union soldiers were in excellent humor, and offered no opposition to the progress of the two visitors to see the "old man," as they loved to call their commander. Mrs. Dockery was the wife of a Confederate brigadier-general who took part in the defense of the city. During the siege she had remained eleven miles in the rear of Vicksburg with the planter and his family. She could hear the fearful cannonading all during the long combat, and at times the reports of the cannon were as rapid as the notes of a quick tune on a violin. As soon as the city surrendered, she determined to hear the fate of her husband, so she persuaded the planter to get an old dilapidated buggy left on the place by some of the straggling soldiers, and with harness improvised with old straps, ropes, and strings, and a mule caught on the highway, to attempt the trip to General Grant's head-quarters.

The mule pulled the buggy and its two occupants along the hot, dusty road at a lively pace, and by eleven o'clock Grant's shady retreat, about three miles to the rear of Vicksburg, was reached. His head-quarter tents were pitched just a little to the north of the old Jackson road, on a ridge thickly covered with dense shade trees. As soon as the guards were reached, a sergeant informed the two they could proceed no further, as he knew General Grant would not see them. Mrs. Dockery, with tears in her eyes, begged the soldiers to go to Grant and tell him that a lady in great distress wished only to see him just "one little minute." The officer went into the General's tent, remained only one instant, returned, and invited Mrs. Dockery and the planter to walk in. They left the buggy with the guards, and tremblingly approached Grant's tent. What was their agreeable surprise to be cordially invited by Grant himself to be seated. Before hardly a word was spoken Grant instructed an orderly to serve his guests with cool water, and insisted on Mrs. Dockery taking an easy-chair, which he vacated for her. As soon as Mrs. Dockery could command language, she poured into the General's ears her fears that her husband was wounded or dead, and asked for a pass to go to Vicksburg and learn what was his fate. Grant replied, almost word for word, as follows: "Madam, General Grant has issued an order that there shall be no passing to and from Vicksburg, and he cannot set the example of violating his own orders."

Mrs. Dockery was in tears when she said: "Oh, my God! what shall I do?"

A smile almost passed over Grant's face as he replied: "Oh, don't distress yourself; I will take it upon myself to get news from your husband. He must be a gallant fellow to have won such a devoted wife."

"But when will you find out for me? Can you not see this suspense is almost killing me?" replied the lady.

"Right now," said Grant; "and you shall be my guest until my orderly can fly to General Pemberton's head-quarters and get the news."

Grant instantly instructed one of his aids to write a note to General Pemberton, and inquire of him whether or not General Dockery, of Bowen's division, had escaped unharmed, and all the news about him, as Mrs. Dockery was at his head-quarters exceedingly anxious to know. While the orderly was gone General Grant's dinner was served, and Mrs. Dockery and the planter dined with him and his friends. There were perhaps twenty generals, colonels, majors, aids, and others at the table, but not one of them spoke a word that could wound the feelings of the General's guests. The General himself was exceedingly agreeable, and instead of talking about war, or anything pertaining to it, devoted himself to getting all the information he could about the South and its productions. No cotton planter ever evinced more interest in cotton than did the great soldier to whom a strong city had surrendered the day before.

Soon after dinner the orderly returned with a note from General Pemberton, stating that General Dockery was in excellent health and would visit his wife as soon as General Grant would permit it. General Grant smiled and said: "You shall see him in a day or two; just as soon as we can fix things a little. I'll not forget your name, and of course will have to remember him."

When the General's visitors arose to depart, he assured them he appreciated their call, and taking a scrap of paper wrote on it for the guards to pass Mr. and Mrs. Dockery to their home, and signed his name. Only one picket had to be passed, but the pass looked so much more common than those regularly issued that the guard scanned it closely. When he read Grant's own signature, he said: "Humph, the 'old man' got to writing passes? Let them by."—*Vicksburg Commercial.*

GENERAL GRANT'S REMARKABLE CAREER

At the funeral service for General Grant at Augusta, Maine, on the 8th of August, the Hon. James G. Blaine said:

Public sensibility and personal sorrow over the death of General Grant are not confined to one continent. A profound admiration for great qualities, and still more profound gratitude for great services, have touched the heart of the people with true sympathy, increased even to tender emotions by the agony of his closing days and the undoubted heroism with which he morally conquered a last cruel fate. The world in its hero worship is discriminating and practical, if not, indeed, selfish. Eminent qualities and rare achievements do not always insure lasting fame. The hero for the age is he who has been chief and foremost in contributing to the moral and material progress, to the grandeur and glory of the succeeding generation. Washington secured the freedom of the colonies and founded a new nation. Lincoln was the prophet who warned the people of the evils that were undermining our free government, and the statesman who was called to leadership

in the work of their extirpation. Grant was the soldier who, by victory in the field, gave vitality and force to the policies and philanthropic measures which Lincoln defined in the Cabinet for the regeneration and security of the Republic.

The monopoly of fame by the few in this world comes from an instinct, perhaps from a deep-seated necessity of human nature. Heroes cannot be multiplied, units only survive. General Grant's name will survive through the centuries, because it is indissolubly connected with the greatest military and moral triumph in the history of the United States. If the armies of the Union had ultimately failed, the vast and beneficent designs of Lincoln would have been frustrated, and he would have been known in history as a statesman and philanthropist who, in the cause of humanity, cherished great aims which he could not realize, and conceived great ends which he could not attain—as an unsuccessful ruler whose policies distracted and dissevered his country—while General Grant would have taken his place with that long and always increasing array of great men who were found wanting in the supreme hours of trial.

General Grant's military supremacy was honestly earned, without factious praise and without extraneous help. He had no influence to urge his promotion except such as was attracted by his own achievements. He had no potential friends except those whom his victories won to his support. He rose more rapidly than any military leader in history from the command of a single regiment to the supreme direction of a million of men, divided into many great armies and operating over an area as large as the empires of Germany and Austria combined. He exhibited extraordinary qualities in the field. Bravery among American officers is a rule which has, happily, had few exceptions; but as an eminent general said, Grant possessed a quality above bravery. He had an insensibility to danger, apparently an unconsciousness of fear. Besides that, he possessed an evenness of judgment to be depended upon in sunshine and in storm. Napoleon said, "The rarest attribute among generals is two-o'clock-in-the-morning courage. I mean," he added, "unprepared courage; that which is necessary on an unexpected occasion, and which, in spite of the most unforeseen events, leaves full freedom of judgment and promptness of decision." No better description could be given of the type of courage which distinguished General Grant. His constant readiness to fight was another quality which, according to the same great authority, established his right as a commander. "Generals," said the exile at St. Helena, "are rarely found eager to give battle; they choose their positions, consider their combinations, and their indecision begins. Nothing," added this greatest warrior of modern times—"nothing is so difficult as to decide." General Grant in his services in the field never once exhibited indecision, and it was this quality that gave him his crowning characteristic as a military leader. He inspired his men with a sense of their invincibility, and they were thenceforth invincible. The career of General Grant, when he passed from military to civil administration, was marked by his strong qualities. His Presidency of eight years was filled with events of magnitude in which, if his judg-

ment was sometimes questioned, his patriotism was always conceded. He entered upon his office after the angry disturbance caused by the singular conduct of Lincoln's successor, and quietly enforced a policy which had been for four years the cause of bitter disputation. His election to the Presidency proved in one important aspect a landmark in the history of the country. For nearly fifty years preceding that event there had been few Presidential elections in which the fate of the Union had not in some degree been agitated, either by the threats of political malcontents or in the apprehension of timid patriots. The Union was saved by the victory of the Army commanded by General Grant. No menace of its destruction has ever been heard since General Grant's victory before the people. Death always holds a flag of truce over its own. Under that flag friend and foe sit peacefully together, passions are stilled, benevolence is restored, wrongs are repaired, justice is done. It is impossible that a career so long, so prominent, so positive as that of General Grant should not have provoked strife and engendered enmity. For more than twenty years, from the death of Lincoln to the close of his own life, General Grant was the most conspicuous man in America, one to whom leaders looked for leadership, upon whom partisans built their hopes of victory, to whom personal friends, by tens of thousands, offered their sincere devotion. It was according to the weakness and the strength of human nature that counter-movements should ensue ; that General Grant's primacy should be challenged ; that his party should be resisted ; that his devoted friends should be confronted by jealous men in his own ranks and by bitter enemies in the ranks of his opponents. But all these passions and all these resentments are buried in the grave which to-day receives his remains. Contention respecting his rank as a commander ceases, and Unionists and Confederates alike testify to his powers in battle and his magnanimity in peace. The controvesy over his civil administration closes, as Democrats and Republicans unite in pronouncing him to have been in every act and every aspiration an American patriot.

ENGLAND'S ESTIMATE OF GENERAL GRANT

At the imposing funeral service for General Grant in Westminster Abbey,* August 4, 1885, Canon Farrar said :

To-day we assemble at the obsequies of the great soldier whose sun set while it was yet day, and at whose funeral service in America tens of thousands are assembled

* The *Saturday Review*, in commenting upon this impressive scene, called attention to the fact that never before has there been a service of this nature held in the Abbey for any other than an Englishman. Memorials have been frequently placed among the tablets ; but a funeral, and a funeral discourse from the Canon—a funeral attended by persons representing the royal family, and by the present Premier, the ex-Premier, the Commander-in-Chief, and a long list of official and titled persons—for a foreigner, is the most impressive and touching mark of sympathy and friendship which it is possible for one nation to bestow upon another. It is quite certain that this departure from custom would not have been made for any country but the United States, nor for any citizen of the United States except General Grant. It is evident, too, that the movement

at this moment to mourn with the weeping family and friends. I desire to speak simply and directly, with generous appreciation, but without idle flattery, of him whose death has made a nation mourn. His private life, his faults or failings of character, whatever they may have been, belong in no sense to the world. They are before the judgment of God's merciful forgiveness. We will touch only upon his public actions and service.

Upon a bluff overlooking the Hudson his monument will stand, recalling to future generations the dark page in the nation's history which he did so much to close. * * * If the men who knew him in Galena, obscure, silent, unprosperous, unambitious, had said—if any one had predicted—that he would become twice President and one of the foremost men of the day, the prophecy would have seemed extravagantly ridiculous. But such careers are the glory of the American continent; they show that the people have a sovereign insight into intrinsic force. If Rome told with pride that her dictators came from the plough, America may record the answer of the President who, when asked what would be his coat of arms, answered, proudly mindful of his early struggles, "A pair of shirt-sleeves." The answer showed a noble sense of the dignity of labor, a noble superiority to the vanities of feudalism, a strong conviction that men should be honored simply as men, not according to the accident of birth. America has had two martyred Presidents, both sons of the people. One, a homely man, who was a farm lad at the age of seven, a rail-splitter at nineteen, a Mississippi boatman at twenty-eight, and who in manhood proved one of the strongest, most honest and God-fearing of modern rulers. The other grew, from a shoeless child, to be a humble teacher in the Hiram Institute. With those Presidents America need not blush to name the leather-seller of Galena. Every true man derives a patent of nobleness direct from God. Was not the Lord for thirty years a carpenter in Nazareth? Lincoln's and Garfield's and Grant's early conscientious attention to humble duties fitted them to become kings of men.

The year 1861 saw the outbreak of the most terrible of modern wars. The hour came and the man was needed. Within four years Grant commanded an army vaster than had ever before been handled by man. It was not luck, but the result

was a spontaneous one. It came from the deep feeling of the English people appropriately seconded by the throne and the governing powers. It is a token of brotherhood that has never before been rendered by either country to the other.

The stately edifice was crowded with a congregation nearly every member of which was a distinguished person. Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone were among the number, also Prime Minister Salisbury, the Duke of Cambridge, Commander-in-Chief of the British army, the Marquis of Lorne, General Lord Wolseley, the Earl of Iddesleigh, the Earl of Harrowby, Earl Cranbrook, Sir Lyon and Lady Playfair, the Duke and Duchess of Teck. Adjutant-General Sir Archibald Alison, Sir Gerald Gresham, Right Hon. Mr. Forster, Lord Houghton, the Right Hon. Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, Chief Justice Waite of the United States, who came from Scotland, ex-Attorney-General Brewster, and Senators Edmunds and Hawley. Queen Victoria, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Connaught, and the Duke of Edinburgh were represented by equerries.

of inflexible faithfulness, indomitable resolution, sleepless energy, iron purpose, persistent tenacity. He rose by the upward gravitation of natural fitness. The very soldiers became impregnated with his spirit. General Grant has been grossly and unjustly called a butcher. He loved peace and hated bloodshed. But it was his duty at all costs to save the country. The struggle was not for victory, but for existence ; not for glory, but for life or death. In his silence, determination, and clearness of insight, Grant resembled Washington and Wellington. In the hottest fury of battles his speech never exceeded "yea, yea," and "nay, nay." God's light has shown for the future destinies of a mighty nation that the war of 1861 was a necessary—a blessed work. The Church has never refused to honor the faithful soldier fighting for the cause of his country and his God. The cause for which Grant fought—the unity of a great people, the freedom of a whole race—was as great and noble as when at Lexington the embattled farmers fired the shot which resounded around the world. The South accepted a bloody arbitrament. But the rancor and fury of the past are buried in oblivion. The names of Lee and Jackson will be a common heritage with those of Garfield and Grant. Americans are no longer Northerners and Southerners, but Americans.

What verdict history will pronounce upon Grant as a politician and a man I know not; but here and now the voice of censure, deserved or undeserved, is silent. We leave his faults to the mercy of the merciful. Let us write his virtues on brass for men's example. Let his faults, whatever they may have been, be written on water. Who can tell if his closing hours of torture and misery were not blessings in disguise—God purging the gold from dross until the strong man was utterly purified by his strong agony? Could we be gathered in a more fitting place to honor General Grant? There is no lack of American memorials here. We add another to-day. Whatever there be between the two nations to forget and forgive is forgotten and forgiven. If the two peoples which are one be true to their duty, who can doubt that the destinies of the world are in their hands? Let America and England march in the van of freedom and progress, showing the world not only a magnificent spectacle of human happiness, but a still more magnificent spectacle of two peoples united, loving righteousness and hating iniquity, inflexibly faithful to the principles of eternal justice, which are the unchanging laws of God.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

Two Original Letters of Ethan Allen

From the Collection of Hon. T. Romeyn Beek, M.D., of Albany, now in possession of Mrs. Pierre Van Cortlandt.

(FIRST LETTER)

Addressed To The Honble The Committee of Safty or Correspondence at Albany.

Ticonderoga in the Evening of the 12th of May A.D. 1775.

Gentlemen

This Moment an Express has Arived From Crownpoint with Letters From Cap^t Seth Warner Giving an Account of The Surrender of That Place to him and his Command without the Loss of Blood, together with a Large Quantity of Cannon, The Particulars of which Cannot at Present be Ascertained. Provision and Ammunition Very Short,—of the Former Only Sufficient for Four days——Cannon not Mounted, Carriages out of Repair and Many Irreparable, No Workmen to Repair or build Anew, Our Troops Few in N^o & do not Exceed the N^o of 150 or Therabouts, Great Part of which (on acc^t of Their Peculiar Circumstances) Would Willingly be Reliev'd as Soon as Maybe—The News of The Reduction of These Fortresses have Gone to Quebec and Doubtless will be Forwarded with Great Expedition—We are in a Defensless Estate at Present and Much Fatigu'd with Our Late Forced March Thro the Wilderness and Laying the best Plans in our Power for the Safety of the Prizes we have Made Ourselves Masters of—

As we are In Want of Almost Every Necessary (Courage Excepted) We Earnestly Request your Immediate Relief, By Troops, Provision, Arms and Ammunition &c. as your Wisdom May direct—We Send This Evening an Express thro' the N. Hampshire Grants which is to go as Far as Connecticut on The Same Request—have wrote you before Relative to this Subject In part. I am Gentlemen, in haste,

Your most Obed^t
Hum^ble Servt
Ethan Allen
Commander at this Place

By order The Council War.

To The Gentlemen Committee

(SECOND LETTER)

This letter was addressed to James Caldwell, a well-known and eminent merchant of Albany. The book to which reference is made was entitled "Reason the only oracle of man, or a Compendious system of Natural Religion."

Bennington 7th of February 1785

Sir

My System of Philosophy is nearly half printed and the printers have proposed to me, to take goods for their pay; I therefore take the liberty of proposing a trade with you, to the amount of one hundred and fifty pounds lawful money, on terms of six, or eight months' credit, in which time I presume the Books will turn to money, to make remittence to you for the goods; besides I have considerable money due to me within that time. You will please to consider my proposition and act in the premises as may be consistent with your schemes of Trade.

I am Sir with esteem

your Humbl

Sert Ethan Allen.

Mr Caldwell

NOTES

New York choosing Grant for the Presidency—In December, 1867, a great public meeting was held in New York City for the purpose of proposing the name of General Grant as a candidate for the Presidency. At the head of the list of those who signed the call for this meeting is that of Alexander T. Stewart, and he presided over the meeting. The speakers were Judge Hilton, Hon. Francis B. Cutting, General Daniel E. Sickles, Hon. Lyman Tremaine, Simeon B. Chittenden, and others. One of the resolutions adopted was as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the brilliant services rendered by General Ulysses S. Grant, at a period of imminent peril to the American Union, have shed imperishable renown on the American name and character, and can never be forgotten by a people alive to the blessings of institutions under whose benign influence they have become a free and united nation."

After the meeting a committee of twenty-four prominent citizens was appointed to effectuate the nomination and election of Grant, of which an executive committee, consisting of Judge Hilton, Moses H. Grinnell, C. K. Garrison, William E. Dodge, and General John Cochrane, were intrusted with the duty of providing head-quarters and opening correspondence throughout the country. A stirring circular letter was prepared, signed by the chairman and the committee, and more than half a million of these letters were sent to every quarter of the United States.

Thus the foundation for the election of Grant as President was laid in the call for the meeting at the Cooper Institute, the superstructure was raised by the intelligent and energetic work of the Executive Committee, and success was achieved under the rallying cry of the campaign taken from Grant's letter of acceptance: "*Let us have peace.*"

The Virginia Ordinance of Secession—The following private letter was written by ex-President John Tyler to his wife on the 17th of April, 1861:

"Well, my dearest one, Virginia has severed her connection with the northern hive of abolitionists, and takes her stand as a sovereign and independent State. By a large vote she decided on yesterday, at about three o'clock, to resume the powers she had granted to the Federal government, and to stand before the world clothed in the full vestments of sovereignty. The die is thus cast, and her future is in the hands of the god of battle. The contest into which we enter is one full of peril, but there is a spirit abroad in Virginia which cannot be crushed until the life of the last man is trampled out. The numbers opposed to us are immense; but twelve thousand Grecians conquered the whole power of Zerxes at Marathon, and our fathers, a mere handful, overcame the enormous power of Great Britain.

"The North seems to be thoroughly united against us. The *Herald* and the *Express* both give way and rally hosts against us. Things have gone to that point in Philadelphia that no one is safe

in the expression of a Southern sentiment. Poor Robert is threatened with mob violence. I attempted to telegraph him to-day, but no dispatch is permitted northward, so that no one knows there, except by secret agent, what has transpired here. At Washington a system of martial law must have been established. The report is that persons are not permitted to pass through the city to the South. There is another report that General Scott resigned yesterday, and was put under arrest. I hope it may be so, but I do not believe it. I have some fear that he will not resign. Reports are too conflicting about it. To-morrow night is now fixed for the great procession; flags are raised all about town."—*Letters and Times of the Tylers.* Vol. II.

ANCIENT PRICES OF CLOTHING—The following letter written by John Penn, son of William Penn, gives us a glimpse of the prices of clothing, etc., during the Revolutionary war. With ladies' shoes costing £4 2s. 6d., we no longer wonder that Washington's commissariat failed to furnish his soldiers at Valley Forge with suitable covering for their feet. Penn's sympathies were evidently not with the colonies, although he attempted the difficult role of a neutral:

LANSDOWN, *July* 29, 1778.

DEAR SIR: I have long waited for a safe opportunity of writing to you, and such an one has at length offered by Mr. Taylor's visit to Philadelphia. Mrs. Penn and Mrs. Bremmer are extremely sorry they have not had it in their power to execute yours and the ladies' commissions, the exorbitant prices of the particular articles which I shall give you from Mrs. Penn, and there being no such thing as a guittar of any sort to be sold in Philadelphia, having rendered it impossible. Lustring is £9 per yard; 15 yards, which they say is necessary to make an Italian gown, would alone amount to £135. Gauze is from £2 5s. to £3 per yard; ribbon is £1 per yard; shoes £4 2s. 6d. per pair; catgut is £3 per yard; gloves and black silk mittens were not to be got some time ago, but Mrs. Penn will make further enquiry about them. All other articles are proportionably dear. We shall wait your farther orders, either to return you the money or dispose of it in any way you shall think proper. I have nothing of news that can be depended upon, and think you are better situated for hearing what passes than I am. I have been in Philadelphia but twice since I came home, and then only upon business. I live much retired from choice, and am growing fast into the farmer, which is far from being a disagreeable kind of life to me, and may possibly be a profitable one. If you can tell me how and when we shall be happy again "Gris mihi magnus apello." I am weary of conjectures, though I am not disposed to put an end to them as Cato did, but shall endeavor to wait the final issue of our present troubles with as much patience as possible. I heartily wish the distance from here to Edgerston was not greater than from our late prison, the Forge, which was made infinitely more agreeable to us than it otherwise would have been by its being in your neighborhood. Mrs. Penn joins me in compliments to the ladies. I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant. JOHN PENN.

CHARLOTTE L. RUTHERFURD.

QUERIES

NEW YORK SEVENTH REGIMENT [xiv. 212]—I desire to be added to the list of inquirers represented by "Palmetto," as to the number of officers, etc., furnished to the "Confederate Army" during the Civil War by members of the far-famed "Seventh Regiment." A solution of this query, I think, would be a matter of general interest, inasmuch as this splendid corps has always been so prominently identified with the history of the State and nation. Not to my knowledge did any Seventh Regiment men serve on the Confederate side, but a small number may have done so, as we know that West Point furnished several officers to the South. If any such can be found, it would also be a matter of interest to know how many were officers, and the number apportioned to the respective grades of rank.

"EXCELSIOR."

NEW YORK, *August* 12, 1885.

DIXIE—Can any of your readers give a clear account of the origin of the term Dixie or Dixie's land? Who was the fabled Dixie, and where did he live, if anywhere? When was the song known as "Dixie" written?

G. H. B.

COLUMBIA COLLEGE, NEW YORK, *August* 5, 1885.

CHARLES MARSEILLES — *Editor of Magazine:* Can you or any of your readers inform me who was "Charles Marseilles, Esq., at New York," to whom were addressed the letters of *Tamoc Caspipina* (the initial letters of the words —"The Assistant Minister of Christ Church and St. Peter's, in Philadelphia, in North America), which was the *nom de plume* of Rev. Jacob Duché, D.D., Assistant Minister and Rector of Christ Church and St. Peter's Church, in Philadelphia, and who was the first Chaplain of the American Congress. I desire to know the business or profession, ancestry, and any other information concerning the said Charles Marseilles. I also desire a copy of the edition of "Caspipinas' Letters," published at Bath, England, 1777, in 2 vols., 8vo.

CHARLES MARSEILLES.

EXETER, NEW HAMPSHIRE, *March* 17, 1885.

CAPTAIN JAMES SANDS—In the "History of Block Island," by Rev. S. T. Livermore, we are told, on page 269, that "Henry Sands was admitted a freeman of Boston in 1640, and that he was the father of Captain James Sands, who was born in Reading, England, in 1622, and when a young man was employed to build a house for the noted Ann Hutchinson, at East Chester, N. Y." On the next page is the statement that "it was in 1658 that Mr. Sands *with his wife* came from England and landed at Plymouth, and soon after this he undertook the building of the house for Mrs. Hutchinson. He afterward settled at Block Island." On page 271 he is named as "probably the James Sands mentioned as a freeman of Rhode Island in 1655, and as a representative of the General Court of Commissioners held at Newport, May 19, 1657." Will some correspondent reconcile these dates with each other, and with the fact that Ann Hutchinson died in 1643? Henry Sands and his

wife Sibyl joined the First Church of Boston, October 10, 1638. We cannot substitute 1638 for 1658, for then James was only sixteen years old, and probably unmarried. C. ESTABROOK.

NEWBURGH, NEW YORK.

THE GALLANT SEVENTH REGIMENT UNDER FIRE—Was the "Gallant Seventh Regiment" ever under fire during the Civil War? If so, I should like to know when and where? They returned home before the battle of Bull Run, in which the rest of the New York militia participated, and during their subsequent services "at the front" were they not careful to keep away from danger?

"REGULAR ARMY."

WEST POINT, *July* 28, 1885.

YELLOW BREECHES, PENNSYLVANIA—In a list of letters remaining in the Post-Office at Philadelphia, January 9, 1772, printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of the 13th, there is one directed to James McKnight, *Yellow Breeches*.

What part of Pennsylvania was known by this extraodinary name?

PETERSFIELD.

REPLIES

THE NEW YORK SEVENTH REGIMENT [xiv. 69]—*Editor Magazine of American History:* The article, "The Seventh Regiment at the Capital, 1861," by General Egbert L. Viele, is inaccurate in one or two particulars. He says in conclusion: "Then came the mysterious order for a midnight movement to what point and for what purpose no one knew. Each man was supplied with forty rounds of ammunition and three days' rations, and at two o'clock in the morning, without music, and but one low word of command, the regiment left its camp, and marching silently through the city, crossed the Long Bridge into Virginia." The men of the Seventh may not have known to what point they were moving, but the New Jersey brigade were fully cognizant of it before leaving camp at Meridian Hill, from which it marched at precisely twelve o'clock. When our brigade reached the Washington Monument grounds at two o'clock it passed the New York Seventh and Eighth, Sherman's artillery, and other regiments already drawn up in line there; and I well remember the cheering words they saluted us with as we continued on, passing over the Long Bridge into Virginia, leaving them behind. Our skirmishers had reached the viaduct bridge on the road to Alexandria, when we learned of the landing of the Ellsworth Zouaves and a Michigan regiment, who had gone down by the river. The Seventh reached us the next noon, and as Lieutenant Prime was marking off Fort Runyon, Colonel Lefferts came up and asked permission for his command to assist in throwing up entrenchments. which request was cheerfully granted by our general (Runyon). The Seventh dug dirt for two hours, then returned to Washington, and for this received more credit in the papers than we got for completing the works, which required nearly two months' time.

J. MADISON DRAKE.

ELIZABETH, NEW JERSEY.

SOCIETIES

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The Executive Committee met in the Westmoreland Club-House on the evening of August 1, 1885, Mr. Cabell in the chair.

Gifts of books from various institutions and individuals were reported; also, two valuable and interesting manuscripts—a faithful history of the career of the iron-clad gunboat, the *Virginia* (called by the Federals the *Merrimac*), corrective of the erroneous accounts which have recently appeared in the Century Magazine of the engagement of the "*Merrimac*" with the Federal fleet in Hampton Roads in March, 1862; from its author, Dr. Dinwiddie B. Phillips, Madison-Run Station, Orange County, Virginia, formerly surgeon of the United States navy, late of the Confederate States navy, and surgeon on the *Virginia*, or "*Merrimac*"; also the Pioneer and Revolutionary Reminiscences of the late Major John Redd, of Henry County, Virginia, born October 25, 1755, died 1850. This MS. was dictated in 1842 to a grandson, giving incidents of the settlement of Southwestern Virginia and Kentucy, of pioneer life, hunting, hostility of the Indians, etc., from Captain W. T. Clarke, Danville, Virginia, a grandson of Major Redd.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its quarterly meeting on the 7th of July, President Gammell in the chair. Mr. Amos Perry, the Secretary, reported gifts to the Society of a large number of valuable books. A resolution was passed, that a committee of five be appointed by the President to devise a plan for the observance of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of Providence, and that the said committee be requested to report at the October meeting the result of its deliberations. The President then read a paper, suggested by the receipt of a volume on the subject of the Yellow fever, by Moses Brown, whose life and works he traced in the most interesting manner.

THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its annual meeting June 26, President Bradbury in the chair. After the customary reports were read the following officers were elected for the ensuing year. President, Hon. J. W. Bradbury; Vice-President, Hon. Wm. G. Barrows; Corresponding Secretary, Hon. Wm. Goold; Treasurer, Lewis Pierce; Biographer, Joseph Williamson; Recording Secretary, Librarian, and Cabinet-Keeper, W. H. Bryant.

THE ARYAN SOCIETY—The first Heraldic Visitation ever held in the United States took place in Portland, Maine, July 29. It was in accordance with a plan adopted by the Aryan Order of America at Baltimore in 1880, to hold Heraldic Visitations in every State for the purpose of registrating all accounts of family coats-of-arms possible to be obtained, with how and when they came into possession of families. The records derived from these visitations are to be collected together as the material for a National Heraldy College.

Frederic Gregory Forsyth presided at the meeting.

BOOK NOTICES

AN INGLORIOUS COLUMBUS ; or, Evidence that Hwui Shăn and a party of Buddhist Monks from Afghanistan DISCOVERED AMERICA in the Fifth Century, A.D. By EDWARD P. VINING. 8vo, pp. 788. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1885.

Not an attractive title, and not an attractive book. Supposing it to be proven that Buddhist monks, from what is now a bigoted Mohammedan country, did discover America in the Fifth century, it is somewhat difficult, from a utilitarian stand-point, to determine the precise value of such a lengthened and laborious demonstration of the fact. Yet the demonstration has value, and that not merely historical, but also theological and ethical.

That America was peopled from Asia by way of Behring's Straits, either since their formation or while there was continuous land connection between the two continents, is, to say the least, highly probable. Numerous facts of history and science bind together the civilizations of America and Asia with a power that cannot be broken. Another element of usefulness in this erudite volume is the assurance that all philanthropic labor will, sooner or later, receive its meed of applause.

"Nearly fourteen centuries," writes Mr. Vining in conclusion, "have passed since Hwui Shăn—led by his religious faith to carry the feeble rush-light that shone upon his path to illuminate the lives of those who lay in darkness—pressed on from one unknown land to another, preaching the faith by which his life was guided. Of the toils and dangers that he underwent we can catch but a glimpse through the mists of these fourteen hundred years, but we have reason to believe that, of the company of five that started, he alone returned to Asia, that he was an old man when he reached China, and that he probably never saw his native land again. The Chinese believed his story, but knew nothing more of the land which was visited by him. European and American scholars have for many years known something in regard to his statements; but for lack of careful, sufficient investigation many have been inclined to discredit them. It is the hope of the author that the proof herein presented, that Hwui Shăn discovered America a thousand years before it was known to Europeans, will be sufficient to induce the world to give to this faithful missionary of the Buddhist faith the honor to which he is entitled, so that he may no longer remain "An Inglorious Columbus."

If, as Hwui Shăn probably believed, there be no conscious immortality of the individual soul, this somewhat tardy and stinted reward won't do him any good ; if there be, as Christianity teaches, then he may receive accession to happiness from the publication of this learned, elaborate, replete, suggestive, and—in weather with the thermometer in the nineties—altogether formidable volume.

The subject is one that has charms for the antiquarian and philosopher ; otherwise, De Guignes, Klaproth, De Paravey, Neumann, Perez, Godrow, D'Eichthal, Humboldt, Lobsheid, Prescott, etc., etc., would not have devoted as much attention to it as they have; nor would so large a corps of modern *savants* have been deeply interested in the author's labors.

There are very many portions of the book that will be read with interest and profit, even by those who don't care whether Hwui Shăn be inglorious or glorious.

THE GRIMKÉ SISTERS: SARAH AND ANGELINA GRIMKÉ. The First American Women Advocates of Abolition and Women's Rights. By CATHERINE H. BIRNEY. 12mo, pp. 319. 1885. Lee & Shepard. Boston.

The Grimké sisters were South Carolinians, bred in a home of luxury, and early introduced into a life of fashionable pleasure. They were the daughters of John F. Grimké, a judge of the Supreme Court of South Carolina; their mother was the great-granddaughter of the second Landgrave of South Carolina, and a descendant of Sir Roger Moore, of Kildare, the hero of ancient song and story. Sarah Grimké at a very early age evinced remarkable intellectual powers, and while surrounded by slaves was strongly prejudiced against the institution of slavery. Once, when a mere child of four or five years old, she accidentally witnessed the terrible whipping of a negro woman, and ran away to a wharf, where her nurse found her begging a sea captain to carry her off to some place where such things were not done. Sarah was some twelve years older than Angelina, and stood godmother for her at the baptismal font. Sarah's first visit to the North was with her father, who died at Long Branch. She returned to Charleston, but soon after came North and united with the Quakers. The first visit of Angelina to Philadelphia was in 1828, up to which time she had not seen anything sinful in owning slaves. She was then a fine-looking young woman of twenty-three. The remarkable careers of these two sisters are traced in their gradual development in the pages of this volume with no little skill. Angelina was ad-

mitted as a member of the Friends' Society, and began preparations for the ministry. She, however, married Theodore T. Weld, in 1838, and at their novel marriage ceremony were present, among many others, Henry B. Stanton, C. C. Burleigh, Amos Dresser, William Lloyd Garrison, H. C. Wright, Maria and Mary Chapman, Abby Kelly, and Samuel Philbrick. William Lloyd Garrison read the marriage certificate aloud, which was signed by the whole company. The anti-slavery movement enlisted the sympathies of these sisters and absorbed their energies. Both were eloquent lecturers and active workers. Miss Catherine Beecher's book on the "Slave Question," published in 1837, was addressed to Angelina Grimké. The book was received with much favor by slaveholders and their apologists. The tumultuous scenes in various places attending the anti-slavery conventions, while in session, are described with much effect by the author of this work—which is written throughout in a clear, natural, and pleasant style.

PAPERS OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. Vol. I., No. 1. Report of the Organization and Proceedings, Saratoga, September 9–10, 1884. By HERBERT B. ADAMS, Secretary of the Association. 8vo, pp. 44. Vol. I., No. 2. "On Studies in General History and the History of Civilization." A Paper read before the American Historical Association. By ANDREW D. WHITE, President. 8vo, pp. 28. Vol. I., No. 3. "History and Management of Land Grants for Education in the North-west Territory." By GEORGE W. KNIGHT, Ph.D. 8vo, pp. 175. New York and London · G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1885.

These are the first three issues of the "American Historical Association," organized last year at Saratoga under the auspices of the American Social Science Association. The object of this new society is not to promote original researches and investigations in any form, but simply to provide historical scholars with an annual meeting for social purposes and mutual acquaintance, and to provide the means and a method of printing their respective productions. Whether such a society was needed may be questioned. However, it exists, and the three "papers" above mentioned are its first printed results.

The first is a simple account of the origin of the society, which was evidently intended to be a mere "section" of the Social Science Association. But after some discussion and opposition, it was finally, and wisely, voted to form an entirely independent organization. A very brief constitution was adopted, and Mr. Andrew D. White chosen president. His "inaugural address" forms the second of the three papers. It is very general, without any striking points, and is merely a fair lyceum paper upon its subject. The third paper is an elaborate account of the land grants for education, in the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, drawn from public documents, with a list of which the paper concludes. It was written as a thesis for the degree of Ph.D. in the University of Michigan, and obtained the distinction. It bears marks of its purpose, and contains an historical statement or two at its beginning which are doubtful. But it shows attention, hard work, a good literary style, and a sincere endeavor to tell the truth, especially about the general mismanagement of the various land grants. The result that the author shows in these five States is such, that we may be thankful that the wild ideas prevalent last year in some politicians' speeches, that the general government should embark in a grand education experiment based on the unsold public lands, have now no likelihood of being adopted.

FAMILIES OF THE WYOMING VALLEY, Biographical, Genealogical, and Historical. SKETCHES OF THE BENCH AND BAR of Luzerne County, Pennsylvania. In two volumes. By GEORGE B KULP. Vol. I. 8vo, pp. 504. 1885. Published at Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania. Price $7.50 per volume.

It is well known that the Wyoming Valley was principally settled by New Englanders, or, we should say, by the people of Connecticut, although Pennsylvania had a moderate share in the achievement. Some of the best families in the country contributed toward laying the foundation of a Christian and enlightened community in that region. That they succeeded in the most admirable manner has been made abundantly evident through the number of their descendants who have achieved distinction in the various walks of life. Mr. Kulp has, in this handsomely printed work before us, projected a series of biographical sketches of the judges and leading lawyers of Luzerne County, in Pennsyl vania, which is, we believe, the first history of the bench and bar of a county ever published. These studies naturally include much that is historical, and many important genealogical records. The work appears to have been executed in a painstaking and conscientious spirit, and it is eminently readable. The want of an index or table of contents detracts very materially from its present value, but the reader is informed that the second volume will contain a complete

index to both volumes. We have never ceased to recommend an index to each, where there are two or more volumes comprehended in one work, as more convenient and in every way desirable; and particularly in a case like this, where the first is issued prior to the second, it is a serious mistake to permit it go forth with no guide to its contents.

Among the interesting personal sketches in the book none will attract more general attention than the one entitled Edmund Griffin Butler. Aside from the career of the subject, the author gives us a stirring history of the massacre of Wyoming. Colonel Zebulon Butler, who emigrated to Wyoming in 1769, and made himself so famous, was the ancestor of Edmund Griffin Butler, and the chapter contains some very thrilling descriptive passages. The genealogical notes in the sketch of Governor Henry Martyn Hoyt are of special interest. Simon Hoyt, the first of the name in this country, reached Salem, Massachusetts, in 1628, with Governor Endicott, and was one of the founders of seven different towns. He was of the party who traveled on foot from Salem through the woods to explore and settle Charleston. In 1636 he was among the founders of Windsor, Connecticut, and a deacon in Rev. Thomas Hooker's church. General Epaphras Hoyt, the historian and antiquarian writer (born 1765), who lived in the famous old Indian house, in Deerfield, Massachusetts descended from Nicholas Hoyt, the second son of Simon Hoyt. The governor's family descended from Walter, another son of Simon Hoyt. The Hoyt family has been noted in all the generations for its able and accomplished men.

THE TWO HUNDREDTH BIRTHDAY OF BISHOP GEORGE BERKELEY. A Discourse given at Yale College on the 12th of March, 1885. By NOAH PORTER. 8vo, pp. 84. New York. 1885: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The object of President Porter in this admirable essay has been to present in a condensed form some of the most important facts in Bishop Berkeley's history. He says in his preface, "No better discipline to clear and sharp thinking, and at the same time to noble aims and aspirations, can be furnished than from a study of Berkeley's life and opinions. The memory of Berkeley will always be fresh and fragrant with all generous and thoughtful souls The facts are not without interest that Berkeley's name is connected with one of the most interesting and delightful points of land that looks out upon the stormy Atlantic towards the 'still-vexed Bermoothes,' where he hoped to locate his college, and has also been attached to the beautiful site of the University of California, which commands the golden gate that opens into the great Pacific."

Of the fruits of Berkeley's life in America President Porter refers to his greatest and most memorable achievement, "Alciphron, or the Minute Philosopher," remarking, "As a picture of the times this work is of priceless and permanent value. It can never be antiquated so long as philosophy shall renew its foolish and never-ending battle with personality in man and in God, or criticism shall back its new theories with the old assumption that there is no God in history. The reader of 'Alciphron' will find that Agnosticism is no novelty as a philosophical theory, although in Berkeley's day it was propounded on the one hand by a provost and a bishop, and on the other by troops of indolent doubters, similarly as in our time it has been taught by an Oxford divine on the one hand, and on the other by a philosopher who claims to be master in every line of thinking. Dr. Dwight in the year 1803 procured the republica tion of this treatise as an antidote to the infidelity of his times. It was printed in New Haven, and stray copies are to be found in some of the old houses of Connecticut."

The volume is a gem both in substance and presentation, as entertaining as it is instructive, and should be accessible to every intelligent reader. It is printed in a style of exceptional elegance, and dedicated to the Bishops of Rhode Island and California, who were classmates of the author at Yale.

LAWN TENNIS AS A GAME OF SKILL. With latest revised laws as played by the best clubs. By Lieutenant S. C. F. PEILE, B.S.C Edited by RICHARD D. SEARS. 16mo pp. 90. 1885. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

This little hand-book was written for English players to help them to an understanding of the science of lawn tennis, and to point out the faults to which even expert players are sometimes addicted. Mr. Peile's good advice applies with equal force to American tennis players, the laws which govern the game being the same in all countries. Mr. Sears has added notes suggested by his own experience, and the little work promises to be of substantial service to such as seek to understand the game thoroughly.

S. F. Du Pont

Union, Daniel Webster, Alabama, Æriel, Marion, Cahawba, Mayflower, Mohican, O. M. Pettit, Mercury, Osceola, the United States coast steamer *Vixen*, the *Augusta, Bienville, Curlew, Florida, Isaac P. Smith, Mohican, Ottawa, Pawnee, Pocahontas, Penguin, Pembina, Seminole, Seneca, Unadilla, Curlew* and many others. The vessels were scattered all through that memorable morning over an area of more than twenty miles. The night before this another scene, also of a remarkable character, had taken place, known to but few, but which resulted in a change of the whole scheme of the undertaking, and brought about events entirely unanticipated by those who had originally planned it.

Months of preparation had been given to this expedition, to insure a completeness and a potentiality that would make defeat impossible. A careful review of the situation of the country at that time developed the fact that so long as the disaffected States could have free access to the sea and the benefits of commerce with foreign nations, while the servile labor was devoted to the production of the great staple upon which depended all their financial hopes, it would be next to impossible for any force, however large, to suppress the insurrection and restore the Union in its integrity. Therefore it became a matter of the most vital importance to suppress foreign intercourse with the people of the South. In order to do this a complete system of blockade must be established and maintained, to accomplish which a foot-hold must be secured on the sea-board, then controlled and held along the entire coast south of Hampton Roads by the States that had seceded. Along this coast the Government had, during a long series of former years, expended enormous sums of money in the construction of permanent works of defense, in accordance with the most approved principles of military engineering. They had been regarded as almost impregnable at the time of their construction against any then known ordnance or projectiles. To attack any of those great forts by sea was deemed a most hazardous undertaking. Nothing but the most consummate strategy and the boldest skill could hope for success against them. The nature of the undertaking proposed in the organization of an expeditionary force against the Southern coast will therefore be comprehended at a glance. If, however, there was one thing more than another that might be deemed positively essential to success, it would appear that absolute secrecy as to its destination was paramount. So important was this element of secrecy regarded by the Government, that from the first it was assumed to be a *cabinet secret*, to be confided only to the ranking military and naval commanders. How inviolable the secret was regarded by at least one of the cabinet members the sequel will show.

The first movement toward the formation of this expedition had been the selection of a large area of ground at Hempstead Plains, Long Island, for the encampment and drill of the military portion of it. Twenty or thirty wells were sunk in the plain at convenient intervals. The accumulation of quartermaster and commission stores began, and two regiments, the Third New Hampshire and Eighth Maine, had arrived, when, in obedience to orders from General Scott, commander-in-chief of the army, I assumed command of the camp—General T. W. Sherman being military commander of the expedition. Twenty thousand soldiers were to constitute the military part of the force. Scarcely had the two regiments pitched their tents when one of those periodical stampedes that were constantly occurring at Washington took place, and a telegram directed the immediate transfer of these regiments to the capital, notwithstanding the expense in preparing the ground at Hempstead, digging wells, and accumulating material—which was all thrown away, merely to add two raw regiments (one of whom had only received their muskets three days before) to the forces at Washington; and this on the strength of some cock-and-bull story by a contraband that the enemy was about to attack Washington in force, when he had no more intention of going there than he had of visiting the moon. Thus the camp of the "First Brigade, E. C." was transferred to the water-soaked clay of Capitol Hill—where the Eighth Maine (nearly all six-footers) caught the mumps and measles to a man. In the pure atmosphere of the pine woods where they came from these diseases of childhood had never prevailed. After receiving the addition of the Forty-sixth, Forty-seventh and Forty-eighth New York regiments, the brigade was removed to Annapolis, which was the final rendezvous, and from this place were embarked on transports which, with the naval fleet, ultimately assembled at Hampton Roads. While at Annapolis the brigade encamped in the old grave-yard of Count de Grasse's French contingent of the Revolution, where the men slept in the hollows of the sunken graves of the Frenchmen who died there while in camp.

The expedition was now composed of about 20,000 soldiers and 5,000 sailors, all the largest transport vessels, such as the *Vanderbilt*, *Atlantic* and *Baltic*, in fact, all the available vessels that could be obtained and some of the finest men-of-war in the service; the frigate *Wabash* as the flag-ship, and Commodore Dupont, an old and experienced naval officer, to command the naval part of the expedition. He had with him the two Rogers, John and Raymond, and Commodore Davis, as associate commanders. The land forces were under the command of General T. W. Sherman, and were divided into three brigades, the first commanded by Egbert

L. Viele, the second by Isaac J. Stevens, the third by Horatio Gates Wright. These eight officers were called together on board the flag-ship the night before the proposed departure of the expedition, to listen to the final instructions of the Government and learn the destination of the force. The council assembled in the inner cabin of the *Wabash*. The outer door was securely fastened, and a marine placed ten paces from it, with strict orders to allow no listeners to approach. Commodore Dupont then unfolded the carefully prepared instructions, and read them in a low tone that could not be heard beyond the immediate circle of those assembled.

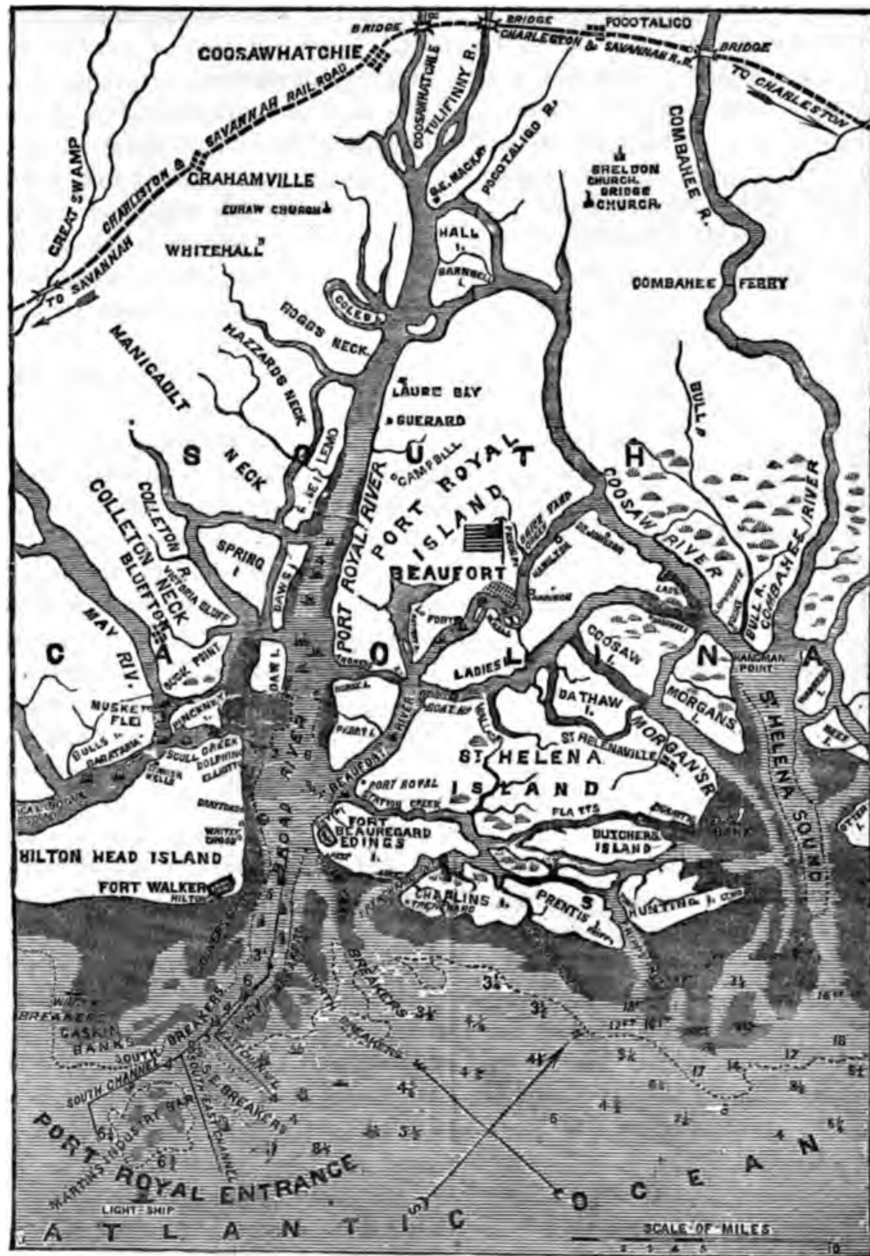
To my utter astonishment the destination of this formidable armada was stated to be Bull's Bay, South Carolina, and Fernandina, Florida, two comparatively insignificant places; but more than this, the supposed "secret destination" had been imparted to me more than a month before in the City of Washington, as coming from a woman who was on terms of the closest intimacy with one of the members of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet. He was a widower, and this woman, who possessed unusual attractiveness of appearance and manners, was a constant *habitue* of the Secretary's house, receiving his guests at receptions, accompanying him on occasional visits to the camps, and evidently a favored friend. She was a Southern woman by birth and sympathies; but when I learned, as coming from her, the destination of this great assailing force—which had been officially withheld from me—I treated the idea with ridicule, not only from the insignificance of the destinations named, but from the natural supposition that it was impossible for such a woman to know anything about it. What, then, was my amazement, not to say consternation, when Dupont communicated in whispered tones to the council of commanders this same destination. I could hardly believe my own sense of hearing. What hope was there for the Union cause if the great secrets of the Government, the plans of her army and navy commanders, could be thus thrown to the winds of heaven—or communicated as these were directly to Jefferson Davis, as will be seen? As a matter of course I made known the fact to the officers present that this supposed "secret" was no longer a secret. A long conference ensued, lasting into the hours of the early morning. A close and careful examination of the charts furnished by the coast surveys exhibited the remarkable character of Port Royal as a harbor, and after receiving from Commodore Dupont, in answer to a question if this harbor would suffice as a safe place of rendezvous, the assurance that his fondest anticipations had never contemplated the occupation of so spacious a harbor, and that it would be sufficient without any other, it was earnestly urged upon the council to adopt Port Royal as the destination. The council adjourned, however,

without coming to a decision: but in re-assembling next morning, Port Royal was unanimously chosen. Sealed orders were then prepared for every vessel, not to be opened until each one was out of sight of land.

Port Royal is fifteen miles northeast from the entrance of Savannah River, and has the most capacious harbor on the southern coast south of Hampton Roads. The entrance itself is a broad inlet from the Atlantic, between two of the large sea islands that are formed along the entire extent of the coast. The island of Hilton Head is on the south and Edding Island on the north. The whole of this region has great historic interest. In fact Port Royal was the first settled spot on the North American coast. The first colony was sent out from France in the year 1562 under Jean Ribault, who, landing in Florida, afterward sailed northward, and discovering this harbor was so struck with its capaciousness that he called it Port Royal. The old chronicles describe it as "a place where all the argosies of Venice could ride upon its bosom." The first colony did not flourish, and another that was sent out from France was no more successful, and therefore in 1567 the French abandoned the idea of forming a permanent settlement here. Nearly a century afterward a colony from Scotland led by Lord Cadross formed a settlement here, and in 1670 William Sayle was sent out as governor. An English writer described it as a harbor where the whole royal navy might ride with safety, and as being admirably adapted "for a squadron of ships in time of war." It is not surprising that strenuous efforts were made by the South for its defense.

This destination was *our* secret, and was committed only at the last moment to the President at Washington. Nevertheless a dispatch from Jefferson Davis was found afterward at Fort Walker, one of the captured forts, informing the commander that Port Royal had been selected for the attack. "The woman in the case" had evidently been on the alert, and a preparation to meet us was made that would have destroyed a less thoroughly organized and equipped force. How much the cause of the Union suffered through all the bitter struggle from such similiar breaches of trust will probably never be known.

The three leading principles that govern a true plan of military operation are *secrecy*, *celerity* and *audacity*. The Port Royal expedition started out handicapped with the absence of the first of these, and the elements combined to deprive it of the second. Scarcely had the great fleet lost sight of the American coast when a storm commenced to gather that threatened for a time to disperse if not destroy it. The weather was unsettled from the first, the wind veering to all points of the compass. On the fifth day, or rather on the night of the fourth day, November 1, the



THE HARBOR OF PORT ROYAL.

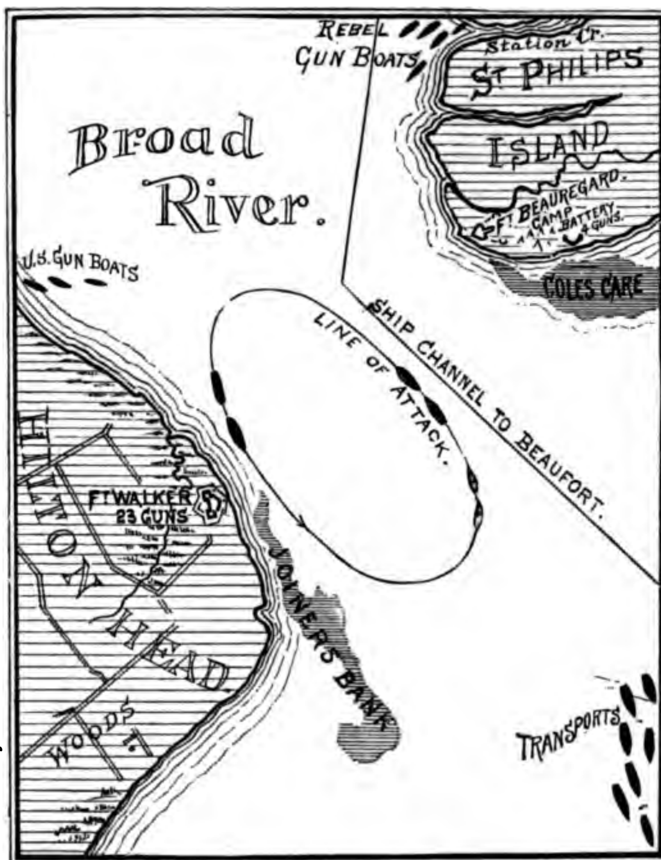
powers of the winds and waves culminated in one of the most fearful storms ever known on the Atlantic coast. The exigencies of the case had caused the drafting into the service of every description of craft—ocean steamers, coasters, sailing vessels, ferry boats, river steamers, many of them of light draft, and all were compelled to breast the fury of the gale. The steamer *Baltic*, of the old Collins line of European steamers, had in tow the large ship *Ocean Express*. The ship *Great Republic* was in tow of the steamer *Vanderbilt*. The steamer *Illinois* had in tow the ship *Golden Eagle*. Nearly all parted their hawsers during the night, the long hours of which will never be forgotten by those who passed through them in wakeful uncertainty.

When the morning dawned the fleet was scattered in every direction. The *Peerless*, the *Osceola*, the *Governor*, and the *Union* were wrecked. Several others were saved only by throwing overboard their guns or cargoes. The *Belvidere* found safety in putting back to Hampton Roads. It was almost a miracle that so many escaped. Nevertheless on Monday, the 4th of November, the seventh day after starting, the fleet was at anchor off Port Royal, ready for active work. First the channel had to be sounded and buoys placed to mark the entrance. A little more enterprise and daring on the part of Commodore Tatnall, who commanded the insurgent fleet inside the harbor, would have made this operation a very hazardous and difficult one. Once the channel was defined it was not a difficult matter to enter, but it was fortunate for the fleet that the storm had subsided. On the morning of the 5th, the light draft gunboats passed over the bar, followed the next day by all the men-of-war.

And now another dilemma presented itself. The *Ocean Express*, a large sailing ship that was in tow of the *Baltic*, and had parted her hawser during the night of the storm, contained all the small ammunition of the force as well as the heavy ordnance. This vessel had failed to put in an appearance off Port Royal, and it was feared that she was lost. At any rate, Sherman refused his assent to the commencement of hostilities until this vessel was heard from, or, if lost, until more guns and more ammunition could be procured from the North. As we had stripped the arsenals of all their available ordnance, it looked as if the expedition would have to be abandoned at the moment of success. It having been suggested to Commodore Dupont that when the forts were taken he, if found necessary, could dismantle some of his war vessels and send the guns on shore, he at once acquiesced, and it being further decided that the bayonet could supply the absence of small ammunition, Sherman reluctantly assented, and the order was given out for commencing the bombardment the next morning. During the night the

Ocean Express arrived off the harbor, and Sherman's mind was greatly relieved.

The planning of the bombardment, the manning of the ships, and the effective work done by the fleet, will pass into history as one of the most successful achievements of the kind, as it marked an era in naval warfare. It was the first time that the powerful auxiliary of steam was brought to play such a decided part in war operations. It was grander and more audacious under Farragut at New Orleans, but it was superb under Dupont at Port Royal. The two works to be encountered, Forts Walker and Beauregard, situated on either side of the harbor, were in themselves models in their construction; admirably designed, well mounted with guns of heavy caliber, and manned by as gallant a set of men as ever fought for any cause or country. They were well drilled and disciplined and were all sanguine of victory; a telegram from Jefferson Davis had given them the true destination of the fleet; they knew its power to a ship, and its strength to a man. I doubt if even the smallest particular was unknown to them, thanks to the reliable sources of information they possessed at Washington. Notwithstanding all this they prepared to meet the odds that were pitted against them with calm



THE FLEET PASSING THE FORT IN THE FORM OF AN ELLIPSE.

GENERAL T. F. DRAYTON.

Commander of Fort Walker.

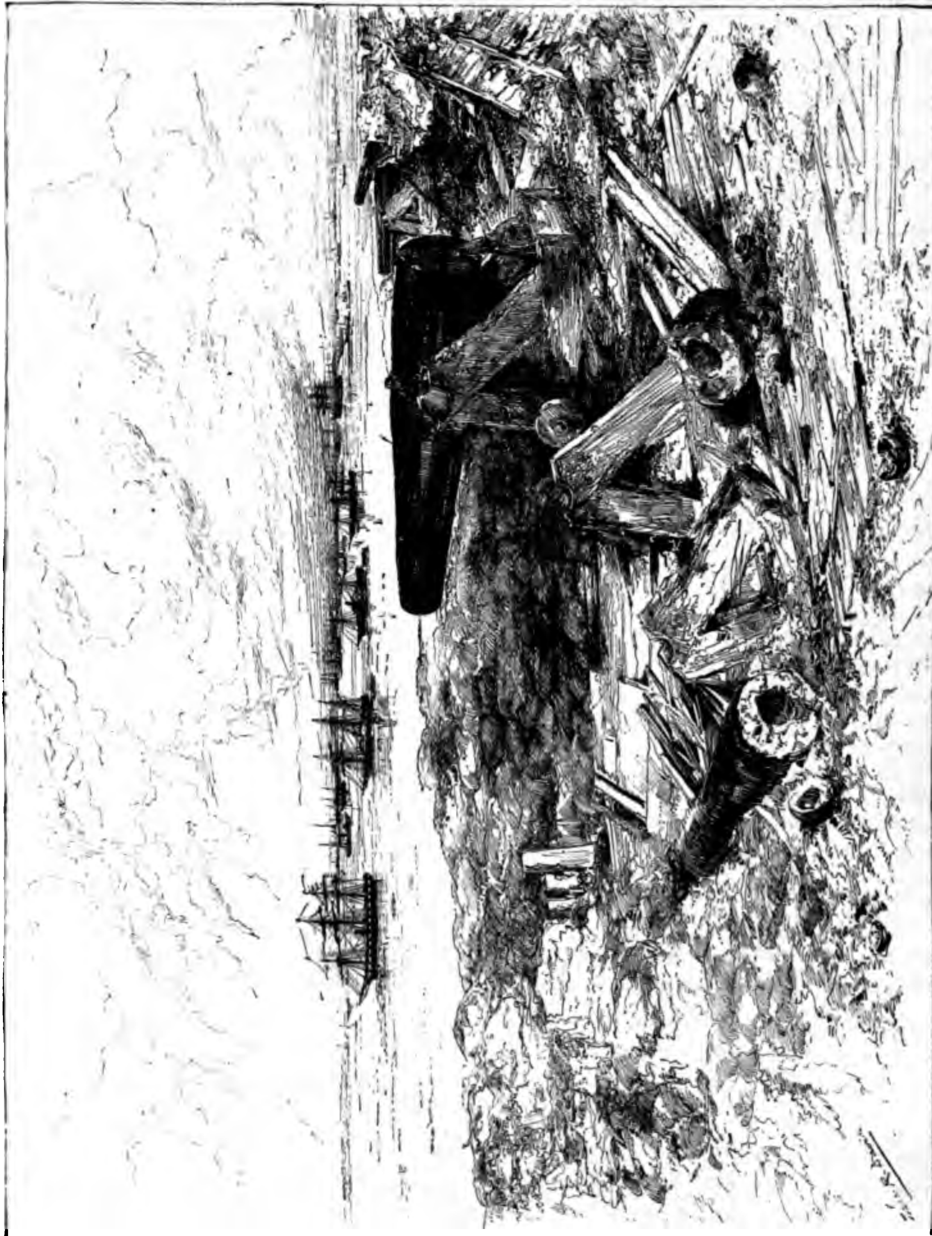
determination. The manner in which they served their guns to the last while a hurricane of shot and shell poured in upon them elicited the unqualified admiration of every soldier and sailor. It was all of no avail. Dupont had planned the attack with the utmost precision. Every vessel had its designated place. The fleet sailed in the form of an ellipse, each ship to deliver its fire at each fort as it passed abreast of it. Three times this circle of death passed in its relentless course. Three times the gallant men at the works received and returned the fire of every vessel. The vessels engaged were the *Wabash*, *Ingraham*, *Pawnee*, *Seminole*, *Bienville*, *Pocahontas*, *Mohican* and *Augusta;* the gunboats, *Ottawa*, *Seneca*, *Unadilla* and *Pembina*. It was a powerful array. For four hours the terrible duel was maintained, and then after a well directed broadside from the *Wabash*, all was over! The resistless force of numbers prevailed and the forts so desperately and courageously defended were abandoned, their occupants making an undisturbed and safe retreat to the mainland, which by the way, could have been prevented had even a single gunboat been sent to intercept the crossing of the river. Why this was not done is one of those things that will probably never be explained. Commodore Dupont told me he had ordered three gunboats to perform this duty. When Fort Walker was taken possession of a scene presented itself that beggars description. Such havoc and ruin! Such utter destruction probably never overtook a fortification. Certainly no work was ever more valiantly defended.

One of the sad incidents of this engagement was the fact that while General T. F. Drayton, of Charleston, South Carolina, commanded the forces at Fort Walker, his brother, Captain Percival Drayton, also a South Carolinian, was the commander of the *Pocahontas*, one of the Union vessels in the attack. General Drayton's residence at Hilton Head was riddled with shells, some of them in all probability coming from Captain Drayton's vessel. This was truly a fratricidal combat.

CAPTAIN PERCIVAL DRAYTON.

Commander of the Pocahontas.

Thus was accomplished the most important



FORT WALKER AS IT APPEARED AFTER THE BATTLE.

step taken up to that time in subduing the rebellion. It was a serious blow to the South, effecting as it did the complete blockade of all the Atlantic seaports through which the European enemies of America had so successfully introduced the sinews of war. It gladdened the hearts of the loyal people of the North, and sent a thrill of joy throughout the vast camps where the legions were gathered for the defense of the Union. But the question will never be answered how often and by whom was the cause of the Union betrayed to its enemies?

[THE following extract from a private letter written by Commodore Dupont will be of interest in this connection; it was dated on board the flag-ship *Wabash*, Port Royal, November 9, 1861.

During the disheartening events of our passage my faith never gave way; but at some moments it seemed appalling. On the other hand, I permit no elation at our success. Yet I cannot refrain from telling you that it has been more complete and brilliant than I ever could have believed. I have been too fatigued to send a detailed account of the battle; I had to content myself with a succinct account, which I think will be liked as well as a more detailed narrative. I kept under way and made three turns, though I passed five times between the forts. I had a flanking division of five ships to watch, and Old Tatnall, too, who had eight small and swift steamers ready to pounce upon any of ours should they be disabled. I could get none of my big frigates up. I believe my plan was clever. I stood against the side, and had the management the better in consequence. The confidence of the enemy was extreme that they could drive us away. They fought bravely and their rifle guns never missed. They aimed at one bridge, where they knew they could make a hole if they were lucky. A shot in the center let water into the after magazine; but I saved a hundred lives by keeping under way and bearing in close. I never conceived such a fire as that of this ship on her second turn, and I am told that its effect upon the spectators outside of her was intense. I learn that when they saw our flag flying on shore the troops were powerless to cheer, but wept.

On the reception of the official dispatches in Washington, the general order was issued by Secretary Gideon Welles, "that to commemorate this signal victory, a national salute be fired from each navy yard, at meridian, on the day after the reception of this order."—EDITOR.]

GENERAL GRANT'S MILITARY ABILITIES

BY A CONFEDERATE OFFICER

My first knowledge of General Grant was gained at Vicksburg, Mississippi, and I early obtained an insight into the value of that military maxim: "Never underrate your opponent." On the day before the battle of Baker's Creek, that rendered it inevitable that the fortified city on the Mississippi River must surrender or stand a siege, I was looking after the transportation trains near Big Black River, and fell in with General Loring and his staff. I took the liberty of asking a few questions about General Grant, who was known to have crossed the river, and was therefore for the first time in reach of our forces in the State of Mississippi. Loring said there was "only one thing to fear, and that was his taking the alarm and crossing the river behind his two fleets, before the Confederates could get at him."

On the day of the battle, the next, this one-armed general twice failed to obey the order to support the division to which I belonged, General Stevenson's, on the plea of flanking the enemy, and at last secured his own retreat to join General Joseph E. Johnston, while we were safely bottled for capture in Vicksburg.

I do not criticise General Loring—who has proven himself a hero on so many fields from Mexico to Egypt—I only notice the fact that we of the South underrated General Grant from the outset, and the purpose of this article is to show that, as a general, he is underrated yet, North and South.

I so wrote, when, in 1864, I edited the Augusta (Georgia) *Daily Constitutionalist*, and while the most of army correspondents in the South were predicting that "Grant is about to butt his brains out against the fortifications of Petersburg." I so wrote when in his first Presidential campaign after the war, it became a sort of Democratic fashion to belittle General Grant. I said: "It is not much to the credit of the South if we were defeated by a weak and incompetent man," and reminded friends of the proverb, "Great let me call him, for he conquered me."

As a prisoner of war in his hands at the fall of Vicksburg, until the parole of the whole army, I learned to appreciate his courtesy to the vanquished, and it was with no desire to appear in print that I wrote to Whitelaw Reid of the *Tribune* asking national prayers for him before he died; for my note to Mr. Reid was entirely a private one.

The next occasion on which I personally saw the personal force of General Grant appear in results, was when, on the 23d of October, 1863, he was sent to relieve Generals Rosecrans and Thomas, who were bottled in Chattanooga, very much as we Confederates had been in Vicksburg. Although present, I prefer to give the situation as others saw it, and will quote from the official report of General Grant, as appears in the "Rise and Fall of the Confederacy," by Mr. Jefferson Davis. General Grant says: "Up to this period our (Federal) forces were practically invested, the enemy's (Confederate) lines extending from the Tennessee River above Chattanooga to the river at and below Lookout Mountain below the town, with the south, back of the river, picketed nearly to Bridgeport. This main force being fortified in Chattanooga Valley at the foot of and on Missionary Ridge and on Lookout Mountain, and with a brigade in Lookout Valley. True, we held possession of the country north of the river, but it was from sixty to seventy miles over the most impracticable roads to army supplies. The artillery horses and the mules had become so reduced by starvation that they could not be relied upon for moving anything. An attempt at retreat must have been with men alone, and with only such supplies as they could carry. A retreat would have been almost certain annihilation, for the enemy, occupying positions within gunshot of and overlooking our very fortifications, would, unquestionably, have pursued. Already more than ten thousand animals had perished in supplying half rations to the troops by the long and tedious route from Stevenson and Bridgeport over Waldron's Ridge. They could not have been supplied another week."

Thus the generous victor of July 4, 1863, who had trusted the Confederates to go home and support their starving families, was called upon to do that for the army of Tennessee, which the Richmond authorities had failed to do for General J. C. Pemberton in the West. It may be remembered that on the 12th of October, 1863, Mr. Jefferson Davis, then President, had visited the battle-field of Chickamauga, and that General Longstreet with a force (stated by Vice-President A. H. Stephens in his "War Between the States," at about five thousand, but by E. A. Pollard in his "Lost Cause," at eleven thousand men) from the army of North Virginia, had soon afterward been detached from General Bragg's command and sent against General Burnside, intrenched at Knoxville. This cut off General Grant from his nearest reinforcement, and put the great lieutenant of Lee in his rear, in case of retreat. Again Grant was underrated, and the thought of his capture was uppermost. In proof of this I quote from the official report of General Bragg, commanding the Confederate forces. After speaking favorably of the movement of Longstreet, he says: "At the same time

our cavalry in large force was thrown across the river to operate on this long and difficult route." (Stated by General Grant to be from sixty to seventy miles by wagon). "These dispositions faithfully sustained, insured the enemy's (Federal's) speedy evacuation of Chattanooga for want of food and forage." In speaking of the army as Generals Rosecrans and Thomas left it to General Grant, General Bragg adds these significant words: "We held him at our mercy and his destruction was only a question of time."

Now I hold that to extricate an army from that situation in three days, and in a month to entirely reverse the whole aspect of the campaign in the West, and recover all that was lost at Chickamauga required not merely a blind and stupid hurling of masses of men at an enemy, but generalship of the highest order. What then are the facts? General Grant appeared in Chattanooga on the 23d of October, 1863, among starving men and animals. On the night of the 26th, three days later, there were fifty pontoons with twelve hundred men on them, floated for three miles down the river directly in front of the pickets of General Bragg, and they were not discovered until they landed at the ferry near Lookout Valley. They at once seized the valley hills and covered the Brown's Ferry road. A concealed camp of three thousand men was ready opposite, and in forty hours the heights west of Lookout Creek were lost, the river had been bridged by 10 A.M., General Hooker had entered the valley at Nauhatchie, General Palmer had crossed from the north at Whiteside, and a whole army corps was on the southern side. The practical siege was over, and Grant was *not* captured but on the offensive. On the 25th of November, the battle of Missionary Ridge was fought, of which Mr. Davis spoke as: "The mortification of the first defeat that ever had resulted from misconduct by the troops." A. H. Stephens wrote: "Bragg's army was completely routed. This was the greatest disaster which attended the Confederate arms in a pitched battle, during the war; not so much in the loss of men (about 3,000), but in the loss of ground and demoralization of broken columns."

Mr. Stephens said to me in his own house: "That movement by General Grant is equal to the exploits of Hannibal and of Napoleon in the invasion of Italy, and places him among the great generals of all places and times."

These are some of the reasons why we should respect the late chieftain; now I shall give one or two reasons why we of the South should love him.

One of these I presume was in the mind of General Joseph E. Johnston when recently speaking to a reporter just prior to serving as pall-bearer to his great antagonist. It came to me from a witness—a great statesman now dead. President Andrew Johnson had placed Mr. Davis in irons in

Fortress Monroe, and I do not know whether he had sent for General Grant or not, but the latter was at the White House. Mr. Johnson demanded of General Grant at what time Generals Lee, Johnston, Beauregard, and the others could also be arrested and imprisoned. Said my informant: "General Grant had a habit of sitting with face down as if thinking, and it was only when he had need to look his man in the face that he did so. The time had come, and I never before understood how a man could resemble a roused lion; a still, terrible anger. He did not raise his voice, and it may have been a shade lower than common, as he said—I think I have the words rightly—'Mr. President, so long as these men remain at home and observe the terms of their parole, you never can do so. The army of the United States stands between those men and you.'"

If this be true, and I have never had reason to doubt it, and if the one instance in history where a great civil war and victory was followed by no confiscations and no executions for treason, be due to General Grant, then we of the South owe him more than respect.

My opinion here is again confirmed by Mr. A. H. Stephens, who describes his interview with General Grant at City Point, near Hampton Roads, February 1, 1865, as follows: "We were here with General Grant two days. . . . The more I became acquainted with him, the more I became thoroughly impressed with the very extraordinary combination of rare elements of character which he exhibited. During the time he met us frequently and conversed freely upon various subjects—not much upon our mission. I saw, however, clearly that he was very anxious for the proposed conference to take place, and from all that was said I inferred—whether correctly or not I do not know—that he was fully apprised of its proposed object. He was, without doubt, exceedingly anxious for a termination of our war and the return of peace and harmony through the country. It was through his instrumentality mainly that Mr. Lincoln finally consented to meet us at Fortress Monroe, as the correspondence shows."

One further instance is in General Grant's autograph letter to myself written on the death of Alexander H. Stephens, a letter particularly interesting now, as showing that the kindness of the great military leader is of old date, and that what he expressed in the Buckner letter he has always felt toward the South and its people. The following is a perfect fac-simile of the letter, never before given to the reading public.

Henry Whitney Cleveland

New York City.
June 14th 1883

Dear Sir.

Your letter of
the 14th of May, inclosed
to me by General Long-
street, in which you ask
a few words from me
expressing my estimate of
the late Honorable Alexander
H. Stephens, reached my
office during my absence in

the west. Since that time I have been in my office but three or four days. Finding an accumulation of letters which I am not yet through the disposal of is my apology for not answering you at an earlier day.

I never had the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with Mr Stephens until he, with

Mr. Hunter and Judge Campbell, visited my Head Quarters at City Point, Va. during the last year of the Civil war. I had however known him well by reputation for many years, and placed a high estimate upon his character and ability as well as statesmanship. Our personal acquaintance, though we differed so widely in matters

affecting our common
country, only served to
increase my admiration for
the man. As I understand,
without being a man of
large means, he devoted
largely from what he
could earn, to the greatest
good of the greatest number
Through him many a
deserving young man has
found the means of
acquiring a fair education

to give him a start in the world, and in most cases, if I am correctly informed he has been compensated for his generosity by seeing those who had these favors conferred, do honor to their benefactor.

In all his public utterances Mr. Stephens impressed me as a man who was never afraid

to speak his honest convictions without regard to whether they would be popularly received or not. To the day of his death I retained the high estimate of his life and character formed before I knew him, increased by a personal acquaintance.

Very Truly Yours

U. S. Grant

Rev. H. W. Cleveland
Atlanta Ga.

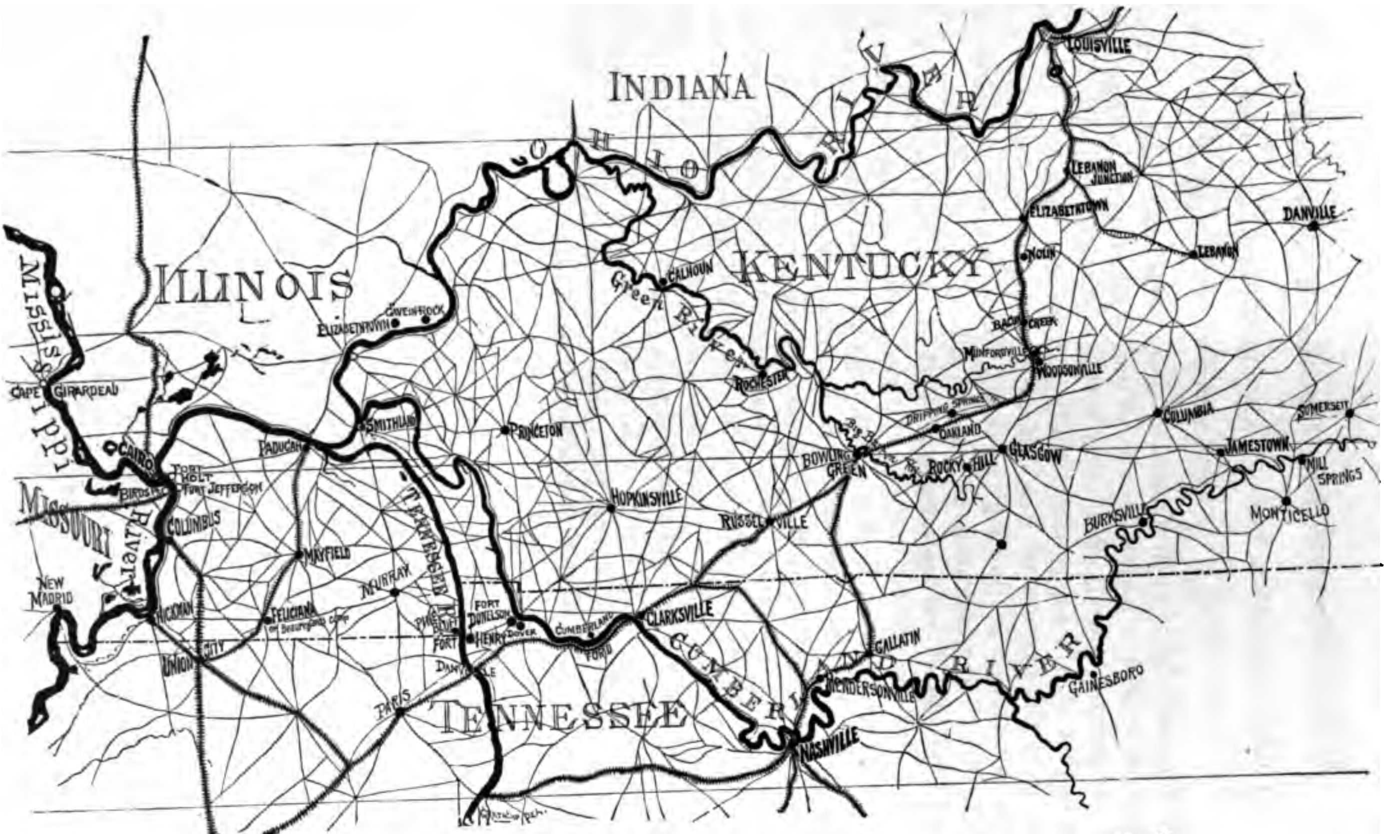
THE CAMPAIGN OF 1861–1862 IN KENTUCKY

UNFOLDED THROUGH THE CORRESPONDENCE OF ITS LEADERS

FIRST PAPER

Coming as it did after McDowell's failure before Washington, the campaign of 1861–1862 in Kentucky was so successful in its immediate results, and in its general bearing upon every future campaign in the West during the war, that it will repay close study and critical analysis. Its direct results were the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson, with their garrisons, the evacuation of Bowling Green and Columbus, and the occupation of Nashville. The publication by the Government of the reports and official and semi-official correspondence on both sides in this contest furnishes an insight into the ability, motives, and movements of the leaders which leaves nothing further in the way of information to be desired. As a matter of fact, the best possible history of this eventful campaign can be derived from the proper grouping of portions of these official records.

The month of November, 1861, found General McClellan in command of the armies of the United States, and Generals Halleck and Buell, respectively at St. Louis in Missouri and Louisville in Kentucky, commanding geographical departments and the military operations therein. Halleck's command covered that portion of Kentucky west of the Cumberland River, and to Buell was assigned the military command of the remainder of that State. On September 3, Columbus in Kentucky had been occupied by the Confederates under General Polk, followed, September 6, by the occupation of Paducah, at the mouth of the Tennessee River, by a force under General Grant. General Buckner (Confederate) took possession, September 17, of Bowling Green, on Barren River, which was also on the Louisville and Nashville Railroad. Cumberland Ford in eastern Kentucky had been occupied by General Zollicoffer, September 12, and thus Kentucky had lost the hope of maintaining her neutrality during the conflict, and bade fair to become the theater of war in the West, as Virginia was in the East. Cumberland Ford had been occupied ostensibly as a protection to the Kentucky gate into east Tennessee, but could be used as a point of departure for an invading force. Bowling Green and Columbus might be considered as advanced outposts for the defense of western Tennessee, but were also capable of being used as bases for an offensive campaign into the free States. No movement had been made from any of these points between the date of their occupation and the entrance of Halleck and Buell upon the scene in November, except by scouting and



MAP SHOWING THE POINTS OCCUPIED BY THE TWO OPPOSING ARMIES IN KENTUCKY DURING THE CAMPAIGN OF 1861–1862.

foraging parties. The general line from Columbus to Bowling Green, running through Forts Henry and Donelson in Tennessee, and on the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers, was considered the Confederate front, and was so connected by railway and river that reinforcements could be thrown to either flank or the center with comparative rapidity. One end of this front, Columbus, was in the territory of Halleck, the other end was in Buell's department, while the forts in Tennessee forming the center belonged to the department of neither.

Kentucky had passed no ordinance of secession, and was represented in the halls of Congress. The majority of her people were for the Union, while a large minority favored the rebellion or were in the rebel ranks. Tennessee had passed a secession ordinance, while a large portion of her people were loyal to the Union, even to martyrdom. The purpose of the Federal authorities should have been to force the war out of Kentucky, restoring order and tranquillity there, while at the same time supporting the Union men in Tennessee, so that they could obtain the possession of the State government and organize to protect themselves from persecution. The campaign, to have done this, would have been simple in plan and easy of execution, while exacting prompt action. The brilliant campaign of McClellan in West Virginia had lifted him forward, and he took his place as general-in-chief of the Union army, with the confidence of the Administration, the people, and of all the officers of the regular army whose good opinion was of any value. Halleck had been an officer of engineers, was military secretary in California during the Mexican war, and had resigned that position and his commission in the army for the practice of law in San Francisco. He had the reputation of great ability and thorough knowledge of all that can be learned of war from the history of the campaigns of the great captains of the world. But in the practical work of disciplining, feeding, transporting, and handling bodies of troops he was entirely inexperienced, and, in these respects, no soldier.

Buell, on the contrary, had passed his life with the line of the army, a hard military student, devoted to his profession, possessed of indomitable will and energy, and had all those matters pertaining to the care and movements of soldiers at his instant command. He believed that without drill and discipline no body of armed men could be called a *force*, and that to operate with such a body was to introduce into war an element of uncertain and variable quantity. His mistake was, perhaps, in not seeing that the enemy opposed to him had the same indeterminate quantity, with a *certain* element against them at the outset of having much worse arms and ammunition than his own troops. Flint-lock muskets, shot-guns, hunting rifles, and

home-made powder constituted probably four-fifths of the arms and munitions of the Western enemy during the campaign which is to be considered. Halleck and Buell were selected by McClellan as officers in whose intelligence and skill he could place the greatest reliance, as will be shown by his letters of instructions, and to them he gave men and supplies limited only by the capacity of the Government. Their commands were entirely independent, and the connection between them was their common superior, the general-in-chief. An ordinary layman would probably have said, without reflection, that a campaign such as was required in Kentucky should have been under one head, and that operations against the Confederate line, from Columbus to Bowling Green, carried on at one end by Halleck and at the other by Buell, each acting without regard to the other, or any knowledge of his intentions, would be a grave mistake. To add to this, the temperaments, teachings, and antecedents of the two men would have rendered harmony of ideas impossible. If the general-in-chief had designed his own plan of campaign in Kentucky, and decreed that these lieutenants should each do the part assigned to him, then the scheme, though hazardous, had its advantages; but under any other circumstances it was fraught with great danger. Its history is mostly written by the three leaders themselves, and but little beyond extracts from their letters is necessary for a full knowledge of it, save, possibly, a few items from the reports of subordinates, and some testimony from the Confederate papers.

It will be necessary for the reader to keep constantly well informed as to the numbers of troops on both sides in this Kentucky campaign, as well as to the ideas each separate commander had as to numbers in his front, as these ideas exerted a direct effect upon subsequent events. November 21, 1861, Grant, from Cairo, sent to Halleck what he believed to be a reliable statement of the enemy's strength at Columbus: "There are now at Columbus 47 regiments of infantry and Cavalry with light Artillery &c," which would give as a rough estimate from 24,000 to 26,000 men at arms, with 8,000 more at Camp Beauregard between Mayfield and Union City, a threat and protection against Paducah. "The enemy are working night and day upon their fortifications, and the greatest consternation has prevailed for the last 10 days lest Columbus should be attacked by us. Finding that they are let alone they may be induced to act on the offensive if more troops are not sent here. A gun-boat reached Columbus the night of the 19th and another is expected in a few days." Pillow (Confederate) reported, November 20, the position at Columbus "one of great strength, which can be held against greatly superior forces;" but added, that the Tennessee River was not safe, as Fort Henry was not strong. General A. S. Johnston (Confederate) with

head-quarters at Bowling Green, the garrison of which then numbered about 12,500, called November 21 upon the governors of Tennessee, Mississippi and Alabama for all the men that could be raised " to oppose the formidable invasion about to be made by the enemy upon the Northern line of Tennessee, with the design to penetrate the valley of the Mississippi." Governor Pettus, of Mississippi, on the same day, under a former call of Johnson asks for " volunteers not exceeding 10,000, . . . offering themselves *with arms in their hands* * to serve in defense of Columbus, in Kentucky, or any other threatened position for sixty days—*double barreled shot-guns* or *hunting rifles* will be considered efficient arms." Still, on the same day, General Tilghman (Confederate) announced an order received for him to put Forts Henry and Donelson in condition for defense. November 22, Johnston wrote to Polk—" Fort Columbus being completed, your force will now be free to maneuver in reference to the movements of the enemy, and to act as a corps of observation *to prevent the siege of the place.*" Johnston further says: " My efforts have been continuous to bring a force into the field to meet the present emergency (long anticipated) and I trust they will be successful." Polk wrote to Johnston, November 22: "The governor of Mississippi is sending me heavy guns and cannon powder, but we are still *short of the force necessary to meet the enemy's.*" On the same day, Halleck (Union) telegraphed to C. F. Smith, at Paducah, that "Hardee" (who was really at Bowling Green with about 12,500 men) "is about to cross the Ohio between the Wabash and Cumberland—some say he is to be reinforced by Polk and attack Paducah. Keep me advised of enemy's movements." To this, C. F. Smith replied, November 23: " My last information was that 2,000 men with three field guns were at Princeton" (about 45 miles east), " running off hogs and plundering generally." As to an attack on Paducah he further says: " One of the three points of attack to be made simultaneously on this place, it has always been understood, is to be by the Tennessee or Cumberland or both. The idea has military merit. What renders it probable (whenever the attack is to come off), is that the enemy is constructing one or more gunboats far up the Cumberland and at Sandy Creek up the Tennessee . . . This river side is my weak point . . . latterly the increase of force is, I think, more to sweep the country of provisions without risk than from any idea of crossing the river. *They want the means of transportation to do so.*"

Buell wrote to McClellan, November 23: " Report not yet confirmed that Zollicoffer, 6,000 strong, has crossed the Cumberland at Gainsborough, probably on his way to Bowling Green, also a rumor of the same sort, that

* All italicized words or sentences are mine.—AUTHOR.

about the same number have left Bowling Green going North"—(the same rumor that reached Halleck)—"neither is improbable. Have you seen cause to curtail any discretion?" Lovell (Confederate), at New Orleans, wrote, November 23, to Johnston, at Bowling Green, that he had sent to Columbus that morning, the 13th Louisiana regiment, 700 strong, with 100 *rounds* of ammunition; and would send the next day 3d Mississippi, 800 strong; wants them back as soon as they are replaced—begs for thirty tons of saltpetre to keep his powder mills from stopping. Zollicoffer (Confederate) supposed to be across the Cumberland River, wrote, November 24, from the Kentucky line, about twenty miles from nearest point of the Cumberland River, "North of the river is to us as yet a *terra incognita*." He thinks Mill Springs, thirty miles away, a good position for winter quarters. Zollicoffer's force at this time, from his reports, November 20, was 3,565. T. L. Crittenden (Union), commanding at Calhoun, in Kentucky, wrote to Buell, November 25: "I wrote you this morning that a rebel force said to be commanded by Breckinridge, estimated from 4,000 to 6,000 reached Rochester yesterday morning, . . . the forces at Hopkinsville are estimated at 8,000." Rochester was about twenty-seven miles south-east from Crittenden, and Hopkinsville nearly south, about forty-five miles. November 24, Johnston's adjutant-general wrote to Breckinridge, at Russellville, thirty miles south from Rochester, ordering his command to Bowling Green. Pillow wrote from Columbus, November 25, to Governor Harris, at Nashville: "We have about completed our defenses making this place impregnable when sustained by gunboat fleet and with forces near Union City." Johnston's adjutant-general wrote, November 27, to General George B. Crittenden (Confederate): "The force of the enemy far outnumbers us, and his intention to advance no longer admits of a doubt." Johnston wrote to Secretary of War, at Richmond, November 27: "I suppose a change of the plan of operations has been made and the force intended for east Tennessee will now be combined with the force on this line, making an aggregate strength of more than 50,000 men to be arrayed against my force here. If the forces of *the enemy are maneuvered as I think they will be*, I may be compelled to retire from this place to cover Nashville, with the aid of the volunteer force now being organized, which could in that way be brought into co-operation. It is understood that Halleck who will command at Columbus, and Buell who is in command on this line, will make a simultaneous attack. I doubt if Buell will make a serious attack on my position here; I hope he may. . . ." Polk wrote, November 28, to Johnston about the defense of Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers: "The principal difficulty in the way of a

successful defense of the rivers in question is the want of an adequate force—a force of infantry and a force of experienced artillery. . . . They were applied for by you and also by me, and the appeal was made earnestly to every quarter from whence relief might be hoped for." Of Tilghman, at the forts (Henry and Donelson), he says: "He received from Columbus a detachment of artillery officers as instructors, on two several occasions, and all the infantry at my command that could be spared from the defense of Columbus." On the same day, Buckner (Confederate), at Bowling Green, organized a plundering expedition to Green River for cattle and hogs.

Johnston wrote to Secretary of War, Richmond, November 29: "We are making every possible effort to meet the force which the enemy will soon array against us, both on this line and at Columbus. Had the exigency for my call for 50,000 men, in September, been better comprehended and responded to, our preparations for this great emergency would now be complete." Tilghman, at Fort Donelson, wrote to Johnston's adjutant-general, November 29: "I have completed a thorough examination of Henry and Donelson, and do not admire the aspect of things. A message from Paducah and Columbus yesterday indicates movement this way . . . will he not let me have 1,000 arms from Nashville? I feel for the first time discouraged. . . ."

From the foregoing extracts an excellent view can be obtained of the situation in central and western Kentucky from the time Halleck and Buell assumed command, to the early part of December. On the part of the United States Government, we find no moves of an aggressive character, our commanders being well content to be let alone by the enemy until they should have organized forces for offensive warfare. On the Confederate side we cannot discover any thought of an advance, but every nerve was strained to obtain troops and arms to hold their advanced posts. Johnston was calling upon the governors for all the men that could be raised to resist invasion, the governors were asking the inhabitants to come in "with shot-guns or hunting rifles, and for sixty days," if they would not come for a longer period. The Tennessee and Cumberland were considered weak points—there were not sufficient heavy guns at Forts Henry and Donelson, and a thousand men were there without arms. Johnston expected 50,000 men would be arrayed against Bowling Green, and that skillful maneuvering would compel him to fall back on Nashville without firing a shot. Halleck and Buell would make simultaneous attacks, each in his own territory. But this required co-operation—harmony of thought between Halleck and Buell—or the masterful mind of a commander-in-chief to enable

each lieutenant to carry out his part of the general plan locked up in the breast of the chief.

This latter condition of affairs, however, is not in accordance with McClellan's letters of instructions to Halleck and Buell, in which he says to Halleck, November 11: "I cannot too strongly impress upon you the absolute necessity of keeping me constantly advised of the strength, condition and location of your troops, together with all the facts that will enable me to maintain that *general* direction of the armies of the United States which it is my purpose to exercise." And to Buell, November 7: "In giving you instructions for your guidance in command of the Department of the Ohio, I do not design to fetter you. . . . That portion of Kentucky west of the Cumberland River is by its position so closely related to the States of Illinois and Missouri that it has seemed best to attach it to the Department of Missouri. Your operations then (in Kentucky) will be confined to that portion of the State east of the Cumberland River. . . ." McClellan further wrote to Buell, November 12: "Our conversations on the subject of military operations have been so full and my confidence in your judgment is so great that I will not dwell further upon the subject except to urge upon you the necessity of keeping me fully informed as to the state of affairs both military and political, and your movements. . . . If the military suggestions I have made in this letter prove to have been founded on erroneous data you are of course perfectly free to change the plan of operations." As to the absolute strength of the various commands confronting each other, only approximate numbers can be given. Under Buell, in Kentucky, December 2, 1861, we find 70 regiments of infantry, 3 of cavalry, and 7 batteries of artillery, or to speak within limits, 60,000 men. Grant had at Cairo and vicinity, December 1, 16,571; C. F. Smith, at Paducah, 6,781. The estimate of the forces under Grant and C. F. Smith does not take into account the large force under Halleck, in Missouri, which he thought was necessary to be kept in the southern and western portions of that State. On the Confederate side we find, December 1, under Polk, including Columbus, Fort Henry, Fort Pillow, Memphis, etc., 23,073 men. On December 4, an abstract of return from Hardee's division at Bowling Green shows 7,568 men of all arms. The only remaining Southern force there was the division under Buckner; and Major Munford reports to the special committee of the Confederate Congress, that on the "last of November the effective force at Bowling Green was estimated at 12,500, showing no material increase for more than a month." An abstract of return from Johnston's entire command, December 12, including Arkansas and east Tennessee, and also in-

cluding 12,000 raw and badly armed volunteers in camp in Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi and Tennessee, gives 77,908 of all arms. This was the force opposed to the entire commands of Halleck and Buell, there being on what our authorities called the Confederate front—including Columbus, Bowling Green, Fort Henry and dependencies—33,399. This was all that could be done in gathering troops after the most pressing calls on the governors for volunteers, militia, etc. As to arms, reports are found in every direction, running through November and December, as to the bad quality of arms generally, and the utter deficiency in many Southern regiments.

Starting from our present vantage-ground of knowledge of the position at the end of November, we must now let the campaign unfold itself, which will involve the correspondence between McClellan and Halleck and Buell. Buell writes to McClellan, November 22, beginning with a short report on the many troubles he has had to encounter in his administrative work . . . "And now to come to strategy: Without abandoning any *line* I am concentrating somewhat for the purpose of organization and outfit. I am studying the country and our enemy, and I believe I am wasting no time. I shall be prepared to do anything you think best after you hear what I propose to do, and I shall do nothing that you are not willing to assent to. . . . I have by no means abandoned the idea which you put forward prominently: on the contrary, I am studying it carefully and preparing for it, for I find some attraction in it: but neither have I determined on it absolutely, unless I am to understand that the adjutant-general's letter absolutely requires it. If it does I shall execute it carefully and with all my might. . . . The route we had in our eye wins upon me" (probably into east Tennessee) "the more I investigate it. I am pretty well assured that it has decided advantages over the old one. I do not mention names for I have an enormous respect for secrecy in military operations, and therefore it is, and because I want to speak to you freely, that I like that you should allow me to write informally rather than through official channels, for there is no secret in the adjutant-general's office. Sherman still insists that I require 200,000 men. I am quite content to try with a good many less: but I do not want to abate in the end what you yourself thought desirable if not necessary. It will be important that Halleck should strike at the same time that I do, and I think you will agree that his blow should await *my preparation*. As for our enemy . . . he is fortifying pretty strongly at Bowling Green, and he has some weak batteries on the Cumberland and Tennessee. Second, he can concentrate at Bowling Green in three or four hours some 20,000 to 25,000 men."

From this it is plain that Buell clearly recognized the fact that operations against the rebel front should be in one head. He wants simultaneous co-operation from Halleck, and Halleck to wait on him, which can only be obtained through the precise orders of the general-in-chief. We also observe the error of General Buell with reference to the force in front of him. McClellan wrote to Buell, November 25: "I instructed him" (the adjutant-general) "to write you that I was still firmly impressed with the necessity of making the movement on eastern Tennessee with the least possible delay. Eight regiments have been ordered to report to you from western Va., three from Ohio, and whatever was available from Ind. I hope to place *at your disposal two divisions from Mo.*, as well as other troops from Ill. I do not credit the statement that Buckner is in very large force, and I am still convinced that political and strategical considerations render a prompt movement *in force* on eastern Tenn. imperative. The object to be gained is to cut the communications between the Miss. valley and eastern Va., to protect our Union friends in Tenn., and re-establish the government of the Union in the eastern portion of that State. Of course Louisville must be defended, but I think you will be able to do that while you move into eastern Tenn. *If there are causes which render this course impossible we must submit to the necessity:* but I still feel now that a movement on Knoxville is absolutely necessary, if it is possible to effect it. Please write me very fully." While this paper will be confined rigidly to the campaign against what was called the rebel front (*i. e.*, from Columbus to Bowling Green), it is still necessary to see what the ideas of the general-in-chief are with reference to a movement into East Tennessee. The first part of this strong letter, amounting almost to positive instructions, is rendered of no effect by the first part of the last sentence, which virtually leaves the decision with Buell. McClellan telegraphed Buell, November 27: "General: What is the reason for concentration of troops at Louisville? I urge movement at once on eastern Tenn., unless it is impossible. No letter from you for several days. Reply. I still trust you though urging my own views." To this telegram, Buell, on the same day, replied as follows: "My dear friend: . . . I hope you have not supposed that the introduction of the re-enforcements through this point has any reference to a defense of Louisville. . . . His position" (Buckner's) "is entirely defensive, and he will be quite content if he can maintain that. . . . If you will look carefully at the map you will see that Louisville affords the best base that can be taken for land operations from the North upon any part of Tennessee. The railroad to Lebanon curves around to the North-east" (S. E.?) "behind Salt River, giving besides the Nashville

railroad, three good pike roads which converge to a point of easy communication for these three columns about Glasgow. . . . Lebanon also affords a point of departure for a column on East Tenn. as short as any route. . . . Nothing could be more convenient. . . . These advantages will not fail to impress themselves upon you without going more into detail. And now for a plan of campaign: Up to the organization of columns behind Salt River all the plans I have in view at present concur. Beyond that they diverge, and may be stated briefly and candidly, thus: First, to establish a sufficient force before Bowling Green to hold Buckner there while a column moves into East Tenn. by Somerset and the route we had in view: Second, to hold him in check while a column moves rapidly past him on Nashville by the turnpike viâ Gallatin: and third, holding him in check at Bowling Green and throwing in columns on both the Somerset and Nashville routes. The choice of these must depend on the circumstances which may vary in the meantime, or which may not now be clearly perceived. In conjunction with either of these should be the movement of *two flotilla columns up the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers,* so as at least to land and unite on the State line and cut off communication between Bowling Green and Columbus, and perhaps run directly into Nashville. A strong demonstration should at the same time be made on Columbus, by the Miss. . . . details I do not go into. You can imagine them all. All this, I hope, looks at least plausible. . . . For the water movements means are necessary *which I have not the control of:* that is, gunboats and transports. The troops which you promise from Missouri could be used for the purpose and *ought to move at my signal.* I should take the troops from Paducah for one of them" (*i. e.*, these flotilla expeditions), "and replace them by those which probably would not be as well disciplined and equipped. Thus far I have studiously avoided any movements which to the enemy would have the appearance of activity or method. There are at Indianapolis seven regiments ready for service. . . . I propose to form them into a reserve and camp of instruction at Bardstown. . . . I can make no use of them in an advance. The Kentucky regiments are only partially organized and can be but little used at present." In this long letter Buell gives very fully his plans, not having positively decided as to the best, which is left for circumstances to determine. All of these plans, however, include the flotilla movements, and the demonstration on Columbus. It would be an utter waste of time to criticise plans of a campaign never attempted, but supposing he had begun to carry out the third plan, and supposing he was correct on the 25th in saying that Buckner could con-

centrate in three or four hours 20,000 to 25,000 men at Bowling Green, Buell would require for the whole plan as developed by him about 165,000 men absolutely in the field, not taking into account the various regiments left to protect the bridges behind him and thus divided. In front of Buckner, 30,000. Now, as it would never do to move rapidly past Buckner on Nashville and leave Buckner to attack his rear, he would require behind Buckner 30,000 men. It would not be safe to arrive at Nashville, in view of all the concentrations that might be made against him, with less than 30,000 men. For the expedition up the Cumberland River 15,000; for a like expedition up the Tennessee River, 15,000. Acting on Grant's estimate of November 21, of the force at Columbus of forty-seven regiments, 30,000 would be as little as could be sent to make a strong demonstration against that point. We will take a force of 10,000 in the column moving against east Tennessee and we get the above figures of 165,000 men, and very much scattered. The main point in this letter of Buell's is that he had made a plan of campaign against this hostile front, both for himself and Halleck, and required action to begin at his signal. This was entirely correct in one sense, and proves that Buell had discovered that the operations should be controlled by one mind, and that the defect in the geographical division of the territory by McClellan had caused the entrance of a very serious defect into the military plans, for with two generals working heartily together and in entire accord as to plans, a co-operation which was so nice as almost to be dependent upon the firing of a signal-gun was very apt to be frustrated, and with two men so unlike in every respect as Halleck and Buell, was, so to speak, impossible.

McClellan, on receipt of this letter from Buell, telegraphed November 29: "Your letter received. I fully approve of your course and agree in your views." The same evening he wrote to Buell: "Your welcome letter of the 27th reached me this evening. I have just telegraphed you expressing my satisfaction at its contents. I now feel sure that I have a lieutenant on whom I can fully rely. Your views are right. You have seized the true strategic base, and from Lebanon can move where you will. Keep up the hearts of the Tennesseans. Make them feel that far from any intention of deserting them, all will be done to sustain them. Be sure to maintain their ardor, for it will avail you much in the future. I am not, as a general rule, at all disposed to scatter troops. I believe in attacks by concentrated masses, but it seems to me with the little local knowledge I possess, that you might attempt two movements, one in eastern Tennessee, say with 15,000, and a strong attack on Nashville as you propose, with say 50,000 men. I think we owe it to our friends in eastern Tennes-

see to protect them at all hazards. First secure that, then, if you possess the means, carry Nashville. . . . Give me by telegraph and letter the statement of your command by regiments and batteries as soon as possible. I have telegraphed to-day to Halleck for information as to his gunboats. *You* shall have a sufficient number of them to perform the operations you suggest. I will place C. F. Smith under your orders and replace his command by other troops. Inform me some little time before you are ready to move so that we may move simultaneously. . . . Unless circumstances render it necessary do not strike until I, too, am ready. Should I be delayed I will not ask you to wait for me. I will at once take the necessary steps to carry out your views as to the rivers." In this letter McClellan has definitely adopted the views of his lieutenant. At first he unhesitatingly takes the third of Buell's campaigns; then he drifts to the first, east Tennessee to be protected at all hazards, then the attack on Nashville if he has the means. Either plan requires a demonstration on Columbus. Buell thinks and writes as if he expected to control the expeditions up the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers, and McClellan in agreeing to Buell's plan concedes this to him.

This takes from Halleck a part of his territory, his gunboats, his best troops and, in the estimation of officers of experience, his best soldier. To Halleck is apparently left the demonstration on Columbus, with a division of his best troops, replaced by some that Buell does not think fitted for the field. The General-in-chief has said it. What will be the result? McClellan wrote to Buell December 3: "I inclose two letters which were referred to me by the President and were intended for your eye" (two letters about east Tennessee). . . . "I understand your movements and fully concur in their propriety, but I must still urge the occupation of eastern Tennessee as a duty. . . . Please send then with the least possible delay troops enough to protect these men. I still feel sure that the best strategical move in this case will be that dictated by the simple feelings of humanity. I have ordered one regular and one excellent volunteer battery to join you. To-day I ordered 10,000 excellent arms to be sent to you at Louisville. I have directed all your requisitions to be filled at once. . . . Write to me often fully and confidentially. . . . With the utmost confidence and fullest friendship, etc., etc. P. S. This letter has been dictated by no doubt as to your movements and intentions, but only my feelings for the Union men of eastern Tennessee." McClellan is now urging an immediate movement into east Tennessee on Buell's first plan of campaign. In the previous letter he had seemed to favor the third or simultaneous move on east Tennessee and Nashville. It must not be forgot-

ten that each of Buell's three plans involved the flotilla expeditions and the strong demonstration against Columbus, the necessary orders for which were to come from the General-in-chief and have not yet been seen. McClellan wrote to Buell, December 5: "I have again telegraphed Halleck for information as to his gunboats and disposable troops. As soon as I receive reply will arrange details *with you.* Send me draught of water in Cumberland River to Nashville, and in Tennessee River. Your letter of 30th received." Buell also was told "do not strike until I, too, am ready," after McClellan fixed a month or six weeks ahead as the earliest period for striking the "*grand blow.*"

McClellan wrote to Buell, December 5: "I have only time before the mail closes to acknowledge yours of the 30th" (that letter of the 30th is not in the "Record," and we can only arrive at its contents by the answer). "Give me at once in detail your views as to the number and amount of gunboats necessary for the water movement, the necessary land forces, etc. When should they move? . . . I ordered to-day two fully armed regiments of cavalry to join you . . . Will send you some more infantry from the Northwest in a day or two." Halleck telegraphed to McClellan, December 6: "The information respecting gunboats will be telegraphed to you as soon as it can be obtained. One or more unarmed regiments can be detailed as crews, *but not any armed men* can be spared from Missouri. You can form no conception of the condition of affairs here. The enemy is in possession of nearly one-half of the State, and a *majority* of 60,000 to 80,000 of the inhabitants are secessionists. Our army is utterly disorganized . . . in many places mutinous and disbanding. . . . We are not prepared for any important expedition out of the State; it would imperil the safety of Missouri. Wait till we are ready. The 'on to Richmond' policy here will produce another Bull Run disaster. You may rely on this." This is evidently a telegram in answer to McClellan's call for information as to gunboats and also respecting the two divisions promised to Buell from Missouri, November 25. Halleck's picture of affairs would seem to put on Buell the entire movement against the Confederate front, or a change in the plan.

Halleck wrote to McClellan, December 6, giving in detail the condition of the army in Missouri: "This, General, is no army but rather a military rabble. . . . Your telegram of last evening indicates your intention to withdraw also a portion of the troops from Missouri. I assure you, General, this cannot be done with safety at present. Some weeks hence I hope to have a large disposable force for other points, but now, destitute as we are of arms, organization and discipline, it seems to me madness to remove any

of our troops from this State." The co-operation does not yet look promising. Buell wrote to McClellan, December 8: "I have received your letter of (November 29) and thank you cordially for it. Such encouragement would make a good lieutenant of almost any man. . . . I shall work very hard not to disappoint your confidence altogether. . . . The other night a party came within 10 miles of us and burned a small bridge over Bacon Creek, which must be repaired in three or four days, and I discovered that they designed to destroy the piers of the Green River bridge, the rebuilding of which is to be commenced in a few days. That would have embarrassed my prospective movements, and so I have had to put aside the inertion which I was anxious to pursue for the present."

Johnston wrote, December 8, to Secretary of War at Richmond: ". . . Our returns at this place show a force of between 18,000 and 19,000, of which about 5,000 are sick (about 3,000 at Nashville), and our effective force under 13,000 men. . . . On the night of the 6th, Captain Morgan . . . burned the railroad bridge over Bacon Creek (recently constructed by the enemy) six miles in advance of the enemy's advance force." Buell to McClellan, December 10: ". . . The organization of the division at Lebanon has been made with special reference to the object which you have so much at heart" (see letter of December 3), "though fortunately it is one which suits any contingencies that can arise. . . . When the preparation of that division is complete, which I hope will be very soon, if I then see reasons why it should be merged into the general line of operations I will give you the reasons, and you shall be the judge of them, and if you do not see force in them, I assure you I will pursue your views with as much zeal and hopefulness, and perhaps more energy than if I entirely concurred in them. . . . And now for the other side of the field. . . . I do not know well —scarcely at all the description and capacity of the gunboats and transports that are to be used, and I do not know anything about the quality of the troops and officers. . . . The object is . . . by demonstrations and maneuvering to prevent the enemy from concentrating his scattered forces. In doing this it must be expected there will be some fighting; it may be pretty good fighting. I suppose that 10,000 men with two batteries would not be too great an estimate for each of the rivers if the enemy should do all he probably can do. . . . The expeditions should go as rapidly as possible to the nearest point to where the road crosses the peninsula; that is, to Dover and Fort Henry. And the first thing to be done is to destroy the bridges and ferries; then act momentarily on the defensive unless the weakness of the enemy or a trepidation in his force should give a good opportunity to attack. I think the first serious opposition will be found at

Fort Henry and at an island battery four or five miles below Dover. . . . It would probably be necessary to stop there. Fort Henry is said by civilians to be strong. . . . There have been some 7,000 troops there—we will probably find that number there. It is about six miles below the railroad bridge. I should not expect to meet any considerable force at Dover, but perhaps 7,000 or 8,000 at Clarksville, where they are fortifying. If they succeed in getting out of Bowling Green, which I believe they will try to do as soon as they see us advancing, unless their force and armament are increased, of course the number at Clarksville may be expected to be greater. The demonstration on Columbus and the Mississippi should at least be on such a scale that it can be converted into a real attack if they destroy anything; better still if it can attack in any event. . . . P. S. It will seem rather wordy for me to say that early action is of the greatest importance when I am myself unable to appoint a day, *but not a day should be lost.*"

The "P. S." was evidently intended to cause orders to be given to Halleck. McClellan to Halleck, December 10: ". . . I am obliged to you for the spirit of frankness in which it is written." (Halleck's letter of December 6): ". . . If you had informed me that you had any available troops *I intended to propose to you a movement in concert with Buell.* His project, though very important, must either be deferred or be carried out in some other way. I have no intention of stripping you of troops when you cannot spare them. . . . I am sorry to learn the very disorganized condition of the troops. . . . Can you *yet* form any idea of the time necessary to prepare an expedition against Columbus, or one up the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers in connection with Buell's movements?" Up to December 10, there has evidently been no expression of opinions between McClellan and Halleck as to co-operation with Buell, or as to Halleck's plans in Kentucky. This was deemed vital by Buell before he could make a move even toward east Tennessee.

Halleck has given a general denial of ability to operate out of Missouri, and McClellan in this letter gives a pretty good idea of the kind of co-operation Buell and himself have decided to be necessary. Halleck to McClellan, December 16: "Your letter of the 10th is received, and I am much gratified with its contents. I was satisfied that the orders which I had previously received had been issued without your knowledge, or upon a misconception of the condition of the troops in this Department."

Then follows a general report of operations in Missouri, which could hardly be carried out with a military or mutinous rabble. December 17: Halleck to Curtis at St. Louis—"You will immediately detail 1,100 or

1,200 unarmed men from Benton Barracks to hold themselves in readiness for service down the river on the gunboats. By order of *General McClellan.*"

This looks like preparation for a flotilla expedition! Halleck to McClellan, December 19: "I am progressing slowly with the reorganization of the forces here. It is a most difficult task, increased by the injudicious orders of the War Department. . . . Those at a distance . . . should not be hasty in judging my conduct, and, above all, they should not embarrass me by unnecessary interference. This I know very well you will not do . . . I shall obey all orders sent to me." . . . Buell reports to the adjutant-general of the army, December 23, that he has 70,000 men in his command, 57,000 for duty. He says; "The plan which I propose for the troops here is one of defense on the East and of invasion on the South. For the latter I think it will not be necessary for me to do more than suggest that the force ought to be increased rather than diminished. *However a timely and efficient co-operation from other quarters will materially affect this question.* For the former" (that is the defensive portion) "I do not think a large force necessary." The natural reading of this letter would be that a campaign into east Tennessee was not in Buell's mind at this time. This is corroborated by his later movements, some of which, however, were precipitated by events not controlled by himself. Halleck to McClellan, December 26: ". . . If I receive arms in time to carry out my present plans in Missouri, I think I shall be able to strongly re-enforce Cairo and Paducah for ulterior operations by the early part of February." McClellan to Buell, December 29: "Johnson and Maynard, &c., are again becoming frantic and have President Lincoln's sympathy excited. Political considerations would make it advisable to get the arms and troops into eastern Tennessee at a very early day; you are however the best judge. Can you tell me about when and in what force you will be in eastern Tennessee? . . . I will write you fully as soon as I am well enough." Buell to McClellan, December 29: " . . . I have this moment received your dispatch. I intend a column of 12,000 men with three batteries for east Tennessee, but as I have telegraphed you it is impossible to fix a time for it to be there, so much depends on the circumstances which may arise in the meantime. My unavoidable advance to Green River has thoroughly startled the enemy, and he is strengthening himself in men and positions rapidly. C. F. Smith telegraphs me that two brigades with twelve guns, say 6,000 men, were ordered from Camp Beauregard to be at Bowling Green yesterday, and I have information that Floyd's division, say 6,000, arrived last Thursday. I have information also of the arrival of 10,000 men from Mississippi; but

they may be those that Smith tells me of, though my information is that they came through Nashville, which would make it somewhat doubtful. At all events there are doubtless 30,000 men now at Bowling Green; and unless checked by strong demonstrations and attacks on Columbus and the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers the number can easily be increased to 50,000 or even 60,000 before I can get there. These facts make the co-operation I have in former letters mentioned as important *quite essential now* to any great success. It is quite essential, too, that the success should be speedy, or otherwise the enemy will be so strong in western Tennessee and Kentucky, from Bowling Green to Columbus, as to increase our work vastly. It is my conviction that all the force that can possibly be collected should be brought to bear on that front of which Columbus and Bowling Green may be said to be the flanks. The center, that is, the Cumberland and Tennessee where the railroad crosses them, is now the most vulnerable point. *I regard it as the most important strategical point in the whole field of operations.* The possession of it secures their force and gives access through the two rivers to the very center of their power. While they hold it at least two-thirds of the whole force on that front may safely be considered available for any one point that is threatened. This I am satisfied you have seen, and that you perceive the importance of co-operation against the center and flanks. The movement on east Tennessee attacks their rear, and if properly supported promises great results. . . . In any event I must tell you what I have been unwilling to do all along, that you will require more troops in Kentucky. Don't acknowledge this, however, but act on it. . . . McCook telegraphs me he is threatened by a strong force."

McClellan and Buell have discussed this question thoroughly and McClellan has entirely adopted the views of Buell about the co-operation, and has gone so far as to indicate that the flotilla expeditions shall be, as they should, under Buell's command. McClellan has mildly suggested to Halleck that he would like his co-operation with Buell, to which Halleck has responded, "impossible for six weeks!" McClellan has gone so far as to indicate the idea of the expeditions up the rivers, asking Halleck as to the time it would take to get them ready. There has been between McClellan and Halleck, however, a thorough want of interchange of opinions with reference to the campaign in Kentucky. McClellan has asked for information as to number and condition of gunboats, and that, in connection with questions to Halleck about the time necessary to arrange flotilla expeditions, would have induced a duller man than Halleck to see that the probability was that such an expedition would not be under his command,

though within his territory. These facts must be borne in mind to read properly the future movements. Buell, now thinking that the force in his front is getting so large that it may assume the offensive, or at least paralyze his movements, cries aloud for co-operation, speedy co-operation, at the flanks and center of the enemy's front, and also asks for more troops. On the 7th of December, Buell, to protect the Green River bridge, moved a brigade there, and the whole division is moved there by the 17th, with a division at Bacon Creek some ten miles behind to support it, and Buell reports no other movement up to that time. On the other side, on the 16th of December, Johnston reported his force augmented by the arrival of 2,000 sixty days' men from Mississippi, making his effective force at and near Bowling Green 15,500 men, and said, "there are now organizing in the vicinity of Nashville about seven regiments ready to take the field, but some delay will occur in arming them on account of the condition of the arms *which have been collected in the country*" (*i. e.*, shot-guns, hunting rifles, etc.). "I will send him all the gunsmiths I can find in our ranks." On the 18th of December, Johnston, doubtless hearing of the division ordered forward to protect the Green River bridge, reassumed command of the army at Bowling Green, and telegraphed to Polk at Columbus, "send to this place 5,000 of your best infantry by rail direct," to which Polk replied, "I have barely 12,000 men at this post. I have been working day and night to put it in a condition to enable me to hold it against the heavy force now concentrated at Cairo and threatening to attack me in the next few days. I have information to that effect just from Cairo within the last hour. I was on the eve of calling upon you to send me 3,000 men immediately to enable me to hold my position ; . . . to send the force ordered would be to sacrifice this command and to throw open the valley of the Mississippi. Pillow, Cheatham and McCown are all present and unite with me in this opinion." To which Johnston replied on the 19th, revoking the order. We know the little danger existing of an attack on Columbus. December 22, Grant reported, from a rebel deserter, that the "militia from Tennessee, Mississippi and Louisiana are flowing into Columbus by every boat and every train. They are armed with muskets, shot-guns and ordinary rifles." On December 20, Johnston telegraphed to Richmond, "The enemy are crossing Green River at many points in overwhelming numbers. Their bridges are laid. I cannot meet them with more than 10,000 men between *Green River and Nashville*. Can Floyd be sent on here ? Answer by telegraph." The reply on the same day was : "Floyd's command will reach you by Christmas, but there are only about 2,500 men left in it. The southern troops were sent to General Lee at Charleston, where the enemy are moving in heavy

force." December 21, Johnston, in a letter to the Secretary of War, indicates the movements he will make on the following day to prevent the turning of his right by the way of the turnpike from Glasgow to Gallatin. He leaves a garrison of 4,160 men in Bowling Green, and places the *two divisions*, comprising the *Central Army* of Kentucky, across the turnpike and behind the Barren River and one of its tributaries. The only maneuvering in the Department of the Ohio is in the vicinity of Somerset, where a force under Zollicoffer at Mill Springs had been the cause of much anxiety and no little telegraphing on account of his supposed offensive intentions. With reference to that, General G. B. Crittenden, in command at Knoxville, reported to the adjutant-general at Richmond, December 16, that "Zollicoffer was threatened by a much superior force in front and one nearly equal on his left flank. He has been ordered by me to recross the river." Artillery and 800 muskets were asked for. Secretary of War, at Richmond, to Johnston, December 22: ". . . I have not unfortunately another musket to send you. . . . We must put our trust in our just cause and such means as we have in hand." On December 24, Johnston wrote from Bowling Green to the Governor of Mississippi for aid, saying: ". . . The enemy will energetically push towards Nashville the heavy masses of troops now assembled between Louisville and this place. . . . Barren River, as a line of defense, though strong, requires a large force to defend it. There is no equally defensible position . . . between the Barren and the Cumberland at Nashville, so that this place cannot be abandoned without exposing Tennessee and giving vastly the vantage-ground to the enemy . . . they have managed . . . to concentrate a force in front of . . . me which I believe will number 75,000. To maintain my position I have only about 17,000 men in this neighborhood. It is impossible for me to obtain additions to my strength from Columbus. . . . General Zollicoffer cannot join me as he guards the Cumberland and prevents the invasion and possible revolt of east Tennessee. With 10,000 or 15,000 more brave men I could attack the enemy and not from a disparity of force be compelled to await it; it seems to me that . . . victory would be certain. . . . A decisive battle will probably be fought on this line, and a company on that day will be more than a regiment next year." December 24, Polk telegraphed to Johnston: "Do you still want support?" Johnston replied to Polk, same day, "Yes, 10,000 or more if possible without delay of a day." Polk again to Johnston, same day, informs that he sends command of infantry 5,000 strong, replacing forces by sixty days' men from Mississippi. Retains cavalry and artillery, supposing they are not wanted. Johnston's adjutant-general to Polk, same day, told him

to " . . . Send the troops first," wagons after, also send artillery if it could be spared.

These are the men mentioned by C. F. Smith to Buell, December 29, as from Camp Beauregard, December 25; Johnston to secretary of war, "Let nothing prevent Floyd's brigade from coming here immediately." The same day Johnston made a long report to the secretary of war, giving the positions of Buell's troops and his own, saying, "If Floyd's brigade from Virginia and Bowen's division en route from Columbus reach me here as I expect in a few days they" (the enemy) "will be compelled to attack me here. With my force thus considerably increased I do not think they will attempt to turn my position. . . . The sixty days' State troops of Mississippi are stationed here, my whole force amounting to 17,000 men. Exclusive of this force was a brigade at Hopkinsville, to prevent or give notice of a move from the lower Green River country on Clarksville, in Tennessee. He has posted his "inadequate force in such a manner as to hold the enemy in check, guard the frontier and hold the Barren till the winter terminates the campaign, or if any fault in their movements is committed or his lines become exposed when his force is developed to attack him as opportunity offers. . . . The contest here must be relinquished for the winter by the enemy or a decisive blow soon struck; to make the latter is their true policy."

It may not be deemed amiss to call attention to the movement Johnston made at the time when he supposed the advance of the division to protect the railroad bridge at Green River indicated the opening of the campaign. He at once threw out a brigade upon the railroad at a good strategic point within about fifteen miles of Buell's advance post, and brought his cavalry pickets at once up to the pickets of Buell. His cavalry scouts were then thrown out to cover all approaches from the east and west on Bowling Green and Glasgow. One skillful in the use of the small sword knows that in a duel his life depends upon his keeping up the touch of his adversary's blade, and the same principle holds with hostile forces in dangerous proximity. On this Johnston acted, and when he thought a forward movement on the part of Buell was imminent, he advanced troops to keep himself in contact with Buell, and in that way he was sure to give himself time to select and occupy his chosen field for battle. During this time the Confederate troops were suffering for want of pay, and much dissatisfaction existed on that account. The only funds to meet the expenses for rations, etc., were the Confederate notes, and many hesitated to take them in payment for beef and grain. Judah P. Benjamin, their secretary of war, solved this question in a logical way in a letter of December 26, to Johnston: "This

is a war for national existence, and the army must be fed, and it is impossible to pay for its food otherwise than in our national currency. The friends to our cause will not refuse to take it. All others are enemies, and we have a right, under the laws of war, to lay a contribution upon our enemies." Four days later, December 30, Johnston, to Secretary of War, said: ". . . The troops from Columbus are beginning to arrive . . . total aggregate, 2,099. My force is about 19,000 of all arms." The abstract from consolidated report gives, December 31, at Bowling Green: infantry, 19,277; cavalry, 1,837; artillery, 1,139; total, 22,253.

With the ending of the year 1861, as it so happened, a new phase was presented by the sickness of the general-in-chief at Washington. The President wrote to Halleck, December 31: "General McClellan is sick. Are General Buell and yourself in concert? When he moves on Bowling Green, what hinders it being re-enforced from Columbus? A simultaneous movement by you on Columbus might prevent it." The President telegraphed the next day to Buell, January 1, 1862: "General McClellan should not yet be disturbed with business. I think you better get in concert with General Halleck at once. I write you to-night. I also telegraph and write Halleck."

Buell replied to the President, January 1: "There is no arrangement between General Halleck and myself. I have been informed by General McClellan that he would make suitable disposition for concerted action. There is nothing to prevent Bowling Green being re-enforced from Columbus, if a military force is not brought to bear on the latter place." The President telegraphed to Halleck, January 1: "General McClellan should not be disturbed with business. I think General Buell and yourself should be in communication and concert at once. I write to you to-night and also telegraph and write him." Buell telegraphed to the President, January 1, 11 P.M.: "I have already telegraphed General Halleck with a view to arranging a concert of action between us and am momentarily expecting his answer." Halleck replied to the President, January 1: "I have never received a word from General Buell. I *am not* ready to co-operate with him. Hope to do so in a few weeks. Have written fully on this subject to General McClellan. Too much haste will ruin everything." Halleck replied to Buell, January 2: "I have had no instructions respecting co-operation. All my available troops are in the field except those at Cairo and Paducah, which are barely sufficient to threaten Columbus, etc. A few weeks hence I hope to be able to render you very material assistance, but now a withdrawal of my troops from this State is almost impossible. Write me fully. That is, tell me everything you propose to do." The President wrote to Halleck January 1 (the letter mentioned in telegram of same date): "General McClellan is

not dangerously ill as I hope, but would better not be disturbed with business. I am very anxious that, in case of Buell's moving toward Nashville, the enemy shall not be greatly re-enforced, and I think there is danger he will be from Columbus. It seems to me that a real or feigned attack upon Columbus from up-river at the same time would either prevent this or compensate for it by throwing Columbus into our hands. I wrote Buell a letter similar to this, meaning that he and you shall communicate and act in concert, unless it be *your judgment and his* that there is no necessity for it. You and he will understand much better than I how to do it. Please do not lose time in this matter."

I should say that this was among the darkest hours for our country during the war. The General-in-chief stricken down with fever, and incapacitated for duty, the central part of Kentucky overrun by plunderers and held with determination by a strong man at Bowling Green, and east Tennessee harried almost beyond the powers of description. The President, whose good common sense intuitively struck at the root of the military question, knowing his power, but fearing to rely upon his own judgment as to military operations in such a crisis, almost pleading with the two commanders who controlled such large armies, and being unable to get them to unite for the common good on some plan acceptable to both. The two together had in Kentucky actually and virtually nearly three times the force opposed to them. Their troops were well armed, well fed, and well clothed, and with the Confederates all this was reversed. . . . McClellan and Buell had agreed as to what should be done, but the proper orders to Halleck had not been given. McClellan had called upon Halleck for information, and expressed his views as to the importance of co-operation with Buell; yet to the President's letter and telegram Halleck responded: "I am not ready to co-operate. Too much haste will ruin everything." Thus all movements must await Halleck's pleasure. In the foregoing dispatches between Halleck and Buell there is not even a pretense to an effort to put themselves "in communication and concert," no effort at an interchange of opinions, no attempt to do that which the President requested and the cause demanded. The co-operation was flatly refused by Halleck, and there was no superior to take the proper action.

January 6, Halleck replied to the President's letter of January 1: ". . . On receiving your telegram I immediately communicated with Buell, and have since sent him all the information I could obtain of the enemy's movements about Columbus and Camp Beauregard." (The information given by Halleck to Buell was this: General C. F. Smith wrote to General Cullum, January 2, 1862: "A reconnoisance to within a few miles of Camp

Beauregard shows that the troops that left for Bowling Green have been replaced by two months' men from Mississippi. Pillow's division ordered to Bowling Green but returned and go into winter quarters." Cullum reported it to Buell, January 4, saying: "I have no other information than that sent, which was in the exact words received. General Smith can perhaps give you more particulars"). "They have about 22,000 men at Columbus, and the place is strongly fortified. I have at Cairo, Fort Holt, and Paducah only about 15,000 men, which after leaving guards at these places would give me but little over 10,000 men with which to assist Buell. It would be madness to attempt anything serious with such a force, and I cannot at the present withdraw any from Missouri without risking the loss of this State. . . . I know nothing of General Buell's intended operations, never having received any information in regard to the general plan of campaign. If it be intended that his column shall move on Bowling Green while another moves from Cairo or Paducah on Columbus or Camp Beauregard, it will be a repetition of the same strategic error which produced the disaster of Bull Run. To operate on exterior lines against an enemy occupying a central position will fail, as it always has failed in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred. It is condemned by every military authority I have ever read. Buell's army and the forces at Paducah occupy precisely the same position in relation to each other and the enemy as did the armies of McDowell and Patterson before the battle of Bull Run."

In connection with the above the facts are, that Grant reported for December over 14,000 and C. F. Smith had over 6,000 at Paducah; that the President suggested a real or *feigned* attack; that Halleck's monthly report shows that at that time he had *present for duty* over 91,000 soldiers under his command, and the whole organized Confederate force against which he was operating in Missouri did not amount to 20,000 shoeless and half-armed men; and that the President had informed him of all that was necessary to know, viz.: that the intended move was against Bowling Green toward Nashville.

On this letter is the following pathetic indorsement by the President: "The within is a copy of a letter just received from General Halleck. It is exceedingly discouraging. *Here as everywhere else* nothing can be done."

THE FALLACY OF 1787

On the 25th of May, 1787, a Convention met at Philadelphia, and proceeded to consider the subject for which it had assembled. At that period, and long after, States, independent communities, masters of themselves, entitled to withdraw the delegation of their sovereignty from the union then existing, were supposed to be there represented. The constant assertion of such a right in the Convention, and its action in providing that nine States might make a government, separate from the other four, seem to justify the supposition. Respect for a contrary opinion now dominant, requires that the reasoning which has corrected the former misconception, should be stated in its own language; the subtility of the argument might escape in any attempt to condense it.

"Our States have neither more nor less power than that reserved to them in the Union by the Constitution, no one of them having ever been a State out of the Union. The original ones passed into the Union even before they cast off their British Colonial dependence. The new ones came into the Union from a condition of dependence except Texas, and even Texas in its temporary independence was never designated a State. The new ones only took the designation of State on coming into the Union, while the name was first adopted by the old ones by and in the Declaration of Independence. The 'United Colonies' were declared to be 'free and independent States,' but even then, the object plainly was not to declare their independence of one another, or of the Union, but directly the contrary, as their mutual pledge, and their mutual action before, at the time, and afterward abundantly show. The express plighting of faith by each and all of the original thirteen, in the Articles of Confederation two years later, that the Union shall be perpetual, is most conclusive. The States have their status in the Union, and they have no other legal status. Originally some dependent colonies made the Union, and in turn the Union threw off their dependence for them, and made them States, such as they are. Not one of them had a State Constitution independent of the Union."

In the debate of the colonies with Great Britain, Johnson had defined Colonies to be mere extensions or processes of Empire. By substituting States for Colonies and Union for Empire history will be found repeating itself. New Jersey, long refusing to accede to the Articles of

Confederation, Maryland delaying till 1781, the separate independence of each State name by name extorted from Great Britain in the treaty of peace, Rhode Island and North Carolina out of the Union after the Constitution governed eleven States, are facts which would seem to militate against the later theory, did not the *væ victis*, apply equally to reasoning, as to man. To understand the debates in the Convention the relative strength of the States must be kept in mind. Virginia was the most populous, but half of her inhabitants were negro slaves. Massachusetts was the most powerful, having nearly four hundred thousand inhabitants, mostly white. Pennsylvania followed closely in numbers and wealth. The three contained forty-two ninetieths of the population of the United States. So far, in every form of Union, they had each but a single vote. They were naturally and reasonably desirous of greater weight in a new system, if one could be obtained, or in some modification of the existing one, which would effect their object. There was no indisposition on the part of the other States to concede to them an increase of power. How much, was the cardinal point which had to be settled, before the machinery of a government could occupy much attention. Business was opened by the submission of "The Virginia plan," which was made the basis of debate; those of Pinckney, more coincident with that adopted, than any other, of Hamilton, and of Patterson, need not be detailed. They were not without influence upon individuals and committees, for it is apparent that in this, as in all other conventions and legislative bodies, much of the heaviest work was done by members who made few speeches, and in committees which have left no record of their labors but their reports.

Virginia Plan

1 Resolved, that the Articles of Confederation ought to be so corrected and enlarged as to accomplish the objects proposed by their institution namely common defence, security of liberty, and general welfare.

2 Resolved, therefore that the rights of suffrage in the national legislature ought to be proportioned to the quotas of contribution, or to the number of five inhabitants according as the one or the other rule may seem best in different cases.

3 Resolved, that the national legislature ought to consist of two branches.

4 Resolved, that the members of the first branch of the national legislature ought to be elected by the people of the several states every —— for the term of —— to be of the age of —— years at least: to receive liberal stipends by which they may be compensated for the devotion of their time to the public service, to be ineligible to any office established by a particular State or under the authority of the United States except those peculiarly belonging to the functions of the first branch during the term of service and for the space of —— after its expiration to be incapable of re-election for the space of —— after the expiration of their term of service and to be subject to recall.

5 Resolved, that the members of the second branch of the national legislature ought to be elected by those of the first out of a proper number of persons nominated by the individual legislatures: to be of the age of —— years at least to hold their offices for a term sufficient to insure their independency, to receive liberal stipends, by which they may be compensated for the devotion of their time to the public service: and to be ineligible to any office established by a particular state, or under the authority of the United States except those peculiarly belonging to the functions of the second branch during the term of service and for the space of —— after the expiration thereof.

6 Resolved, that each branch ought to possess the right of originating acts, that the national legislature ought to be empowered to enjoy the legislative rights vested in Congress by the Confederation, and moreover to legislate in all cases to which the separate states are incompetent, or in which the harmony of the United States may be interrupted by the exercises of individual legislation, to negative all laws passed by the several states contravening in the opinion of the national legislature the Articles of Union or any treaty subsisting under the authority of the Union: and to call forth the force of the Union against any member of the Union failing to fulfill its duty under the articles thereof.

7 Resolved, that a national executive be instituted: to be chosen by the national legislature for the term of —— to receive punctually at stated times a fixed compensation for the services rendered, in which no increase or diminution shall be made so as to affect the magistracy existing at the time of increase or diminution and to be ineligible a second time: and that beside a general authority to execute the national it ought to enjoy the executive rights vested in Congress by the Confederation.

8 Resolved, that the Executive and a convenient number of the national Judiciary ought to compose a council of revision, with authority to examine every act of the national legislature before it shall operate and every act of a particular legislature before a negative thereon shall be final: and that the dissent of the said council shall amount to a rejection unless the act of the national legislature shall be again passed, or that of a particular legislature be again negatived by —— of the members of each branch.

9 Resolved, that a national Judiciary be established: to consist of one or more supreme tribunals: to be chosen by the national legislature: to hold their offices during good behavior, to receive punctually at stated times fixed compensation for their services, in which no increase or diminution shall be made so as to affect the persons actually in office at the time of such increase or diminution. That the jurisdiction of the inferior tribunal shall be to hear and determine in the first instance and of the superior tribunal to hear and determine in the dernier resort all piracies and felonies on the high seas, captures from an enemy cases in which foreigners or citizens of other states applying to such jurisdiction may be interested or which respect the collection of the national revenue, impeachments of any national officers and questions which may involve the national peace and harmony.

10 Resolved, that provision ought to be made for the admission of states lawfully arising within the limits of the United States whether from a voluntary junction of territory, or otherwise with the consent of a number of voices in the national legislature less than the whole.

11 Resolved, that a republican government and the territory of each state except in the instance of a voluntary junction of government and territory ought to be guaranteed by the United States to each state.

12 Resolved, that provision ought to be made for the continuance of Congress and

their authorities and privileges until a given day after the reform of the Articles of Union shall be adopted and for the completion of all their engagements.

13 Resolved, that provision ought to be made for the amendment of the Articles of Union whenever it shall seem necessary: and that the assent of the national legislature ought not to be required thereto.

14 Resolved, that the legislative executive and judiciary powers, within the several states, ought to be bound by oath to support the Articles of Union.

15 Resolved, that the amendments which shall be offered to the Confederation by the Convention ought at a proper time or times after the approbation of Congress to be submitted to an assembly or assemblies of representatives recommended by the several legislatures to be expressly chosen by the people to consider and decide thereon.

No sooner were the Virginia resolutions before the house, than Randolph, who had introduced them, moved that the consideration of the first be postponed, and that in its place three new propositions be debated.

1st That an Union of states merely federal, will not accomplish the objects proposed by the Articles of Confederation, namely common defence, security of liberty, and general welfare.

2d That no treaty, or treaties, among the whole, or part of the states as individual sovereignties would be sufficient.

3d That a national government ought to be established consisting of a supreme legislature, executive and judiciary.

Gouverneur Morris (Pennsylvania), who had suggested the supersedure of the first resolution of the Virginia plan, by the new propositions, explained to the Convention the distinction between a federal, and a national supreme government; the former being a mere compact, resting on the good faith of the parties; the latter having a complete and compulsive operation. The Convention refused to consider the first two, and adopted the latter. Then, turning to the Virginia plan, it postponed the second resolution, and carried the third, and so much of the fourth, as made a popular vote applicable to the elections for the first branch of a contemplated legislature. Upon the fifth resolution, the smaller Northern States stopped. They were willing to give the larger States additional power, because additional power was equitable, but when the larger States sought at once to be States, and the nation, enabled to exact and to refuse good faith, they saw clearly the intended dominion, a domination of the most offensive kind, of State over State. Therefore they said, States in a Union, is an idea not only familiar, but intelligible. States in a nation, that is, States in a State, is a contradiction in terms. You want a nation; we do not, but we will gratify you. Open the map, divide the territory into thirteen districts as equal as possible, and your scheme is feasible and acceptable, for a nation has counties, a Union has States. Choose. To

Wilson, who was perpetually urging, "We come here to make a government for men, not for imaginary beings—States," they said, "Why, then, should there be the State of Pennsylvania?" To Madison and Randolph, "A Virginia would be an anomaly." To King and Gorham, "The Commonwealth of Massachusetts will be an impossible *imperium in imperio.*" Either their proposition was too fair to be gainsaid, or their reasoning too just to be refuted, for the word "National," as characterizing the proposed system, was dropped without debate, and with universal assent, and is nowhere to be found in the finished work of the Convention. Hamilton had indirectly, though undesignedly, contributed to a result opposite to his views. His intellect was too clear not to see that a Union, and a nation, were things as opposite as black and white. He was too fearless to conceal his convictions, and therefore proposed the abolition of States.

"By an abolition of the States, he meant that no boundary could be drawn between the national and the State legislatures, that the former must, therefore, have indefinite authority. If it were limited at all, the rivalship of the States must gradually subvert it. Even as corporations, the extent of some of them, as Virginia, Massachusetts, etc., would be formidable. As States, he thought they ought to be abolished." Wilson did not wish that fate for Pennsylvania, nor King for Massachusetts, nor Madison for Virginia, nor Butler for South Carolina, and brought squarely up to decide whether they would retain States and maintain the federal principle, or extinguish the States, and essay the national principle, their choice was made at once. Why they who were willing to form units of a nation, if the States were divided into districts, were unwilling to form parts of a nation if the States were to be retained, is easily seen. Every State has at least some of the instincts and characteristics of a nation. It must have some interests, habits of life and thought, and association of ideas peculiar to itself, and is more sensitive to an injustice it suffers from than to an injustice it commits. Besides, in a State a minority not only does not count for, but counts against the opinion it holds. If a State has a million of voters, an excess on one side of five hundred, carries the million, and may balance an excess of five hundred thousand, in some other million. That is the disadvantage of the federal plan, which the smaller States were willing to risk, if the benefit of the federal plan accompanied it, the right of judgment as to a breach of faith, and of action upon the judgment; or, if they were satisfied, that with the disappearance of States, man should count for man, then, if an issue passed from words to blows, men would fight as they thought.

Their resolve was expressed in language not to be misunderstood.

Ellsworth was sure, "that to the Eastward, Massachussetts was the only State that would listen to a proposition for excluding the States as equal political societies, from an equal vote in both branches; the others would risk every consequence, rather than part with so dear a right." Bedford (Delaware) said, "the large States dare not dissolve the Confederation. If they do, the small ones will find some foreign ally of more honor and good faith to take them by the hand." Patterson (New Jersey)," would never confederate upon the plan before the Committee, she would be swallowed up first." Luther Martin (Maryland), "no modifications will reconcile the smaller States to any diminution of their equal sovereignty." New York was suspected, unjustly, no doubt, of arming in view of possible contingencies. At this junction, Sherman interposed. "We are now at a full stop; nobody, I suppose, means that we shall break up, without doing something, a committee is likely to hit upon some expedient." As the Convention, without dissent, agreed with Gorham: "That the States, as now confederated, have no doubt a right to refuse to be consolidated, or to be formed into any new system," a committee was appointed. It reported, July 5, the compromise, "That in the second branch each State shall have an equal vote." On the 16th that part of the report was carried by the vote of five States, to four. Massachussetts being divided, did not count. New York, not present, was sure to be added to the majority, and New Hampshire, not yet represented, was equally to be relied on. The next day, Gouverneur Morris moved a reconsideration, which was not seconded, and the only question of principle which had divided the Convention was at rest. The wisdom of the decision became so apparent that, without an effort, it was placed in the Constitution beyond the power of amendment. Wilson and Madison were not only disappointed but dissatisfied, and did not attempt to conceal their feelings. Wilson insisted that the minority had ruled the majority and did not yield to the distinction between a majority not ruling, and being ruled, to which Ellsworth directed his attention. He had been equally insensible, when earlier in the debate Johnson pointed out "that controversy must be endless, while gentlemen differ in the grounds of their argument, those on one side considering the States as districts of people composing one political society, those on the other, considering them as so many political societies. The fact is, that the States do exist as political societies."

Wilson, a very intelligent man, in one respect resembled John Adams, as Franklin described him. His fixed idea seemed to be, that if five men gathered together to discuss a proposed partnership, the right of three to fix the terms was one of the inherent, indisputable, and inalienable rights

of man. He was the successor of that Abbé who when a fact was objected against his theory exclaimed, "So much the worse for the fact," and the predecessor of those who contend that United States does not mean States united, and that Union does not spell Nation. Nothing in the debates arrests attention more than the absence of that which is now so strong, the sentiment of the Union. Gorham said that "the Eastern States had no motive for union but a commercial one. They were able to protect themselves, were not afraid of external danger, and did not need the aid of the Southern States." Butler said, "the interests of the Eastern and Southern States were as different as those of Russia and Turkey." Gouverneur Morris, that "such distinction is fictitious or real: if fictitious let us dismiss it, and proceed with due confidence; if it be real, instead of attempting to blend incompatible things, let us at once take a friendly leave of each other." Ellsworth, that "under a national government he should participate in the national security, but that was all. He turned his eyes therefore, for the preservation of his rights, to the State governments." Wilson, "if the Confederacy should be dissolved, he hoped a majority, nay, a minority of States would unite for safety. He was anxious for uniting the States under one government. He knew that there were respectable men who preferred three Confederacies, united by offensive and defensive alliances. Many things may be plausibly said, some things may be justly said, in favor of such a project. He could not concur in it, but nothing could be so pernicious as bad first principles."

The delegates always spoke as business men, occupied upon a business matter, conscious that in this world nothing is given, and that everything, in some way or other, must be paid for. They knew that a partnership of the States for external defense, the protection of person and property from internal aggressions, and the care and conduct of interests which they had in common, was as desirable as it would be beneficial. To equalize the contribution of each State to a common fund was a subject upon which they differed widely, compromised, agreed, and wrote their agreement in (as they supposed) plain English. From the opening of the session to the close, no State made a claim of right to have, or to be, in a Union. Such a claim would have been preposterous in the face of the fact that the Convention was arranging to cut loose from the Articles of Confederation; because under those Articles, Rhode Island, which had refused to join in the Convention, as well as every other State, had the power to defeat any amendment. Nor does it appear from any utterance that any action of the Convention was considered revolutionary. The right of each State to alter a form of government, or make a new one, was held settled international

law between the States. The foundation of the new system laid—and to lay it had occupied nearly one-third of the time the Convention sat—the superstructure was erected more rapidly, perhaps too rapidly; a little of the antecedent tenacity of Madison would have been fortunate. The character of an Executive gave the Convention much trouble, and exhausted much time. Upon its nature, its functions, its power, the manner and the agency of election, opinions were widely divergent. As no advantage to any State was involved in any of the several modes suggested, received, reconsidered, rejected, restored, or modified, there was no heat in the discussion, and that finally adopted could only claim to be less open to objections than any other. The manner of election has been modified by amendment, and the agency apparently, but not fundamentally, superseded in practice. Although now the elector only registers the decision of a party convention, the office may, in contingencies not difficult to imagine, become of vital importance. Foreign influence upon the executive and the legislature was an object of dread at that period. With our experience, it seems to have been an apprehension almost silly. That foreign influence has affected the United States disastrously is true, but its action has not been upon officials, but upon masses. An English habit of political thought has permeated many of the States, eating out, as a corrosive, American ideas; and that habit of thought, which may be excellent for England, is, or perhaps was, unsuited to the United States, because the basis of government in the two countries differs. "From causes which might be traced in the history and development of English society and government, the general habit and practice of the English mind is compromise. No idea is carried out to more than a small part of its legitimate consequences. Neither in the generality of our speculative thinkers, nor in the practice of the nation, are the principles which are professed ever thoroughly acted upon.

Something always stops the application half-way. This national habit has consequences of very various character, of which the following is one. It is natural to minds governed by habit (which is the character of the English more than any other civilized people), that their tastes and inclinations become accommodated to their habitual practice; and as in England no principle is ever fully carried out, discordance between principle and practice has come to be regarded not only as the natural, but as the desirable state. This is not an epigram or a paradox, but a sober description of the tone of sentiment commonly found in Englishmen. They never feel themselves safe unless they are living under the shadow of some conventional thing—some agreement to say one thing and mean another. The English are fond of boasting that they do not regard the theory, but only

the practice of institutions; but their boast stops short of the truth. They actually prefer that their theory should be at variance with their practice. If any one proposed to them to convert their practice into a theory, he would be scouted. It appears to them to be unnatural and unsafe to do the thing they profess, or to profess the thing they do. A theory which purports to be the very thing intended to be acted on fills them with alarm. It seems to carry with it a boundless extent of unforeseen consequences."

The English are a great people—great because, no matter into how many sects and classes, or by what opinions divided, all worship pluck, and "are jealous of any attempt to exercise power over them not sanctioned by long usage and their own opinion of right, and fond of resisting authority when it steps over prescribed limits." The latter characteristics of Englishmen were the characteristics of the Colonists. Their quarrel with Great Britain was upon rights, and rights depended upon words. A claim to extend or vary in the slightest degree the received meaning of words is a claim to sport with rights. The first-named characteristic of Englishmen has made gradual but steady growth among the descendants of the Colonists, and must soon predominate in all, for if any may be allowed to slip a card with praise and profit, all must, in self defense, learn to be sharpers. The names now most revered are those of men who sought and found escape from the intention of the ideas of 1787, and from the literal meaning of the words in which those ideas were conveyed; while the names of those who held that they were "the very things to be acted on" are passing into oblivion, if not into obloquy. The next question of some difficulty was the ratio of representation in the first branch. Population had been settled as the basis of it, but what constituted population? Two of the Southern States insisted that their slaves were population. Some of the other States contended that they were merely property. Mason, though Virginia would gain by treating them as population, held that it would be unfair to rate them as equal to white men. Gorham settled the contention. The Congress had rated them for purposes of taxation as three for five, and that seemed to him an equally fair proportion for the purpose of representation. When Massachusetts threw her weight into one of balanced scales the result was not doubtful, and the compromise she advocated was adopted. The next sharp discussion was upon the taxation of exports.

It was claimed and opposed, with equal pertinacity, and was finally only settled by a bargain between some of the Northern and some of the Southern States, which embraced the importation of slaves, and navigation.

Virginia and Maryland were eager for a power in the federal government to forbid the importation of slaves. North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia would not agree that such a provision should be included, agreeable as it might be to those States having a surplus of slaves which they were anxious to get rid of at an enhanced price.

The bargain, as consummated, provided that slaves might be imported till 1808, that a duty might be imposed upon the importation, that exports should not be taxed, and that navigation acts might be passed by a majority. In the debate upon the importation of slaves, Virginia and Pennsylvania were warm, not merely enforcing the point, but discussing the moral and economical effects of slavery. North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia showed little heat.

They saw, or thought they saw, that their interest required such a supply of labor, and with the practice of the world, up to that period, favoring their views, would not accept the judgment of two other States as superior to their own. They offered, however, to absolve the other States from any obligation to suppress insurrections, if scruple might thereby be appeased.

Connecticut settled the dispute. Ellsworth said, "let the States import what they please. The morality and wisdom of slavery are considerations for the States themselves. The old Confederation had not meddled with this point, and I cannot see any greater necessity for bringing it within the policy of the new one." Sherman reminded the Convention, "that the States were now in the possession of that right, and as the public good does not require it to be taken from them, it is best to leave the matter as we find it." The next question—how many States should ratify before the new system could begin and exist—was settled without much discussion. Seven, eight, nine, and ten were proposed; nine found favor, no one claiming that any State owed ratification even as a matter of comity to the other States, much less of right. Wilson would have been satisfied with the assent of seven, and King, to prevent the possibility of misinterpretation, moved, and the motion was carried by nine States to one, that the words "between the said States" be added, "after the ratifications of nine States shall be sufficient for the organizing this Constitution . . . so as to confine the operation of the government to the States ratifying it." Such was the bargain which the people of each State, the then recognized source of power, was invited to accept under it. Besides the common profit of a more efficient government, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Virginia would gain power; New Hampshire, New York, Maryland, and Delaware would lose power; Connecticut, New Jersey, and North Carolina would lose power, and gain

commercially; Rhode Island, South Carolina, and Georgia would lose a little more than any of the others.

Hamilton and Madison have been termed the architects of the Constitution. Upon that point Hamilton shall speak for himself. "He had been restrained from entering into the discussions by his dislike of the scheme of government in general, but he meant to support the plan to be recommended, as better than nothing." Madison had been overruled upon the principal points he favored. To those two, however, the Convention is due; and, in addition, the very able advocacy of a compact which disappointed them, and the ratification of it by their respective States, absolutely, through their personal exertions. Though all the States aided in building, Connecticut was the architect. Her delegates were reasoners and debaters. They kept the Convention to the basis of facts, to its purpose, trade, to the certainty that no State would take glass beads for money, and that all must give to get.

The mistake of the Convention—unless it be assumed that the right of secession was recognized as beyond doubt or dispute—the Fallacy of 1787, consisted in not providing for the erection of tribunals *pro re nata* to pass upon the issues of good faith to be raised between State and State; for good faith is the life of any federal system. In the plan of Confederation prepared by Drayton, in 1778, the necessity was appreciated and the details were exhibited. The omission is the more remarkable, as the two latest, and comparatively recent, revolutions in England had turned on that very point, and had demonstrated the importance of an arbitrator upon such a subject. Ship-money was an undoubted prerogative of the Crown, but for a special purpose. The use of it for general taxation was the offense of Charles I. The dispensing power was an undoubted prerogative of the Crown; the use of it to circumvent law was the offense of James II. Using power under a Constitution for purposes not contemplated by a Constitution is a similar offense of a State against a State. The judiciary existing in a federal system, in such a case, not only must be incompetent, but ought to be; for these reasons: It is appointed by men who think one way, out of men who think the same way, and is therefore biased; it is composed of lawyers, who, if saturated as they ought to be with English law, must have caught the mental twist of English judges, and will improve an opportunity to tinker a Constitution; it cannot deal with motive or purpose, no matter how patent or avowed. Take protection. That may be wise or unwise in the abstract, it may be wise or unwise according to circumstances, it may or may not drain one State to enrich another, it may or may not be within

the delegated powers. Every man in the United States may know, what none conceal, that the scope and object of an act is protection; every man must know that as protection is more complete revenue is less. Yet if the act purports to be for revenue, the lie excludes the judicial power. The United States and England had an issue; they referred it to arbitration, both were satisfied, and the world applauded.

If that act was wise, how much more wise would it be for States in a Union to find an arbitrator. If either Congress or elections can decide rights, rights exist only in name. After the Electoral Commission, how can the necessity of such a tribunal be contested? Warned by the example of the United States, no confederation will hereafter be formed without some method of arbitration in which each party shall have an equal voice in the choice of arbitrators; or without a veto, or a stipulated right of secession. For judgment in cases of rights, lawyers are far from indispensable; their sense of honesty is not keener than that of other men, and the rule of right and wrong is so simple, that very ordinary intellects may be trusted to apply it. The Bank would never have troubled federal politics had such a tribunal existed. It would have ascertained that the Convention twice refused the power to incorporate, and it would not have been wiser than the Convention. It would, upon the Fugitive Slave law, have held with Sherman, that the public have no more to do with catching a slave than catching a horse. There would have been no antislavery agitation, for it would have pointed out the Constitutional means of terminating that relation—payment. Private property may be taken for public purposes, on payment. Upon protection, it would have inquired out of whose pocket came higher wages and increased value of property, and, if the answer had been out of the pockets of citizens, would have suggested that confiscation was the proper word. As no such tribunal was constituted, war at some time or other was inevitable. In such a war, by its defeat the South has made a great gain. It no longer holds a wolf by the ears. It is rid of slavery, which benefited the black and injured the white race. It could not get rid of slavery by payment, for that was beyond its means; nor by robbery, because that was beyond its strength. Let us believe that the gain has been universal. "The good old rule, the simple plan," which no political contrivance has more than temporarily superseded, is once more supreme. "The King has come to his own again."

A. W. Clason

THE HOMES OF THE ONEIDAS

In the usual enumeration of the New York Iroquois, the second nation in order of position was the Oneida or "People of the Stone." Less numerous than most of the others, they were not less warlike, and their position in the Revolution made them especially prominent in American history. An Oneida chief is conspicuous in Campbell's "Gertrude of Wyoming," and Skenandoah's name will always be associated with that of the missionary Kirkland. In the annals of the Episcopal Church the Oneida mission formed a picturesque feature in this State, as it even now does in Wisconsin.

The accounts of the villages of this nation are somewhat confused, and it would be a worthy work for some member of the Oneida Historical Society to locate these and describe the spots inhabited. Not having the requisite local knowledge nor full data on which to proceed, I can only state some facts bearing upon the subject.

The accounts in Schoolcraft are vague and misleading, few as they are, though he seems to give Indian traditions with reasonable accuracy. One loses patience with his descriptions and location of sites, so little can be made of them. The general tradition, as recorded by him, is that two persons went out from the Onondagas and settled where the river leaves Oneida Lake. Becoming a tribe there, they removed to the mouth of Oneida Creek, at the east end of the lake, where they built a fort, traces of which are said still to exist. Thence they ascended the valley and dwelt on the hill in Stockbridge, where the Oneida Stone formerly rested. All this he supposes to have been long before the formation of the Iroquois League. Their fourth habitation, he says, was at the present Oneida Castle, and "at this place they lived and held their council-fire when the Dutch, in 1609, discovered and ascended the Hudson River." His error will soon appear.

Other traditions, as those related by Charlevoix and Colden, place the Iroquois first in Canada, and others still west of the Mississippi; but all derive the Oneidas from the Onondagas, of whom they were the "Younger Brothers." Still, an Oneida chief gave me a different arrangement, which might refer to some matters of ceremony rather than origin, or, more probably, he may have misplaced the Onondagas and Oneidas. According to him, the Onondagas, Cayugas, and Tuscaroras were brothers, and their council wampum was purple; the Mohawks, Oneidas, and Senecas were also

brothers, and their council wampum was from one-half to one-third white. With other good authorities, L. H. Morgan enumerates them differently. He says that in councils the Mohawks, Onondagas, and Senecas, being brother nations and fathers to the others, were placed on one side; on the other were ranged the Oneidas, Cayugas, and Tuscaroras, as being their children. This seems the true order. He shares in the mistake of an early date for the present Oneida Castle, and adopts the tradition of a Canadian origin. Good as his accounts of Indian laws and customs are, his map of the Iroquois country is of little practical value.

As a distinct people the Oneidas do not seem at first to have attracted the attention of the Dutch, who divided the Iroquois into Mohawks and Senecas, but the French understood them better. The Huron war and the other Canadian conflicts had enlightened them upon the character of the confederacy and its members; and the Oneida embassy, which visited Quebec in 1653, was clearly distinguished from the other nations. When Father Le Moyne was present at the grand council at Onondaga the following year, he thanked the Oneidas for breaking the bonds that held a captive. An Oneida chief, in replying, gave the French four wampum belts. A little later the Mohawks and Oneidas were distinguished as the Lower Iroquois, and about New Year's, 1657, Chaumonot and Menard were at Oneida for a few days. The preceding spring Dablon had crossed their lake on the ice.

When Father Lallemant described the Iroquois country in 1666, he said that Oneida, lying between the Mohawk country and Onondaga, was not inferior to either. The Jesuits established the mission of St. Francis Xavier there in 1667, and but one village was then mentioned: "The Oneidas' village, which is the second nation of the Lower Iroquois; the least numerous, indeed, but the most insolent of all. We arrived there in the month of September, 1667, to lay the foundation of a new church." This village was more exactly described two years later: "The nation of Oneida is about thirty leagues towards the south and west from the Mohawks. They are of all the Iroquois least tractable; and the arms of the French not having penetrated so far, they fear us only through the experience of their neighbors, the Mohawks."

It is not unlikely that they had small scattered hamlets besides their principal town, as was the case in the other nations, where only those of importance were mentioned. · Allowance also must be made for the inaccuracy of estimated distances in the forest, as when Charlevoix speaks of Onondaga as being but seven or eight leagues west of Oneida, the smallest estimate is made.

Military records often proved more accurate. In the accounts of 1665, preparatory to the hostile expeditions of the French, it is said that, leaving the Mohawks and "proceeding towards the west, at a distance of 45 leagues is found the second nation, called Oneida, which has no more, at most, than 140 warriors, and has never wished to listen to any negotiations for peace; on the contrary, it has always embarrassed affairs when they appeared about to be arranged. Fifteen leagues toward sunset is Onondaga, which has full 300 men."

When Wentworth Greenhalgh rode through the Iroquois country in 1677, he said that the Oneidas had one town one hundred and thirty miles from the Mohawks and twenty miles from a small river rising in the southern hills and flowing into Oneida Lake. It was about thirty miles distant from the Magnaes River, which lies to the northward. Some change had taken place, for the town was newly settled, and had 100 houses and a double stockade, with corn-fields around it. It was thirty-six miles east of Onondaga. His distances are so often incorrect, that, in the light of later events, we might be justified in reading two for twenty, in the distance of the village from what seems to have been Oneida Creek.

Dirk Wessel was the first to mention two Oneida towns, in August, 1693. He left the last Mohawk castle on the 9th and came to the first Oneida on the 10th. On the 11th he reached the second, where he held a council, and which, therefore, must have been the chief town. This he left on the 12th, lodging in the woods, and coming to Onondaga the next day. The first town here mentioned was nearer to the Mohawks than any afterward noted, and could have had no long existence. When Wessel passed through five years later, he left the last Mohawk castle late in the day, lay two nights in the woods, and arrived at Oneida at nightfall on the third day. Later accounts give about the same proportion.

When Onondaga was burned in 1696, Count Frontenac sent Vaudreuil against the Oneidas with 600 men. He left Onondaga, then near Jamesville, at 8 A.M., August 6, and arrived within a league of Oneida before sunset, encamping on the bank of a beautiful river, which must have been Oneida Creek. At dawn they were in sight of the village, and as they were about to enter the corn-fields they met the Oneida deputies. These had sent a messenger to the French on the 5th, proposing peace, and now offered to comply with Frontenac's terms. The French, however, destroyed the fort, the village and the corn, and carried off those who had not fled. The work was light, as compared with that at Onondaga, and the army left there for that place between 9 and 10 on the morning of the 9th, encamping two leagues before reaching it. The distance between the two places

was estimated at fourteen leagues, and the way was over mountains, rivers and streams.

I have little doubt that Oneida was then near Munnsville, there being a burial ground not far off, with many articles of Indian and European work.

Horseback traveling was frequent after this, but the time varied little in the forest paths. Major Schuyler was at Canajoharie May 3, 1711; the next day he made thirty miles, and reached Oneida on the 6th, arriving at Onondaga at 7 P.M. the following day. Colonel Romer's party, in 1700, made much the same time. They left the third Mohawk castle September 20, and arrived at Oneida on the 23d; leaving this on the 25th, they were at Onondaga next day. Returning they set out from that town October 9, arriving the following day at Oneida, where two days were spent in visiting the carrying place at Rome. Three days more brought them to the Mohawks. Bleeker and Schuyler's journey the following year affords about the same figures.

The Oneidas wished to rebuild their fort in 1710, but Sir William Johnson in 1756 selected Onawaraghhare as a better spot. When M. de Belletre went against the German Flats in 1757, and "reached the vicinity of the Oneida Castle," he sent messengers there. This was "the castle at the lake," from which the Indians were afterward disposed to withdraw. Conaghquiesson was then "chief sachem of the upper Oneida town," and the French charged those at the castle at the lake not to let those at the Upper Castle know of their presence. A note to this account of the same date says: "The road goes to the great Oneida village, about two leagues from the lake. A picket fort with four bastions had been constructed in this village by the English. It was destroyed by the Oneidas in observance of their promise given at a council held between them and the Marquis de Vaudreuil. Each of its sides might have been one hundred paces. There is a second Oneida village called the little village, situated on the bank of the lake. There is no fort in the latter."

It is not very clear what fort is here intended. In Vaudreuil's expedition in 1696, he destroyed the Oneida fort, and its construction may have been ascribed to the English, as the Onondaga fort then burned was said to have been built by them. Sir William Johnson had given directions, in April, 1756, for the erection of a stockade for the Oneidas, 120 feet square, and with two block-houses. M. de Vaudreuil was now governor of Canada, but it is hardly probable that so important a work had been burned without more notice by the English, and it is certain that they had no fort a short time before.

On the 15th of July, 1761, Sir William Johnson encamped opposite the royal block-house at the east end of the lake, and the next day went up the creek towards old Oneida Castle, to meet the chiefs of that place, whom he had sent for, but they did not come. On Guy Johnson's map of 1771 the Oneida town is apparently on Oriskany Creek. He was at the Upper Castle Novembe r30, 1762, and the next day at Canowaraghare, a new village. Thence he went to the Tuscarora town of Canaseraga, and two days later arrived at Onondaga, then in the valley of that name. On Tryon's fine map of 1779, but made for his report of 1774, the "new Oneyda Castle" is placed on Oneida Creek, three miles from the lake; Canowaraghare eight miles farther up the stream, and the "old Oneyda Castle" four miles east of this, on the south side of a hill between the Oneida and Oriskany creeks.

The Reverend Charles Inglis, in 1771, wrote a memorial concerning the Iroquois to Lord Hillsborough, accompanied by a map. His distances are plainly of a general nature, but were derived from Sir William Johnson. Canajoharie, or as it may be more exactly rendered, Ga-ne-ga-ha-e, was then the western or upper Mohawk Castle; the other being at Fort Hunter. The Mohawk villagers, like the others, changed in number and location at times, and some latitude must be allowed in reckoning from them. At this time Canajoharie was west of the present village of that name, being at Indian Castle in the town of Danube. In 1763, the Mohawks having greatly diminished, Sir William Johnson said they had but two villages, Fort Hunter and Canajoharie, with a few emigrants at Schoharie, sixteen miles from Fort Hunter. The Reverend Mr. Inglis says, "The Oneidas are situated eighty miles west from the Mohawks, and have two villages containing six hundred souls. Next to the Oneidas are the Onondagas, at the distance of forty miles westward." On his map, also, Oneida is placed on Oriskany Creek, though almost touching Oneida Creek, which is made very short.

Some of these things are now mentioned thus minutely because of a puzzling statement made by Sir William in 1763, quite inconsistent with apparent facts and his own writings elsewhere. In his list of the Six Nations he says, "Oneidas. Two villages, one 25 miles from Fort Stanwix; the other 12 miles west of Oneida lake, with emigrants in several places towards the Susquehanna River." Had this village been thus situated, it would have been far within the territory of the Onondagas, and indeed west of the Seneca River. Nor is the matter mended by a recent writer, who says this village was on the Oneida River, then called the Onondaga, for it is easily proved that no such village existed there. The

truth seems to be that there was a mistake somehow made in a very small word. Change *of* to *at*, and it would read "the other twelve miles west *at* Oneida Lake," which agrees with other facts. That there was no village on the river is plainly proved by many journals kept by travelers.

In an interesting article on Oneida missions, recently published by a daughter of James Fenimore Cooper, it is said that the principal Oneida village was by a spring in the valley, below the hill on which rested the Oneida Stone, now in Forest Hill Cemetery in Utica. It is very probable, but I think a fort site described in the south-west part of Stockbridge may prove an earlier Oneida habitation; and another, on the hills south of Oneida Castle, may mark another period of their history. Several sites might be expected in the historic period, for Indian villages could not remain on the same spot for a long series of years.

But there seem to have been several Oneida Stones. Schoolcraft saw two, at least. Kirkland, in his long mission, seems not to have known of the one now at Utica. I have been credibly informed that the Indians took one with them to Green Bay, which, therefore, could not have been of very large size. Kirkland mentions one which stood before the door of an old chief, which was cylindrical, unlike any stones about there, and weighed over two hundred pounds. In his time the Indians reverenced it highly, and he was a strong man who could carry it forty rods without resting. To place it in the fork of a tree made a warrior invincible. This recalls the symbol of the tribe described by Johnson at Lake George. As their emblem the Oneidas lifted a stone into the crotch of a tree.

When the Moravian missionary Zeisberger came to Onondaga about the middle of the last century, there were five Tuscarora villages on the main road between there and Oneida. He held a council at the latter place in 1752, and stopped a number of times at the house of Kash, a Dutch trader in the Oneida country, who employed the Indians to dig ginseng. Some of the Moravian missionaries were adopted by the Oneidas, but none lived among them.

There were several British forts in the vicinity of the present city of Rome. From one of these, Fort Williams, two roads slightly diverged in 1757 to the two Oneida villages; the one southerly to Oneida, and the other southwesterly to Canawayroharry, if we follow the varying spelling. It would thus seem that the "castle at the lake" should be understood as intended for the present Oneida Castle, that being its Indian name.

The Reverend Mr. Kirkland came to Johnson Hall in January, 1765, and went thence to the Senecas, visiting the Onondagas on the way. On his return he resolved to remain with the Oneidas, who had invited him to

spend a year with them as he went west. His journal gives no hint of a village on the Oneida River, which he would have rejoiced to find, as he returned half starved. With his narrative we find a change from the Mohawk to the Oneida pronunciation of the name of the new town, Kannonwahale, now Oneida Castle. It had become the principal village, and he established himself there in 1766. It was composed mainly of log cabins and bark wigwams, and was burned during the Revolution. It was afterwards rebuilt, and in 1785 Mr. Kirkland speaks of both "old Oneida and Kannonwahale." The religious awakening of 1786 was mainly at the former. A little earlier Jacob Reed taught at the same place; Caulkins at Kannonwahale; and Occum at one of the Tuscarora villages. At a later day Kirkland lived on his own land near Clinton, several miles from the old castle. Life at the Oneida Castle then was somewhat like it is now at Onondaga: a mixture of Christianity and paganism, of barbarity and civilization, though all had an earlier character. In such a life there was much which now seems picturesque, but which must have been very trying at the time. After the burning of their villages the Oneidas lived near Schenectady until the close of the war, when they returned to their desolated homes, sadly demoralized.

Perhaps no one of the Five Nations exercised hospitality on so large a scale as they did. The Tuscaroras found a home among them, when they were driven from North Carolina in 1712, and therefore termed them "Elder Brothers." They were placed in the western part of their territory, with their principal town at Canaseraga. On a hill overlooking one of the Tuscarora towns Sir William Johnson proposed to build a fort for them; and it was on a wooded hill, a quarter of a mile east of the Tuscarora village of Anajot, that Zeisberger, Rundt, and Mack sang their parting hyms on an August morning in 1752. The Nanticoke Indians settled on their lands in 1753, and they agreed to receive the Montauks at the new castle in 1774. Some of these were included among the Brotherton Indians, who were given homes in Marshall and Kirkland, just before the Revolution. These were remnants of New England, Hudson River, and Long Island tribes, who have now gone west. They lived on Oriskany Creek. At a later day they also received the Mohegans, or Stockbridgers of Massachusetts, who gave their name to the town in which they settled.

These last progressed finely for a time, having brought their missionary, the Reverend Mr. Sergeant, with them from Massachusetts. More exactly, they are the Moheakunnuks, and the Oneidas gave them six miles square of their lands. After the Revolution the Tuscaroras went to the western

part of New York, where most of them still remain. In 1818 there were 1,031 Oneidas living on a reservation of 20,000 acres; and 438 Stockbridges on a reservation of 17,000 acres. Very few now remain.

It is no part of my present purpose to give a history of the various missions among the Oneidas, full of picturesque incidents as that history might prove. The thought in my mind was of their various homes at different times. Like all the other Indian nations, they changed them many times, but always within their own territory. What that territory was it is not easy to say, and at an early day the boundaries must have been very indefinite. When Father Chaumonot arrived at the mouth of Famine or Salmon River, in October, 1655, he says that the fishing village there furnished salmon in abundance for Onondaga. This, he says, "was our first stopping place in the country of the Onondagas." At Oneida River he found another Onondaga village, Tethiroguen, but adds, "Oneida village, one of the Iroquois nations, is above this lake, which in its construction makes the River Tethiroguen."

Although Oneida River would seem to have belonged to the Onondagas, for many reasons, yet on Morgan's map of the Iroquois country the line bends so as to throw the whole of the lake and part of the river into the territory of the Oneidas. He grounds this on a passage in the treaty of Fort Stanwix, which reserves a fishing place and convenient piece of land to the Oneidas, three miles west of the lake. This may have been a reservation merely of a common right, involving no territorial ownership, for the Onondagas gave the right to build Fort Breverton, as the Oneidas granted permission to erect those at the other end of the lake. But I find no such reservation on any map, while I do find one placed on the north shore of the lake, just west of Constantia, which must have been on Oneida lands, and may have been the one in question. I can make no present reference to the treaty, but observe that Vanderkemp, in 1792, met many Oneidas spearing on the lake, and none on the river.

The same writer, speaking apparently of this spot on the lake, says that Colonel Lewis, an Oneida, left nothing untried, after the war, to have it secured to him individually, " and that the Indians, when afterward a French adventurer, one Chevalier Bennett, had obtained the possession, did give him in lieu of it 60,000 acres near Cataraqui." So highly did they esteem this spot.

Vanderkemp's note on this eel fishery is a pleasant one. They sat by their camp fire on the northern shore. "We were, a little after sunset, suddenly surprised at a number of fires in a semicircular form on the lake. I numbered nine, others several more. These were made by the Oneida In-

dians, spearing eels. They are usually two or three in a canoe, one steersman, one who spears in the bow; the third takes care of the fires, made from dry, easily flaming wood, in a hollow piece of bark, first covered with sand." He persistently calls the outlet of the lake the Onondaga River, and one of its tributaries Fish Creek or Oneida River.

The same traveler came to a merry camp of some hundreds of Oneidas, near Whitesboro, assembled to receive their bounty, and he notes that many of them spoke and wrote English correctly. He also adds that many of the Oneidas in former days lived on the Oriskany Creek, two miles from Whitesboro. They sold corn to the settlers, and from their choice apple trees furnished them grafts.

It would seem that the Oneidas lived but little in the country named after them, there being a wide space between their villages and those of the Mohawks. Their homes were mostly on the western border and in Madison County. From Clinton the old castle was but a moderate distance west, for when Kirkland met with a serious accident as he was on his way to preach there one Sunday morning, he went on and held services.

It is unfortunate that Morgan's map and descriptions, in his "League of the Iroquois," are utterly useless in this, as in many like cases. The old historic towns were south of Rome, and south and east of what is now called Oneida Castle. It would seem that the one inhabited in the eighteenth century might have been in the Oriskany valley; the one occupied in the preceding century would be looked for far up the valley of the Oneida Creek. Here, too, we would look for early villages, of which we have no account at all. The notes of early travelers help us only in a broad way, and their miles and leagues are often but a source of perplexity. In a general way we would say that old Oneida was three-fourths of the distance from the upper Mohawk castle to Onondaga.

Unrecorded removals there doubtless were, but the general situation did not greatly change. Along the Oneida valley, and perhaps one or two streams a little to the east, are we to look for the early homes of the "People of the Stone." And it would seem that some local antiquarian, from accessible records and personal examination of sites, might place the whole in a clear light. It may be a matter of curiosity merely, but it is a satisfaction to know where to place some early events, connecting them with our hills and valleys, our lakes and rivers.

W. M. Beauchamp

A GLASTONBURY MEDAL

Two years ago I contributed to the *Magazine of American History* a description of a somewhat remarkable copper found in Waterville, Maine, which bore the inscription, *Pro Patria et Avalonia.* It was natural to endeavor to connect a medal so inscribed, and found on this side of the Atlantic, with the only American Avalon, Lord Baltimore's province in Newfoundland, and some reasons, apparently supporting that conjecture, were given; but the substance of the article was an historical sketch of Lord Baltimore's career, and particularly of his attempt to plant a colony at Ferryland. This incident lies a little out of the line of inquiry hitherto pursued by American historians, and it appeared that three different dates had been given for the termination of the enterprise. Mr. Lodge, following Sparks, says that Lord Baltimore abandoned Avalon in 1628; Mr. Bancroft, in 1629; and Mr. Lossing, in 1630. It occurred to me that this date might easily be determined, and other interesting particulars might probably be obtained, by an examination of the contemporary records, published in the Calendar of British Colonial Papers of the period. In this expectation I was not disappointed, and the result of a special study of those papers, fortified by such collateral evidence as was to be found in the library of the Maine Historical Society, appeared in the *Magazine of American History* for September, 1883.

The Waterville copper served as a text for an historical article, published in an historical magazine. The theory about the copper was, and was avowed to be, purely conjectural, and it is not surprising to learn that it cannot be maintained. It *was* surprising, however, to read the following paragraph in the *American Journal of Numismatics* for October, 1883:

AVALONIA PATTERN-PIECE

The September number of the *Magazine of American History* contains a strong illustration of the folly of any other than a professional undertaking to write on numismatics. In June, 1880, a curious copper, certainly not a coin, but hardly a medal, was dug up in Waterville, Me., and Mr. H. W. Richardson writes seventeen pages on the supposition that it is a pattern for a coinage of the first Lord Baltimore, for his province of Avalonia or Newfoundland. Fortunately a cut of the piece is given, which enables one to show with absolute certainty the absurdity of the supposition. I have two specimens of the medal or token, which is probably quite uncommon. It dates from about 1800, but its

origin and purpose are quite unknown to me. It certainly relates to Avalonia and to Music. Possibly it commemorates the establishment in Newfoundland of some musical society, apparently of Roman Catholic origin. But this is mere conjecture, and I see nothing in the piece itself to help one further. W. S. APPLETON.

This paragraph illustrates Pinkerton's regretful remark, that "the conversation of some medalists is commonly vehement about trifles." Pinkerton further says: "Like other pedants, they are fierce and stern; for there are many analogies between men and other animals, and none stronger than this, that they get fierce from being kept in the dark." Mr. Appleton, whose business it is to know something about this copper, is completely in the dark about it, but nevertheless resents a passing word on the subject as if it had been a personal injury. Nor was it quite ingenuous for him to talk of "seventeen pages" devoted to the medal! *That* was disposed of in four pages, and the remainder of the article dealt with Lord Baltimore and his adventures.

Some allowance must be made, perhaps, for the natural sensitiveness of a professional numismatist, who has two specimens of a quite uncommon medal or token in his cabinet, and knows absolutely nothing about them. Horace tells of a certain Athenian numismatist (quidam Athenis sordidus), who found himself in a similar situation, but consoled himself with the reflection,

Populus me sibilat, at mihi plaudo
Ipse domi, simul ac nummos contemplor in arca;

but Mr. Appleton is not so easily satisfied. The contemplation of the pieces is pleasant, no doubt; but it is unpleasant to reflect that he might properly be expected to know what they are and whence they came, and that a medalist who is unacquainted with his own medals may naturally become an object of popular derision.

Taking this charitable view of the case, it seemed to me a friendly undertaking to try to learn something definite about the piece, for Mr. Appleton's benefit; and the first thing to do was, evidently, to test his conjecture, that possibly the copper commemorates the establishment of some musical society in Newfoundland. So a letter was addressed to an intelligent gentleman at St. John's—the Reverend Mr. Harvey, in fact, author of a recent history of Newfoundland—and he replied, after careful inquiry, that the piece was wholly unknown there; and, furthermore, that no occasion could be recalled during the last hundred years when such a medal might have been struck in or for Newfoundland. If it had anything to do with that island, he thought it was probably issued by the first Lord Baltimore, or by his descendants, when they renewed their claim to the Newfoundland estate.

Mr. Appleton's professional conjecture having failed, I sent a photograph of the piece to an American friend who happened to be in London, hoping that it might be identified at the British Museum, or possibly at the Mint. My friend went accordingly to the Museum, and after vainly inspecting the array of coins and medals and examining the plates in Snelling's folio and Ruding's quartos, appealed finally to Mr. Poole himself. Mr. Poole surveyed the photograph carefully, first with the naked eye and afterward with a magnifier, and then declared that the piece was not in the collection at the Museum, and that he had never seen it or heard of it. At a subsequent interview with another person, he ventured the opinion that it might have something to do with Maryland.

Armed with a letter from Mr. Lowell, my friend called next on Mr. Freemantle at the Mint; but Mr. Freemantle, like Mr. Poole, had never seen the medal, and was sure it was not in the collection at the Mint, which, he added, had been culled pretty thoroughly for the Museum. He thought, however, that Mr. Webster, No. 16 Bedford Square, who is not only a dealer but an expert in coins, might possibly throw some light upon the mystery, and kindly offered to give my friend a letter to Mr. Webster.

Mr. Webster was not at home, but his son, also an expert numismatist, looked at the photograph, and remarked that the copper was probably "an eighteenth century mule," meaning a medal made by using a die of one piece for the obverse and of another for the reverse. This professional conjecture proved to be as erroneous as Mr. Appleton's. The elder Webster entered presently and scrutinized the photograph. "I remember it," he said, "but I can't say where it was made—likely in England." Meanwhile the son was diligently ransacking the library; and at last, after some talk about the English Avalon, now Glastonbury, he triumphantly produced "a Catalogue of Provincial Copper Coins, Tokens, Tickets, and Medalets issued in Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies, during the 18th and 19th Centuries. Described from the originals in the collection of Sir George Chetwynd, Bart., of Grendon Hall, County of Warwick. By Thomas Sharp. London: Privately printed by J. B. Nichols & Son, 25 Parliament Street, 1834," and there, on page 196, was this description, which may be compared here with the medal itself.

So the medal was run down at last—found in a Warwickshire collection, and there accurately described fifty years ago by Thomas Sharp, the Coventry antiquary.

The piece belongs not to the American but to the English Avalon—

> To Glastonbury, where the winter thorn
> Blossoms at Christmas, mindful of our Lord—

GLASTONBURY.

O. A lyre between laurel branches. "Orpheus" inscribed on the base of the lyre. *Leg.* "*ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝ ΜΗΝ ΑΗΡ.*"

R. Arms of the Abbey of Glastonbury in a shield surmounted by a crozier, mitre and processional crucifix; beneath, a single thorn and sprig of hawthorn in blossom. *Leg.* "Pro Patria et Avalonia." *Lower Leg.* "Spina Sanctus."

E. Engrailed. *P. Wyon.*

hence, *spina sanctus*, "sanctified by the thorn," which St. Joseph of Arimathea brought thither from the Holy Land and planted on Weary All Hill, where he rested. The spot is marked by a stone, but the miraculous thorn has long since disappeared, though its descendants are still pointed out in the gardens of Glastonbury. The Saint brought to Glastonbury the Holy Grail—

> The cup, the cup itself from which our Lord
> Drank at the last sad supper with his own—

and the thorn was the staff which stayed his steps during the long pilgrimage.

> And there he built, with wattles from the marsh,
> A little lonely church in days of yore,

the legend says, and so was founded the famous abbey where King Arthur and Queen Guinevere were buried. A marsh intersects the peninsula formed by the winding of the River Brue, and was once traversed by a portion of the stream; and orchards of ruddy apples still justify the name *Avalonia*, which the Romans gave to the island.

The Coventry antiquary tells not only where the medal belongs, but who made it. The engraver's name is P. Wyon, and the Wyons are well known to all who are even slightly acquainted with the history of the English coinage. Of German origin, the English family for five or six generations have been silver chasers, medalists, and engravers. Edward

Wyon is, or was, a sculptor. His elder brother, Thomas, designed the celebrated coinage of 1816, and died prematurely the next year. William Wyon, R.A., cousin to Thomas, became chief engraver of the Royal Mint in 1828. His father, Peter Wyon, also a medalist, was employed by Mr. Boulton at Soho, near Birmingham, about the close of the last century, and there and then, doubtless, cut the dies for the Glastonbury token. Much of his work was that of an ordinary die-sinker, but he designed several medals of genuine artistic merit, the best being a large medallion of Mr. Boulton.

Mr. Boulton, as everybody knows, was James Watt's patron. They formed a partnership, in 1773, for the construction of steam-engines at Boulton's Steel Works, near Birmingham. Together they afterward invented and perfected steam machinery for coining, and in July, 1797, contracted to coin 500 tons of copper into pennies, to replace the swarm of tradesmen's tokens then in circulation. This first lot of copper was supplied by the government, but afterward the copper coinage was confided wholly to the contractors, and Mr. Boulton made his own purchases, delivering the finished coins at a lower rate than the government could otherwise have secured. Watt retired from the business in 1800, and Boulton died in 1809, but their successors erected the machinery in the Tower of London for the new coinage of 1816.

Messrs. Boulton and Watt had considered thoroughly the dangers to which a public coinage is exposed. Their pennies had engrailed or indented edges, to prevent clipping or filing, and raised borders to protect the device from wear. Both of these characteristics appear in the Glastonbury medal, which is furthermore of the exact weight of the copper penny of the period—one twenty-fourth of a pound avoirdupois. It is reasonably certain, therefore, that the piece was executed at Soho after, but probably not long after, the coinage of 1797.

This, however, is only an inference from the testimony of Thomas Sharp, who did not claim to be a professional numismatist. Sharp was, in fact, a hatter, and worked at his trade till he was over sixty years old. The book that made him famous was "A Dissertation on the Pageants or Dramatic Mysteries Anciently Performed at Coventry by the Trading Companies of that City." Afterward he wrote "An Epitome of the History of Warwickshire." The catalogue of Sir George Chetwynd's collection of coins appears to have been his only excursion into the field upon which, as Mr. Appleton remarks, it is folly for any other than a professional to intrude. If we are to be restricted to professional opinions, the reader may have his choice of three: Mr. Appleton's, that the medal was per-

haps struck for some musical society in Newfoundland; Mr. Poole's, that it may have something to do with Maryland; and the younger Webster's, that it is an eighteenth century mule.

It should be stated, however, that Mr. Sharp's record has been in a measure confirmed by inquiry at Glastonbury. Some of the older people there remember vaguely a musical association called the Orpheus Society, and the Glastonbury antiquarians are of the opinion that the medal was either a badge of membership, or a concert ticket struck for that association; but no specimens are preserved there, and no record has been found of the occasion for which the piece was designed. Nor can any information be obtained concerning the special significance of the principal legends. *Pro Patria et Avalonia* may have been the motto of the society; and *Ἄριστον μὴν ἀὴρ* is an obvious travesty of Pindar's *Ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ*, but nobody now knows what the Orpheus Society meant by it.

As the piece was made in Warwickshire, it is not surprising to find a specimen in a Warwickshire collection. It is remarkable, however, that it should now be unknown in Glastonbury, while two specimens are in the collection of the Boston Numismatic Society, and two have been found in Maine. Another has come to light since the Waterville specimen was described.

H. W. Richardson

MINOR TOPICS

CRITICAL NOTICE

THE pleasantly told story of Mr. W. Barrows, in the April number of this Magazine, while it gives many truths regarding ancient Chicago, as well as various plausible or supposed views of the early locality, yet presents not a few statements as facts, which if incorrect, as I think might be shown, it may be well perhaps to make a note of some of them.

Mr. Barrows says: "When Marquette, in his Christian mission, lay ill in his cabin, at the Portage de Chicagau and mouth of the Calumet, in the winter of 1674–5, the fur traders came to his relief." The words "and mouth of the Calumet" make the above sentence one without meaning. The Chicago Portage and the mouth of the Calumet River were at least ten miles apart. Concerning the fort at Chicago, referred to in 1718 by Judge James Logan, Mr. Barrows would seem to ignore its existence, and says: "Of the history of this fort there are no extant records yet found, and at the Council for the Treaty of Greenville, 1795, no Indian could give information concerning its origin." This fort was the same, we have no reason to doubt, as the one built by M. De la Durantaye, at Chicago, in 1685. It was still French territory here, when thirty-three years afterward, in 1718, Judge Logan said: "This fort is not regularly garrisoned." If, at the Treaty of Greenville, the Indians were asked (which I much doubt) if they knew anything of the origin of that fort, it is not surprising that they recalled nothing after one hundred and ten years of wars, removals and the various other vicissitudes of Indian life had been encountered.

Mr. Barrows seems to claim for one shadowy incident undeserved importance. He asserts: "The earliest trace of any occupant at Chicago is that of Guarie, a Frenchman, the corn-hills of whose cabin patch were traceable in 1818, though overgrown with grass. He located there prior to 1778, and had his hut on the river bank, near where Fulton street meets it." The only source of any knowledge which we have relating to a trader of the name Gary or Guarie, from whom no doubt the north branch of the Chicago River at some time to some extent was called, is what has been told by Colonel Gurdon S. Hubbard. This information is very slight, indefinite, and uncertain. When it was that Guarie dwelt there, or exactly where, and how long he tarried, was a matter of guess. The "corn-hills" suggested to have been those of Guarie, it would seem there are stronger reasons to suppose were Indian rather than French marks upon the soil. The dusky maids and matrons of the native tribes, from time immemorial, had been the corn-producers who helped to feed their people, as well as to furnish bread-stuffs to the roving French voyageurs, and other fur traders' assistants.

But has Mr. Barrows forgotten that Marquette and La Salle and Tonty, as well as many others, were here long before the misty Guarie? Mr. Barrows mistakes the name "Porthier" for *Parker, Gerard and Ogilvy*, not of "Mackinaw" but Montreal. Referring to the trading house or factory established by the United States at Chicago, Mr. Barrows says: "It was also the plan of the government to draw, through such agencies, the Indian trade under its own control, and shield the Indian from the corruptions and abuses of the Indian traders. But the system failed. The agents selected from the East in the way of favor, ignorant of Indian and border life, proved no match for the old border traders and wily half-breeds."

Mr. Barrows seems not to perceive the cause of the failure of the humane design of the government, which sought to pay the Indians fair prices for their products, and to sell them goods at honest rates. It must be readily seen, that if the government factories at Chicago, Green Bay and other points should succeed, the other dealers with the natives must retire. Hence it was that the whole army of fur traders, great and small, throughout the Northwest opposed in every possible way this well-meant scheme of the government. The heavy dealers with the persuasives of wealth, and the lesser ones in numerous other ways, strove in the wilderness or at Washington to crush the benevolent effort. Whiskey was an article extensively used by the traders, illegally of course, yet means were found to bring it to the lips of the desperate and doomed Indian. If the government had the force sufficient to suppress the traffic, it certainly failed to exert it.

Mr. Barrows' words of detraction, applied to the factor here, were undeserved; he was by no means "ignorant," and was not accountable for the cost of goods shipped to him from the head of the department. The importance of "competitive examination" for the office named, where the test of ability and fitness must consist, in great measure, in the skill and practice of the buffoonery of Indian life, I cannot concur in. "For four years," says Mr. Barrows, "the charred remains of the government buildings lay untouched, and the five cabins—all there was of Chicago as a settlement—stood vacant."

Before Captain Bradley arrived in 1816, Antoine Ouilmette and Alexander Robinson *had* touched the remains of the government buildings, stirred up the ashes and cultivated a crop (perhaps more than one) of Indian corn upon their site. Therefore it cannot be supposed that the "five cabins" stood vacant four years. The Kinzie cabin also was occupied a part, if not the most, of the four years.

Mr. Barrows says: "The Methodists were first on the ground, as is usual on the frontier, always excepting the Jesuits, where there are Indian and Canadian villages." The Methodists were early at Chicago, yet before they arrived here the first sermon ever preached at Chicago, of which we have any account, was delivered there on 9th October, 1825, by Reverend Isaac McCoy, a Baptist, the founder of the Indian Mission School at Carey, near Niles, Michigan. "After the rebuilding of the fort, Astor's fur-trading schooner began to visit the lonely town, sitting there

among the innumerable water fowl, once or twice a year. Excepting canoes and batteaux, this was the only water craft that greeted it for many years."

So Mr. Barrows says. As the writer of this criticism is gathering material for a history of our early lake navigation, he would be much pleased to learn the name of that "only water craft." I very much doubt, however, if Mr. Astor or the American Fur Company (which company represented the enterprise and capital of John Jacob Astor) owned any vessel navigating the lakes during several years, perhaps a full decade, following the reconstruction of Fort Dearborn in 1817. Vessels, however, were not difficult to be found, as the ports of Lake Erie and Detroit supplied not a few. In 1822 the American Fur Company had correspondence regarding the purchase of a vessel, but the matter was dropped.

Lake Michigan and Chicago, it would seem, were not quite so isolated as Mr. Barrows would have us think. Within five years from the one above named (1817) more than a score of sail vessels and one steamboat were to be seen on Lake Michigan, and in one of those years a half dozen vessels from below arrived at Chicago. The schooner *Hercules*, which left Chicago on the evening of October 2, 1818, met, not many hours afterward, the terrible gale which caused her destruction, with all on board. Lieutenant Eveleth, of the United States Engineers, was a passenger on the vessel. The lake vessels of that day were not of best models, and were often badly equipped; there were no light-houses, no improved harbors, and the river mouths were usually barred with sand; yet the lake navigators as a class, then, as since, were brave and adventurous men. HENRY H. HURLBUT

CHICAGO, *July* 16, 1885.

ADVENTUROUS ESCAPE FROM PRISON LIFE

AN INCIDENT OF THE LATE CIVIL WAR

Prison life was distressingly wearisome to me—not at all suited to my tastes—and I never missed any opportunity to engage in an enterprise which offered a chance to escape from the enforced thralldom. Time and time again had I labored at "tunneling," in order to effect my release and gain the freedom for which I constantly panted. At Macon and Savannah, I had toiled unremittingly each night in burrowing under the earth, but all my labors and plans were brought to naught by the vigilance of our keepers or the treachery of my own comrades. At length six hundred officers were transferred to the jail-yard at Charleston—a fetid place, where life became almost intolerable, and from which it was useless to attempt to escape, so closely were we guarded, so vigilantly watched. Yellow fever prevailed, and this terror, with the constantly bursting shells overhead, rendered our situation decidedly unenviable and distressing. At an early hour in the morning of October 6, 1864, we were ordered to leave the yard, and as none of us were troubled with a superfluity of baggage, no time was necessary, or permitted, for preparation. In less than an hour we had embarked upon a train of fifty cars, drawn by a wheezing

and rickety old locomotive, and were whirling away from the pestilential city by the sea. Our condition could scarcely become worse, and there was a chance of its being bettered, hence we had no regret at leaving the birthplace of rebellion. My heart bled for our poor enlisted men, whom I saw lying in a camp just outside the city's limits, where our locomotive stopped for wood and water. Their condition was pitiable in the extreme, and I can imagine the "black hole of Calcutta" to have been a paradise in comparison. Although our own condition was distressing, half-starved and in rags as we were, many of us sick and unable to stand, yet our hearts went out in sympathy to those brave and unfortunate fellows whom the fortunes of war had placed in such terrible circumstances. The hideousness of that camp—on what was once a race-course—and the misery of its dwellers, will never be effaced from my remembrance.

Captain Harry H. Todd, Captain J. E. Lewis, Captain Alfred Grant and myself, *compagnons du voyage*, had previously agreed that on leaving the jail-yard, we should go together, and attempt an escape at the first opportunity. Accordingly, we took passage in the box car immediately preceding the "caboose," which contained the reserve guard, and made ourselves as agreeable as possible with the good-natured sergeant and the six armed guards who accompanied him. As we had made up our minds to head for the mountains of North Carolina and Kentucky, we were in no hurry to leave the amiable sergeant, since the train was proceeding in the right direction for the purpose we had in view. The destination of the prisoners, we learned, was Columbia, and having no desire to visit that place, we at length gained a position near the open doors on the right side of the car, and awaited developments. During the day I had amused myself, greatly to the terror of my comrades, by removing the percussion-caps from the nipples of their rifles. I did this in order that no harm might befall us while in the act of jumping from the train, and also that no alarm might be given by discharging them. The last cap which I removed I gave to Captain James Belger, Rhode Island's famous artillerist, by whose side I had stood in many battles. The shades of night were beginning to envelop the earth as our train crossed the long and dilapidated wooden structure which spanned the Congaree River—a short distance above its confluence with the Wateree—the point we had agreed upon as the most available for the successful accomplishment of our designs. It appeared as if the train would never reach the opposite side, so great was our anxiety, so terrible our suspense. It would be useless to affirm that my mind at this particular moment was calm and serene, or that I had no misgivings as to what the result of our frightful leap might be—a very hazardous undertaking in the opinion of the comrades we had determined to leave behind. But the intense excitement into which our minds had been thrown—the resolve to seek liberty and freedom, and home and friends—overcame the sense of peril, and the instant that Todd signaled (by a cough), we each sprang from the car. We had no time to reflect upon the terrors of our new situation. Fortune so far had favored us—that was sufficient But those rifle flashes (we could scarcely

hear the reports, the train was so distant) warned us that if we would have perfect freedom, much remained to be done. This reflection stimulated us to renewed effort, and without parleying, we struck off into the dense cypress swamp which lined the right bank of the Wateree River, and throughout the long and disagreeable night we heard the loud baying of blood-hounds, and the voices of our excited pursuers—a heavy rain-storm adding to our discomforts. Almost breathless we remained in that swamp until the next evening, when, hearing no human sounds, we emerged therefrom, and, taking a northerly course along the wooded skirts of a beautiful plantation, we commenced our journey for what all Union prisoners of war denominated "God's country," which we only reached after enduring severe privations and incredible hardships during a tramp through the Carolinas and Tennessee—a distance of one thousand miles—pronounced by all to be the greatest escape made during the war for the Union.

J. MADISON DRAKE

ELIZABETH, N. J., *August* 28, 1885.

A REVOLUTIONARY RELIC

For several years past the American people have been developing an admiration for antiques. Old and rare books, engravings, furniture, clocks, and all implements and machines as they were used a century ago have come to be in demand, and frequently bring fabulous prices. Revolutionary relics, such as swords, guns, powder horns and many other things actually in use during the war, are gathered up for the adornment of museums or to complete private collections.

The field of research for such treasures, though somewhat narrowed by the lapse of years, is not wholly confined to the United States or to the western continent, but wherever civilization is or has been, much may be found to represent the people and the time when they lived, from which profitable instruction may be derived, and by which the avenues of thought may be broadened, for the benefit of mankind.

Many a valuable lesson has been learned from impressions made in pre-historic times by the forces of Nature upon Nature itself, or through the agency of animal life. Cities long ago made desolate by volcano or flood have been exposed to view, showing the advanced condition of an ancient race, in art, science, and social life. These researches tend to expand the already liberal views of a thinking people, and when the old past is contrasted with the new present, under the light of modern science, loftier aspirations take possession of the mind, and with a firmer step we advance in the right direction into new and hitherto untrodden fields.

The relics of the American Revolution are numerous and interesting—too numerous to be even mentioned in the form of a catalogue for magazine publication, consequently, I only desire to call the attention of the reader to a single survivor of revolutionary days, which to my mind is one of the most interesting and best

preserved reminders of our struggle for freedom, a century ago, that can be found on the American continent.

When Burgoyne's army was defeated at Bennington and captured at Saratoga, the prisoners, 5,804 in number, were sent to Cambridge, Massachusetts, and from thence to Worcester County, where they were quartered about a mile westerly from Rutland Center. Barracks were there built, the foundations of which may now be seen. The guard-house is still standing, and although occupied by a family is not much changed from its original condition.

The stockade is entirely gone except that a few of the cedar pickets have been preserved by Mr. James A. Smith, an antiquary and a native of Rutland.

At this place the prisoners had to bring their water in buckets, for domestic use, some forty rods up considerable of a hill, and they complained of this hardship to their commander, Captain William Tucker, of Charlton, Massachusetts, who informed them that this labor was solely for their own comfort, and that they might omit it if they so desired. They then asked permission to dig a well, which was granted, and the work was at once commenced and carried forward to completion. This well is located in a cultivated field on high land, and is said to be seventy-two feet deep, measuring ten feet in diameter at the top.

It is stoned up in the best possible manner, showing no signs of dilapidation, and is probably the best specimen of an ancient well in this country. It is said to contain thirty feet of water.

The night before the prisoners took their departure for the South, they held high carnival in Rutland, and threw into this well all the cooking utensils and other movable articles about the barracks, and a few years ago the person who occupied the farm where the well is located undertook to fill it up with stones and rubbish collected about the fields, and many cartloads were tipped into it, but there were not loose stones enough in that section to fill it within twenty feet of the top.

Many a choice relic now lies at the bottom of this well, under the filling so industriously and rudely heaped upon it by the penurious farmer.

The town of Rutland ought to take possession of these premises, clean out the well and erect a suitable protection around it. The guard-house, but a few rods from it, should also be carefully preserved.

There is nothing left where the battles of Bennington and Saratoga were fought to distinguish the places where our patriot fathers gained memorable victories. The trenches have been filled, the breastworks obliterated, and the whole battle-ground turned into cultivated fields and luxuriant pastures, where flocks and herds are quietly grazing; and we are now obliged to turn to Rutland for a lasting memorial of a conquered army.

If the wells of Abraham deserve remembrance for three thousand years, there is no reason why the location containing this relic of the Revolution should not become noted as historic ground. CLARK JILLSON

WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS.

AN INTERESTING DISCOVERY

The London *Times* of August 8, 1885, publishes a letter in relation to the burial place of Jean Antoine Cavallier, who at the age of twenty-three was the soul of a deadly guerilla warfare fought by the Huguenots of France in the hills along the whole range of the Cevennes, against the tyrannical alternative of apostasy or expatriation—Louis the Fourteenth's act of lawless despotism. Cavallier and his associates were outlaws, and displayed the ferocity of stricken wild beasts. The Editor of the *Times* says: "The Camisard war is a romantic historical episode. It has deeper importance as illustrative of essential features of French Protestantism. Protestantism in France was unlike Protestantism anywhere else, and its peculiarities culminated in Jean Antoine Cavallier and his Camisards. In Italy and Spain Protestants accepted persecution as their destiny, and gloried in the vocation of martyrs. In Great Britain, Germany, and the Netherlands they resolved to make their faith dominant. An English, Scotch, North German, and Dutch Protestant meant from the first that his land should believe as he believed. French Protestants neither consented to be martyrs nor expected to convert entire France to Protestantism. They began by assuming the position of a nation within a nation, and claimed from a very early period national immunities. In their strength was contained the germ of their weakness. They were as much too strong to care to persuade or conciliate as they were to be crushed by a Royal decree. They intrenched themselves within their privileges. They treated their foes as they had been treated. Everything Catholic was their enemy and their prey. Had their resources held out, the Southwest and center of France would have been turned into a desert. England offered Cavallier an honorable asylum in the Channel Islands. After serving for several years as Lieutenant-Governor of Jersey, he took up his residence in London. By the time he died, a worn out veteran, though scarcely an old man, at sixty-one, his strange career seems to have been forgotten. Probably he had forgotton his lurid and tempestuous youth himself."

The letter will be read with interest by the Huguenots of America:

Editor of the London *Times*

The month of October this year will complete the 200th anniversary of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, an event in French history productive of most important circumstances not only to them but also to England and other nations of Europe; and by a singular train of accidental discoveries I am able, through *The Times*, to make known a fact relating to that period which is of the deepest interest. This is nothing less than the burial place of the leader of the Camisards, whose struggle for freedom of thought and religious worship cost Louis XIV. in about three years the lives of 10,000 of his best soldiers, while nearly 15,000 Huguenots perished in the same period. The story of the Camisards is known to every educated child, and the history of John Anthony Cavallier, their boyish

leader, his conflicts with the soldiery, his raids upon Roman Catholic towns and villages, his capture of citadels and hairbreadth escapes, is one of the treasured memories of school reading. It is, however, not generally known, even in London, that his bones repose in the little graveyard of Old St. Luke's, by the Thames, at Chelsea, that quaint church of which Kingsley wrote, "Four hundred years of memory are crowded into this dark old church, and the flood of change beats round the walls, and shakes the door in vain, but never enters. The dead stand thick together there."

My attention was first drawn to the question of Cavallier's burial place by hearing of the songs sung, even now, in the Cevennes, of the deeds of this popular hero. But no one could tell of his end—only that he escaped to London and died there.

Descended from an ancient French family, I determined to clear up this mystery about Cavallier's death. For many months (assisted by my husband), I have pursued this quest ; and on Sunday morning the last doubt was solved by the Rev. R. H. Davies, incumbent of Old St. Luke's, handing me the certificate of Cavallier's interment in his graveyard. Cavallier entered the British service after his escape from France, and was for some time Lieutenant-Governor of Jersey. Afterwards he returned to Chelsea, where he died.

The steps by which this pleasant quest was advanced would be tedious to narrate. I may mention that Cavallier's death is recorded in the *London Evening Post* of May 17 (Saturday) to May 20 (Tuesday), 1740, in the following words :—"On Saturday, died at his lodgings at Chelsea, Colonel Cavallier, an old officer who had always behaved very bravely." His will is at Somerset house, where I have seen and read it. Lysons records that he saw the stone bearing his name at St. Luke's ; Faulkner states that it lies at the north end, and the parish register, under date May 18, 1740, has this entry, "Brigadier John Cavallier."

The north end of this graveyard is founded by cottages, the inhabitants of which have for about 40 years made this portion a dustheap, so that the soil rises from the pathway to a height of nearly 5 feet. If this refuse were cleared away, I have no manner of doubt that the gravestone would be disclosed.

I am, yours obediently
Amelia M. A. Marsh

Sunny side, Park-Road, Battersea, August 8 1885.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

[The following extracts are from the original Order Book of Colonel David Waterbury, of Stamford, Connecticut, in the early part of the Revolution.]

Head Quarters N. York 15th Febry 1776.

Parole, Cosica
Countersign Wilks.

For the future the Adjutant of the day to Superintend the drumers if any Come to late, He is to Confine him, he is not to suffer the Drum Major to march of A Post but wait for the Junction of the whole.

Lieut. Johnson & twenty men of the Province Artiliry to Parade at Nine to morrow morning where they shall Receive their Instructions; only one hundred men for fatigue to morrow, the gaurds as Usual, Col Drake or the Commanding officer of his Regt to send in A Return to General Lee as Early as Possible to morrow Morning of the Strength of the Companys already Arrived with A State of Arms & Amunition this Return to be after the form of one which he Shall Receive at nine O'Clock.

Isaac Sears Deputy Adjt General.

Head Quarters N. Y. 16th Febry 1776.

Parole Davers
Countersign Seyler

As Col Drakes Companies are not yet provided with horns or Cartouches to Carry Ammunition it is Impossible untill they are furnished that they should do any duty but fatigue the whole are therefore to parade for fatigue tomorrow at 9 °Clock but as the place where they are to work is so distant that they May Probably not Return to morrow they are to parade with their Arms & Packs, in short, accoutred as they were, when they March into town.

New York 16th Febry 1776.

It is been Observed by Spectators that the officers Does not appear on the parade when the Regt is under arms therefore it is my desire the Gentlemen officers will not neglect any more & beg that they will see that thier Companys are out at Roll Calling and likewise at set times For Exercise this desired by me—

David Waterbury Junr Col.
New York

New York 17th Febry 1776.

Regimental Orders. }

It is been observed that the Barracks Among the Soldiers is kept in bad Order and not Cleaned Properly which I think Will be very Hurtful to the Health of the men and on that Account it is my Positive Orders that the adjutant of my Regt warn a Subaltern Every day to see that the barracks are well clean'd & it is my desire that Sd Subaltern will be ambitious To see that the duty is well done that the Regt May appear Credible and it will be much for the Health of Sd men, the same Ordered by me.

David Waterbury Junr Col.

Head Quarters N York 17th Febry 1776.

Parole Dorsett

Countersign Torrington

Col Drakes Regt to parade to morrow morning at Eight O'Clock, the Town Major to apply to Col McDougal for an hundred Cartouches Out of those Hundred Col Drakes to be supply'd with Number wanting the Town Major is then to examine the Core of the Fuzees in Order To make A Return of the different sort of Cartridges which will be wanting. Mr Abrm Livingston thier Comesary of Provisions must be Apply'd to by the Quarter Master of the Regt for two, three or four days Provisions for the Regt as they are to march to horns hook and be there Quartered, the Town Major will Give in a return to Mr. An'thony Griffith of the Number and Size of Cartridges which are to be sent after them. The Companies arriv'd this day from Dutches County are to parade to-morrow Morning at 10 °Clock that thier Arms and Ammunition may be inspected those that are off duty In Col Waterbury's Regiment & General Lee's Gaurd Including the Rifle men and Independent Companies to parade to morrow Morning at 10 °Clock before head Quarters in order to attend divine Service.

New York 19th Febr 1776.

Regimental Orders

It is ordered that the Several Capts in my Regiment do make A Victualing Return this day to the Quarter Master that they may draw four days Provision to Morrow Morning Sd Provision Commencing on the 19 day and ending on the twenty-second day both days Included by me.

David Waterbury Junr Col.

NOTES

DR. PRIME AND GENERAL GRANT—The sudden passing away of the late Dr. S. Irenæus Prime recalls a very touching incident which occurred last spring, when he was in the full vigor of his ripe old age and when General Grant was supposed to be dying.

A large congregation was assembled at the Wednesday evening meeting in the West Presbyterian church. Dr. Paxton called upon Dr. Prime to offer prayer, which he did with great tenderness and fervor, lifting up his voice in clear, firm tones, chiefly in behalf of "our great captain, great in war, great in peace, great in suffering." All were touched, and sobs were heard on every side as the prayer was finished. Then the pastor rose and endeavored to speak, but his feelings overcame him, and it was some moments before he could recover himself. In broken voice he told his people why he had never been able to mention the General in public during his illness. "He was my old commander in the Wilderness, where I knew and loved him; I knew and loved him better still when settled in Washington; and now that he is so patiently bearing his heavy trials and sufferings, drawing together the hearts of his countrymen from all sections and uniting them in a common sympathy and tenderness, my love and feeling are such that I cannot name him without the deepest emotion, and I have been forced to silence." But the silence was now broken, and the pastor's heart and lips overflowed in praise of the great man then supposed to be dying, if not already past the gates.

Through it all sat Dr. Prime with beaming face and moistened eyes, contrasting, perhaps, the General's departure, in the prime of life, with his own more than three-score years and ten.

The great editor and preacher went on before and stands in the presence of the Lord of all, the Captain of our Salvation. Truly he could say: "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith." Who can conceive of the ecstasy of that meeting when it was spoken, "Well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord?"—*New York Observer*.

JOHN BROWN AT PLAINFIELD—Like all serious-minded lads of Puritan stock, John Brown dreamed at one time of completing his education in a college, and then studying for the ministry. He went to Canton, Connecticut (about 1816), to consult a kinsman of his father, the Rev. Jeremiah Hallock, conerning his studies in divinity, whose advice was that he should fit for Amherst College, and that his teacher should be the Rev. Moses Hallock, of Plainfield, Massachusetts. This school at Plainfield was famous for graduating ministers and missionaries, and the poet Byrant had been a student there a few years before, Plainfield being next to Cummington, where Byrant was born, and not far from Amherst. No doubt the lad's hope was to fit himself at Plainfield and then enter at Amherst, working his way by his own efforts, as so many young men have since done. But he was soon attacked with inflammation of the eyes, so serious that he was forced to give up study.—*Sanborn's Life and Letters of John Brown.*

THE LINE OF PROPERTY—*Editor of Magazine*—It seems worthy of notice in your columns that during the last commencement season of Hamilton College the Sophomore class presented to the college a handsome monument stone, marking the *line* known as the "Line of Property" established by treaty in 1768, as the boundary between the English possessions and the territory of the Iroquois.

The stone is placed where this line crosses College Street. It is of granite, bearing on one side the token of the "Six Nations," on another the name of "Sir William Johnson, for the Crown," and on a third a statement of its purpose.

The coming generation may well be encouraged to a closer attention to American History, whether local or general.

It should be stated that much credit in this matter is due to Passed Assistant Engineer Robert G. Dering, U. S. Navy, who instructed the class in applied mathematics, and gave definite form to the interest which he awakened.

R.

HAMILTON COLLEGE, NEW YORK

BISHOP LEONIDAS POLK — While in military service he abstained from sacerdotal functions altogether. But in camp, field, siege and battle he never for a moment forgot or suffered others to forget that he was a consecrated man and a Bishop in the Church of God. The simple truth is that his habitual holiness of life was never so conspicuous as in the army. Men who had listened unmoved to his preaching were converted by the silent eloquence of his example. His reserve in abstaining from the ordinary functions of the ministry impressed men with the sacredness of his sacerdotal office as nothing else could. And then, too, in spite of all reserve, the priestly character would sometimes break through all restraints of military form. One Sunday morning he rode with his staff into the village of Harrodsburg, Kentucky, from which the people had been frightened at the news of the approach of troops. The church was empty but the door was open. Polk dismounted, laid aside his sword and entered. One by one his staff followed him and found him kneeling with his head bowed on the chancel rail. They kneeled beside him and around him, and in broken sentences the man of God poured out his soul in prayers for peace and blessings to both friend and foe. Polk's military service was always a hard burden to him, grievous and heavy to be borne. He was always yearning for his diocese; always eager for relief. Again and again he asked it and it was refused.—*Perry's History of the American Episcopal Church.*

QUERIES

THE CHARLESTON CONVENTION — *Editor of Magazine of American History:* Permit me to submit a query suggested by General Cochrane's sketch of the Charleston Convention of 1860, published in your August issue. I think no amount of space you are likely to give to the proceedings and consequences of

that Convention will be regarded by your more thoughtful readers as wasted. That was probably the most important non-official body that ever assembled. Its action certainly made all of the American history that has followed. Had Douglass been nominated by his united party at Charleston, he would have been elected. The revolt of the South would have been postponed at least four years, and if it had ever taken place at all would have been dwarfed to a mere fiasco. Under these circumstances the question why it was that the Democratic managers at Charleston overlooked or failed to adopt an expedient for the settlement of their differences which now looks so obvious, and which would certainly have been entirely efficacious, is to my mind one of the most interesting in the whole field of human history. Perhaps some of your readers will be able to give a satisfactory answer to the QUERY—Why was it that the Democratic leaders of the Charleston Convention of 1860 did not agree to leave to the decision of the Supreme Court the question as to the time at which the people of a Territory could lawfully (*i. e.*, under the Federal Constitution) prohibit slavery therein? Was this plan of settlement proposed or advocated by any one? If so, by whom? And by whom was it opposed, and how was it defeated?

LOUISVILLE

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY,
August 15, 1885

AN OLD-TIME POSTER—I have before me a print, about 9 x 11 inches, that appears to have been part of an old-time poster. At the right, upon a throne, the back of which bears the word "Veto," sits a spectacled man, wearing a crown and clad in ermine, having a torn remnant of the "Constitution of the United States of America" under his feet. In his right hand he holds aloft a scepter, while his left hand is extended to be kissed.

A vassal, clad in a robe girt with a belt and bearing upon the collar the emblems of the signs of the zodiac, having a serpent around his neck and a wand at his side, with head uncovered, kneels before and kisses the hand of the one upon the throne, and thus addresses him:

"All hail, *King Andrew* called the great,
"I come an humble pillar of thy state
"Pregnant with news—but ere that news I tell
"First let me hope your *Majesty* is well!"

To which the king replies:

"Rise, *Great Magician!* rise my friend and know,
"We are but middling—that is, but so so!
"Get up and come and smoke a pipe with me,
"For thou *King Martin* shall hereafter be!
"And to reward thy services my boy,
"In the mean time we make thee our *Vice-Roy*."

In the foreground lies a book, entitled "Judiciary of the United States," also the cap laid aside by the vassal, the band of it bearing the word "Intrigue," while the long conical crown is embellished with rats (or mice) in full run. A few coins have rolled from the cap upon the floor. In the background, at the left, is seen a sentry dressed in short jacket and cockaded cap, having his musket, with fixed bayonet, at "carry arms" of the old tactics.

Below the print are the words "King

Andrew the First," and below that in large type seems to have been the word "King;" but my copy is torn away through that word, and I know not what followed.

Can some reader of this *Magazine* supply the words that were below the print, name the author, and give the date and the occasion that called it forth?

CHAS. W. BRYANT

GRANVILLE, OHIO

MARTHA WASHINGTON—*Editor Magazine of American History*—Will some of your readers please answer definitely the following questions:

1. When was Martha Washington born?

2. When and where (in what building) was she and Washington married?

3. When did she die?

R. W. JUDSON

OGDENSBURG, NEW YORK, *September* 1, 1885

REPLIES

THE GALLANT SEVENTH REGIMENT UNDER FIRE [xiv. 324]—In the *Magazine of American History* for September, "Regular Army" asks: "Was the 'Gallant Seventh Regiment' ever under fire during the civil war?" Perhaps he will permit me to answer his question by asking another: "Was the Cadet Battalion at West Point ever under fire during that war?" "No," he may answer, "not as a battalion, but hundreds of those who learned their duties in its ranks were under fire on every battlefield in the war." If "Regular Army" will take the trouble to look, he will find that some 650 Seventh Regiment men served in the army during the civil war, most of them as officers. Far be it from me to compare West Point and the Seventh as training schools, but as a supplementary school of the soldier the regiment has a place to fill, and I may say has done its duty tolerably well. Moreover, as a regiment, it went wherever it was sent during hostilities, and if, whatever may have been the reason, it was never actually under fire, "Regular Army" may be sure it was not the fault of the regiment. And now let me ask in conclusion, has this particular "Regular" ever been under fire himself?

VETERAN

NEW YORK, *September* 2, 1885

YELLOW BREECHES, PENNSYLVANIA [xiv. 324]—Yellow Breeches Creek empties into the Susquehanna on the west side a little below Harrisburg. The Indian name of it was Gallapasscinker.

I. C.

ALLEGHANY, PA., *August* 29, 1885

DIXIE [xiv. 323]—G. H. B. will find his query concerning "Dixie" answered in William A. Wheeler's "Dictionary of the Noted Names of Fiction."

E. H. G.

BOSTON, *September* 1, 1885

SOCIETIES

THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF AMERICA held its first summer meeting in the historic village of New Rochelle, August 24, 1885. The services of the day were divided between the Episcopal and Presbyterian churches, both of which were founded by the Huguenots in the early years of this colony. The day was the anniversary of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Addresses were delivered both morning and afternoon. Rev. C. W. Bolton welcomed the visitors to New Rochelle, and the Rector of Trinity Church conducted appropriate exercises.

A magnificent collation was then served in the parlors of the Presbyterian church, at which none but the daughters of the Huguenots were allowed to wait on the table. After this a visit was made in carriages to the various points of historic interest about the village. In their button-holes the tourists wore each a marigold, the favorite flower of Margaret Valois, as a token to her memory.

The President, Hon. John Jay, presided at the meeting in the afternoon, and in his introductory remarks said: "We all felt that in no part of our broad country could we more fitly recall its solemn memories and thank God together that amid the wrongs and sufferings of our ancestors they have left the noble examples of fidelity unto death which are naturally recalled in this town, founded by refugees from La Rochelle, who brought with them the dauntless spirit that has marked the history of that heroic city, and who lovingly gave to their new home in another continent its historic and honored name." Mr. Charles M. Du Puy then reviewed the massacre of the Huguenots and their flight to this country. His address concluded with a detailed account of the causes and results of the movement against the Huguenots in France. Peter B. Olney, ex-District Attorney of New York, told the society about the Huguenot settlement at New Oxford, Massachusetts; and the Rev. Dr. Charles S. Vedder, D.D., Pastor of the French Protestant Church of Charleston, South Carolina, made some eloquent remarks concerning the Huguenot settlements at the South. Rev. Charles E. Lindsley, D.D., of New Rochelle, excused himself from delivering an able address prepared for the occasion, on account of the lateness of the hour. Many distinguished persons were present.

SARATOGA MONUMENT ASSOCIATION—The annual meeting was held at Saratoga, August 11, the President, Hon. John H. Starin, in the chair. Secretary William L. Stone read the minutes of the last meeting, and the various committees submitted reports. Secretary Stone reported from the Committee on Design that Messrs. O'Donovan, Doyle, and Bissell had been engaged as the sculptors for the three heroic statues to be placed in the niches of the monument; and that Messrs. Hartly and Kelly had been chosen to do the tablet work for the interior. The following designs by Mr. Markham, the architect, had been accepted, the personal characters represented in them being historic likenesses:

First—Women of the Revolution.

Second—Ladies of the British Court.

Third—The Town Meeting.

Fourth—The Rally.

Fifth—George the III. in council.

Sixth—Burgoyne addressing the Indians.

Seventh—Transport of the wives of the English officers, in their calashes, through the wilderness.

Eighth—Schuyler felling trees to obstruct the enemy.

Ninth—Mrs. Gen. Schuyler firing her wheat fields.

Tenth—The murder of Jane McCrea.

Eleventh—Burgoyne reprimanding the Indians for their barbarities.

Twelfth—Schuyler turning over his command to Gates, surrounded by a group of American generals—all likenesses.

Thirteenth—The passage in a boat of Lady Acland, under a flag of truce, to the American Camp to visit her husband.

Fourteenth—The wounding of Arnold at the Brunswick redoubt.

Fifteenth — The burial of General Fraser.

Sixteenth—Burgoyne surrendering his sword to Gates.

Among those present at the meeting were Hon. J. W. Drexel, Hon. Elliott T. Slocum, Edward Wemple, E. C. Bullard, Mrs. E. H. Walworth, C. S. Lester, Hon. D. S. Potter, David F. Ritchie, J. M. Davison, Hon. James M. Marvin, J. H. Dillingham, A. B. Bancus, P. C. Ford, Lieutenant-Commander A. R. McNair. Telegrams were received from George William Curtis and General Meredith Read.

THE WESTERN SOCIETY OF PHYSICAL RESEARCH—Organized at Chicago, Illinois, May, 1885. President, A. Reeves Jackson, A.M., M.D.; Vice-Presidents, Rev. C. G. Trusdell, Professor Rodney Welch; Secretary and Treasurer, J. E. Woodhead; Council, Boerne Bettman, M.D., Rev. L. P. Mercer, F. A. Nims, Orville Peckham, Hon. J. B. Young, Colonel Jno. C. Bundy, A. Reeves Jackson, M.D., Hon. W. K. McAllister, Rev. H. W. Thomas, D.D., Colonel A. N. Waterman, Denison W. Chapman, Edward I. Galvin, Edwin J. Kuh, M.D., J. H. McVicker, Professor Rodney Welch.

The first general meeting of this Society was held Tuesday evening, June 30, 1885, at the Club-room of the Sherman House, Chicago.

The President in his address said: "It is well known that from the earliest recorded history of our race there have been reported from time to time phenomena of unusual character — phenomena so different from those ordinarily observed as to be apparently inexplicable by any known physical laws. In their various forms these phenomena have been known as apparitions, mesmerism, mind-reading, clairvoyance, spiritualistic manifestations, etc. Credence in the reality of these alleged occurrences has been given or withheld according to the integrity and intelligence of the reporter, or the mental traits of the hearer. Usually, statements affirming their existence have been received with distrust and incredulity." He then referred to the Society formed in London in 1882, and that in Boston in September, 1884, and said the Western Society had been founded for the purpose of aiding in, and forwarding the work so successfully begun by its predecessors.

CONTRIBUTION TO A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES IN THE UNITED STATES

III

GEORGIA.

Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, Continued.

EULOGY ON THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF STEPHEN ELLIOTT, by S. Cohen. Written and published at the request of the Society. Savannah, 1867. 18 pp. 8vo.

THE GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY: its founders, patrons and friends. Anniversary address before the Society, 14th February, 1881. By C. C. Jones, jr. Savannah, 1881. 40 pp. 8vo.

HERNANDO DE SOTO. The adventures encountered and the route pursued by the Adelantado during his march through the territory embraced within the present limits of Georgia. By C. C. Jones, jr. READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY. Savannah, 1880. 42 (1) pp. Portrait. 8vo.

A HIGH CIVILIZATION, the moral duty of Georgians. Discourse before the Society, 12th February, 1844. By S. Elliott, jr. Savannah, 1844. 21 pp. 8vo.

HISTORY OF GEORGIA, from its first discovery by Europeans to the adoption of the present constitution in 1798. By W. B. Stevens. In two vols. New York, 1847, '59. 8vo. Prepared at the request of the Society, and published under its auspices. Pecuniary aid was rendered by the Society for the publication of the second volume.

INDIAN REMAINS IN SOUTHERN GEORGIA. Address before the Society, February 12, 1859, by C. C. Jones, jr. Savannah, 1859. 25 pp. 8vo.

LECTURE BEFORE THE SOCIETY, March 14, 1843. By W. A. Caruthers. Savannah, 1843. 36 pp. 8vo.

LECTURE BEFORE THE SOCIETY, February 29 and March 4, 1844, on the subject of Education. By S. K. Talmage. Savannah, 1844. 24 pp. 8vo.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE DEDICATION OF HODGSON HALL, by the Society, on the occasion of its 37th anniversary, February 14, 1876. Savannah, 1876. 29 pp. 8vo.

PROCEEDINGS, RESOLUTIONS AND COMMUNICATIONS, COMMEMORATIVE OF E. J. HARDIN. Savannah, 1873. 31 pp. 12mo.

PROCEEDINGS OF MEETING, January 7, 1855. Broadside.

REMINISCENCES OF SERVICE with the first volunteer regiment of Georgia, Charleston Harbor, 1863. Address before the Society, March 3, 1879, by C. H. Olmstead. Savannah, 1879. 15 pp. 8vo.

A REPLY TO A RESOLUTION OF THE SOCIETY, read at its anniversary meeting, February 12, 1866. By S. Elliott. Savannah, 1866. 13 pp. 8vo.

THE ROMANCE OF LIFE, an historical Lecture before the Society, January 14, 1845. By R. M. Charlton. Savannah, 1845. 8vo.

SERGEANT WILLIAM JASPER. Address before the Society, 3d of January, 1876, by C. C. Jones, jr. (Albany), 1876. 36 pp. 8vo.

WILDE'S SUMMER ROSE; or, the lament of the captive. An authentic account of the origin, mystery and explanation of R. H. Wilde's alleged plagiarism; by A. Barclay. Published by the Society. Savannah, 1871. 70 pp. 8vo.

ILLINOIS.

Antiquarian and Historical Society of Illinois.

ADDRESS AT ITS SECOND ANNUAL MEETING, December, 1828, by James Hall. Vandalia, 1829, 20 pp. 16mo. Proceedings on pp. 18-20.

Chicago Historical Society, Chicago.

ADDRESSES DELIVERED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING. November 19, 1868. By J. Y. Scammon and I. N. Arnold. Incidents in the lives of President Lincoln and Major Anderson in the Black-Hawk War, Luther Haven, George Manierre, and other early settlers in Chicago. With a sketch of Colonel John H. Kinzie, by Juliette A. Kinzie. Sketches of Billy Caldwell and Shabonee, by W. Hickling and G. S. Hubbard, and "The Winnebago Scare," by H. W. Beckwith. Chicago, 1877, 52 pp. [Fergus' historical series, No. 10.], 8vo.

ANNUAL MEETING, November 19, 1868. Addresses by J. Y. Scammon and I. N. Arnold. Chicago, 1868. 32 pp. 12mo. I. N. Arnold spoke on the early history of Chicago.

BIENNIAL REPORT TO THE GOVERNOR OF ILLINOIS. Springfield (Ill.), 1863. 13 (1) pp. 8vo.

BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR OF THE HON. GEORGE MANIERRE, delivered before the Society, April 16, 1878. By Thomas Hoyne [Chicago, 1878]. 48 pp. Portrait, 8vo.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF GENERAL B. J. SWEET. History of Camp Douglas. Paper read before the Society, June 18, 1878, by W. Bross. Chicago, 1878. 28 pp. 8vo.

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY, with constitution and by-laws, and list of officers and members. Chicago, 1881. 31 pp. 8vo.

CATALOGUE OF PAINTINGS IN THE ROOMS OF THE SOCIETY. Chicago, n. d. 8vo.

CHARLES HAMMOND AND HIS RELATIONS TO HENRY CLAY AND J. Q. ADAMS; or, constitutional limitations and the contest for freedom of speech and the press. Address before the Society, May 20, 1834. By W. H. Smith. Chicago, 1885. 72 pp. 8vo.

CHARTER, CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS, with a list of officers, etc. Chicago, 1858. 26 pp. 8vo.

CHARTER, CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS, with a list of officers and members. Chicago, 1871. 23 pp. 8vo.

CHICAGO AND THE SOURCES OF HER PAST AND FUTURE GROWTH. By W. Bross. Chicago, 1880. 8vo.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION. Vols. 1-3. Chicago, 1882–84. 3 vols., portraits. 8vo. *Contents.* — 1. History of the English settlement in Edwards County, Illinois, founded in 1817 and 1818, by George Flower. With preface and foot-notes, by E. B. Washburne. 1882. 402 pp., portrait. 2. Biographical sketch of Enoch Long, an Illinois pioneer, by Harvey Reid. 1884. 134 pp., portrait. 3. The Edwards papers; being a portion of the collection of the letters, papers, and manuscripts of Ninian Edwards. Edited by E. B. Washburne, 1884. 8, 633 pp., portraits, *fac-similes.*

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S PROCEEDINGS. December 18, 1883. Chicago, 1884. 8vo. *Contents.*—The Dearborns; a discourse commemorative of the eightieth anniversary of the occupation of Fort Dearborn, and the settlement at Chicago, read, December 18, 1883, by D. Goodwin, jr. With remarks of J. Wentworth, J. Y. Scammon, E. B. Washburne, and I. N. Arnold. (2) 56 pp., 2 portraits.

CIRCULAR ABOUT OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY. January, 1878, sheet.

CONGRESSIONAL REMINISCENCES. Adams, Benton, Calhoun, Clay, and Webster. Address, March 16, 1882, before the Society, with notes and an appendix, by John Wentworth. Chicago, 1882, 101 pp. [Fergus' historical series. No. 24.], small 8vo.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF CHICAGO. Chicago, 1856. 15 pp. 12mo.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS, together with list of officers and members. Chicago, 1883. 28 pp. 8vo.

THE DEARBORNS; a discourse commemorative of the eightieth anniversary of the occupation of Fort Dearborn, and the first settlement at Chicago; read before the Society, December 18, 1883, by Daniel Goodwin, jr. With remarks of J. Wentworth, J. Y. Scammon, E. B. Washburne, and I. N. Arnold. Chicago, 1884. (2) 56 pp., 2 portraits, 8vo.

THE EARLIEST RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF CHICAGO. By Jeremiah Porter. Address before the Society in 1859. Chicago, 1881. [Fergus' historical series, No. 14, pp. 1-80.], 12mo.

EARLY CHICAGO. FORT DEARBORN. An address delivered at the unveiling of the memorial

tablet to mark the site of the Block-House, May 21, 1881, under the auspices of the Society, to which have been added notes and an appendix, by John Wentworth. Chicago, 1881. 104 (20) pp. Portraits. [Fergus' historical series. No. 16.], 12mo.

EARLY SOCIETY IN SOUTHERN ILLINOIS. Lecture read before the Society, October 19, 1880. By R. W. Patterson. Chicago, 1881. 34 pp. 12mo.

SAME. [In Fergus' historical series, No. 14.] pp. 103–131, 12mo.

FATHER MARQUETTE AT MACKINAW AND CHICAGO. Paper before the Society, October 15, 1878. By H. H. Hurlbut. Chicago, 1878. 16 pp. 8vo.

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE EARLY MOVEMENT IN ILLINOIS FOR THE LEGALIZATION OF SLAVERY, read at the annual meeting of the Society, December 5, 1864. By W. H. Brown. Chicago, 1865. 44 pp. 8vo.

SAME. 1876. 30 (1) pp. [Fergus' historical series, No. 4. , 12mo.

HISTORY OF ILLINOIS, from 1778 to 1833; and Life and Times of Ninian Edwards. By N. W. Edwards. Springfield, 1870. 549, 3 pp. 8vo. Written at request of the Society.

ILLINOIS AND THE THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES. Paper read before the Society, January 15, 1884. By William Bross. Chicago, 1884. 8 pp. 8vo.

ILLINOIS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. Three papers read before the Society. Kaskaskia and its parish records: Old Fort Chartres: and Colonel John Todd's record-book. By E. G. Mason. Chicago, 1881. 68 pp. [Fergus' Historical Series, No. 12.]

THE IMPRISONMENT IN LIBBY AND ESCAPE BY TUNNEL. Read May 23, 1879, by C. W. Earle. Waukegan, Ill, 1879. 8vo.

IN MEMORIAM. Isaac N. Arnold, Thomas Hoyne. Memorial addresses commemorative of the lives and characters of the Hon. Isaac N. Arnold and Hon. Thomas Hoyne, delivered before the Society, October 21, 1884. By E. B. Washburne, T. Drummond and Hon. Van H. Higgins, in respect of Mr. Arnold, and Hon. John Wentworth, in respect of Mr. Hoyne. Chicago, 1884. 43 pp. 8vo.

KASKASKIA, ILL., PARISH RECORDS, 1696–1834. By E. G. Mason. Chicago, 1879. 8vo.

THE LAST OF THE ILLINOIS, and a sketch of the Pottawatomies. Read before the Society, December 13, 1870, by J. D. Caton. Chicago, 1870. 36 pp. [Fergus' historical series, No. 3.], 12mo. Also published independently of the Fergus' series.

MEMOIR OF HON. DANIEL P. COOK. Read before the Society, June 9, 1857, by W. H. Brown. Chicago, 1857. 30 pp. 8vo.

NOVEMBER 19, 1868. Introductory address by J. Y. Scammon. Address by I. N. Arnold, giving a history of the Society, with incidents in the lives of A. Lincoln and Major Anderson; also of Luther Haven, George Manierre, and other early settlers of Chicago. Chicago, 1877. 31 pp. 8vo.

ORIGIN, PRESENT CONDITION, PLANS AND NECESSITIES. [Chicago] no date. 2 pp. 4to.

PROCEEDINGS, JUNE, 1880, INCLUDING PAPERS BY A. D. Hager and E. G. Mason.

RECOLLECTIONS OF EARLY ILLINOIS AND HER NOTED MEN. Read before the Society, March 16, 1880, by J. Gillespie. Chicago, 1880. 50 pp. Portraits. [Fergus' historical series, No. 13.] 12mo.

SKETCH OF EDWARD COLES, SECOND GOVERNOR OF ILLINOIS, and of the slavery struggle of 1823–4. Prepared for the Society by E. B. Washburne. Chicago, 1882. 253 pp. Portrait. Fac-similes. 8vo.

THE THEATRE: its early days in Chicago. Paper read before the Society, February 19, 1884. By J. H. McVicker. Chicago, 1884. 88 pp. 8vo.

WILLIAM B. OGDEN AND EARLY DAYS IN CHICAGO. Paper read before the Society, December, 20, 1881. By I. N. Arnold. Chicago, 1882. 40 pp. [Fergus' historical series, No. 17.] 8vo. Also published independently of the Fergus' series.

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY — Appleton P. C. Griffin

(*To be continued.*)

BOOK NOTICES

DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY. Edited by LESLIE STEPHEN. Vols. II. and III. Annesley—Baird and Baker—Beadon. 8vo, pp. 448 and 462. 1885. Smith, Elder & Co., London; Macmillan & Co., New York.

Mr. Stephen's great work progresses with vigor. The second volume brings the letter A to a conclusion, and proceeds with the letter B to Baird. The Rev. Canon Stephens contributes a long and admirably written account of Saint Anselm (1033–1109), Archbishop of Canterbury, whose action against the corrupt court of William II., and efforts in bringing about the first crusade, gave him great prominence. The editor, Mr. Stephen, writes of John Arbuthnot (1667–1735), the famous Scotch physician and wit, the intimate friend of Swift, and the projector of a kind of joint-stock satire from the "Scriblerous Club," to be directed against the abuses of human learning in every branch. J. K. Laughton writes an interesting paper on the Admiral. Marriot Arbuthnot (1711–1794), who commanded the English squadron that blockaded New York City for many months during the Revolution, stationed in Gardiner's Bay. C. H. Coote gives a short sketch of Sir Samuel Argall, Deputy Governor of Virginia in 1609. Richard Garnett, LL.D., writes of Benedict Arnold, the first native American, by the way, honored with a place in this work (as far as we have seen), which renders the omission of worthy names, such as the three Adamses—Samuel, John, and John Quincy—for instance, all the more remarkable This paper on Benedict Arnold has evidently been prepared in a spirit of fairness, but it is altogether too much of an apology for the man whose patriotism was but a splendid piece of deception from first to last—the man who had no sense of duty or military honor, and who was capable of taking the most solemn oath with the full intention of perjury in his soul. If Benedict Arnold had ever been a person of integrity, worthy of high trusts, no personal wrongs could have driven him into forgetfulness of the supreme sanctity of obligations. The facts are, that he was already maturing a criminal scheme of overwhelming magnitude, and hiding it under an assumption of injured innocence, when he escaped from the court-martial in Philadelphia, to which Mr. Garnett refers, with only a reprimand from Washington. He was angered by his failure to extort money from Congress, but it was not, as stated by Mr. Garnett, "the first motive to his subsequent treachery." He had then, at that date, been for some time in secret correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, and only waited for an appointment in the army which would give him the opportunity and power to sell the men bodily who had through blood and tribulation achieved so much. Washington, thoroughly deceived, gave him the appointment, and he made quick use of it. His bravery has never been questioned. Yet it is perfectly apparent that he plunged into the Revolution from the first, as he would have dashed into a jungle for game, with an eye to the rewards, and while he could lead brave soldiers up to the cannon's mouth with an irresistible fascination, he had no scruples about turning round coolly, and selling them outright to the enemy, with all they held dear on earth, for a paltry sum of money, to be put in his own pocket. His crime was so vast and long premeditated, that he will ever be held in the universal detestation he so richly earned.

We turn to a more agreeable subject in Mr. C. F. Keary's scholarly account of King Arthur, the hero of romantic literature from the middle ages down to our own time. We here have all the facts of Arthur's life which have any distinct historical authority. An important article in this volume is Prof. S. R. Gardiner's, on Lord Chancellor "Francis Bacon" (1561–1626), occupying some twenty pages. It is followed by an excellent essay on Bacon's works, by Professor J. Fowler.

In the third volume Prof. Michael Foster contributes an interesting paper on Francis Maitland Balfour, the gifted naturalist and cousin of the present Marquis of Salisbury. Mr. T. F. Henderson writes of James Ballantyne (1772–1833), the first printer of Sir Walter Scott's works; and Dr. Æneas Mackay furnishes a charming paper on John Barbour (1316–1395), the Scottish poet, who was Archdeacon of Aberdeen, and a contemporary of Chaucer. The biographies, as in the first volume, are exceptionally well written. This dictionary abounds with valuable information, and the volumes are in a size admirably adapted for library use. In its literary quality, and in the good taste of its arrangement, it may be emphatically pronounced a model work.

FAMILY MEMORIALS. A series of Genealogical and Biographical Monographs on the Families of Salisbury, Aldworth-Elbridge, Sewall, Pyldren-Dummer, Walley, Quincy, Gookin, Wendell, Breese, Chevalier-Anderson, and Phillips. With fifteen Pedigrees and an Appendix. By EDWARD ELBRIDGE SALISBURY. Square folio, pp. 696. Privately printed. 1885.

These two beautiful quarto volumes (one vol-

ume in two, on account of its size) are unique in this country. The learned author has woven about the central thread of relationship to himself a vast amount of historical and biographical material, much of which is now printed for the first time, and from sources largely inaccessible to the general public.

Professor Salisbury has achieved much more than a genealogical record, although he has prepared and given to the world one of the most perfect genealogical records that has ever been written. He has had access to private papers as well as public documents, of which he has made good use; and he has come in possession of innumerable anecdotes and incidents illustrative of personal character and public events during the several years he has devoted to the study and preparation of this important and valuable work. He has brought into realistic prominence the men and women of the dim past, investing them with life. Nothing could be more charming, for instance, than the anecdotes that enliven the pages devoted to the Quincy family. Dorothy Quincy, "the daughter of Edmund Quincy, of Boston, who had moved for three years as the belle of the polite circles of that town, and who was now the affianced bride of John Hancock," passed the summer of 1775 at the old Burr mansion in Fairfield, Connecticut. "She was accompanied by a duenna in the person of a spinster aunt, by her maid, and by that array of trunks and bandboxes which was deemed indispensable by young women of rank and fashion, in their travels." We are further told, that "some two or three days after Miss Dolly's advent, the gossips say a young cavalier rode into the village from the west, and alighted at the old mansion-house. He was dressed in the height of the fashion. His sword clanked in its scabbard at his side, and the village critics observed that he rode with the style and bearing of a prince. This cavalier was Aaron Burr, then a youth of twenty years, on a visit to his favorite kinsman, Thaddeus Burr. When the young people were presented to each other that evening, it is said their surprise and pleasure were mutual, and it is more than hinted by the gossips that consequences disastrous to Hancock's peace of mind might have ensued, had not the sage counsels of the elders prevailed over youthful passion and folly. It is at least true that Miss Dolly wrote a letter to a bosom friend, not long after, in which she speaks of Aaron Burr as 'a handsome young man with a pretty fortune,' and complains of the extreme caution of her aunt, who would not allow them to pass a moment alone in each other's society." The young lady remained in that ancient village all summer. "She rode, she sang, she boated, she accompanied the young people to their 'feasts of shells' on the neighboring beaches; she conducted harmless flirtations with the village youths, her aunt having relaxed her vigilance after Burr's departure; she wrote letters to her friends, some of which are in existence; and every fortnight the lumbering mail-coach brought her a huge packet from Philadelphia, addressed in the sturdy upright and downright characters of John Hancock."

This magnificent work contains seventeen large family chart-pedigrees on parchment, profusely illustrated with coats of arms and heraldic descriptions of the same. The volumes are printed by Messrs. Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor, the well-known printers to Yale College, in a style of marvelous elegance, in clear type, on the finest of paper, with wide margins, and illuminated lines. It contains an appendix, with carefully prepared indexes of family names. It is a source of regret that only two hundred copies of so important a work should have made up the edition, as the supply, for such as desire to possess it, will be of short duration, a few copies only being offered for sale.

THE COMMEMORATIVE DISCOURSES IN OBSERVANCE OF THE CENTENNIAL YEAR OF THE CHURCH IN THE DIOCESE OF MASSACHUSETTS, A.D. 1885. I. The History of the English Church in the Colony or Province of Massachusetts Bay. By the Rev. FREDERICK COURTNEY, S.T.D., Rector of St. Paul's Church, Boston. II. The First Three Bishops of the Diocese of Massachusetts. By GEORGE C. SHATTUCK, M.D. III. The First Century of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Massachusetts. By the Rt. Rev. BENJAMIN H. PADDOCK, D.D., Bishop of the Diocese. Quarto, pamphlet, pp. 128. 1885. Boston. Published by order of the Convention.

The Diocese of Massachusetts has done itself honor in issuing this handsome quarto publication, on laid paper, in pica type, with a very thick umber paper cover in antique style. It is a delight to the book-lover's eye. Dr. Shattuck's discourse, the second of the three embraced in it, is by far the finest of the series. As a piece of biographical writing it cannot easily be excelled. His portrait and character of the venerable Bishop Griswold, the second bishop, is as striking as it is inimitable, and will ever remain in the memories of all who read it. It is a splendid portrait, life size, in oil, while that of the first Bishop, Bass, is an animated, highly finished. cabinet picture And he has shown the hand of a master in biography, in merely giving a few lines to the last of the deceased bishops, Eastburn. In the third and last of the discourses, the present Bishop, Paddock, has presented a most able, well-

written and succinct account of the ecclesiastical events and affairs of the diocese from its organization on the 8th of September, 1784, to the present day. It was no easy matter to do this, for the bishop well says: "Our century is a long and full period, well worthy of a volume and I cannot treat it at the rate of two years a minute." Yet he has successfully done so, and has come out at the end as fresh and as interesting as at the start. He speaks more fully of his immediate predecessor, Dr. Eastburn, once so well known in New York City, and alludes gently to the lack of tact, infirmity of Episcopal Church principle, and the obstinacy inherent in his English birth, which prevented his pleasing manners, high scholarship and eloquence from having their due effect throughout his entire episcopate.

The subject of the first of the three was the greatest, and, in many respects, the most important of the subjects which were chosen by the convention of the diocese for these discourses. And it is somewhat unfortunate that a gentleman thoroughly at home in early New England history had not been selected by the convention of the diocese for the duty of discussing it, instead of the truly eloquent and popular rector of St. Paul's, Boston. An Englishman by birth and education, and a late comer to Boston, he evidently had not the requisite close and perfect knowledge of the era of which he treated, nor of the people of New England at that period. The consequence is, that this discourse is simply a series of brief extracts from a few easily accessible records and documents connected together by remarks of his own, some of which, relating to Puritan thought and action, are hardly in accord with our present knowledge of both. To be sure, he had the same difficulty to get over, of "two years a minute," that Bishop Paddock had, and even in a greater degree, for he had from 1620 to 1784 to treat of. Due allowance must be made for this. Still, in "The History of the English Church" in "the Province of Massachusetts Bay," there should have been no omission of mention of that great and able controversy in which so many pamphlets were written concerning bishops in America, in which were engaged, Cauer, Byles, Apthorpe, Mayhew, Channing and other famous divines on both sides; and of the effect of which John Adams has written so strongly. Had some one of the able historical students among the clergy of Massachusetts written such a discourse that controversy would have been referred to with certainty.

HERRICK GENEALOGY. A genealogical register of the name and family of HERRICK, from the settlement of HENERIE HERICKE in Salem, Massachusetts, 1629, to 1846; with a concise notice of their English Ancestry. By GENERAL JEDADIAH HERRICK. Revised, augmented, and brought down to A.D. 1885. By LUCIUS C. HERRICK, M.D. Square 8vo, pp. 516. Privately printed. Columbus, Ohio.

This handsomely printed genealogical work will prove a most interesting souvenir to a large and widely scattered family connection. The Herricks are shown to have derived descent from Eric the Forester, and. therefore, from the ancient kings of Sweden. The family line is traced through the generations in England with much precision The first of the name in this country was "Henry of Salem"—Henerie Hericke, the fifth son, as is believed, of Sir William Hericke, born at Beau Manor, County of Leicester, England, 1604, and was named by command of the unfortunate Prince Henry, eldest son of James I. His sponsors were Sir David Murray, Sir John Spillman, and Lady Aston.

The variations through which this family name has passed will interest the curious. The author of the work says: "We perceive something like a progressive transition, from the original Scandinavian Eirikr down to the settled and permanent English Heyrick and Herrick of the seventeenth century." In the twelfth century, Henry, of Great Stretton, spelled his name *Eyryk*; in 1450, Robert of Houghton wrote *Eyricke*, and his son Thomas, *Eyrick*, omitting the final E; John, the son of Thomas, indulged in much spelling, as: *Eyrik*, *Eyrek*, etc., to which the engraver of his epitaph prefixed the H. The following are the different modes of spelling to which the name has been subjected: Eirikr, Eric, Erik, Erick, Ericke, Irek, Eyrek, Eyrick, Eyricke, Eyryk, Eyryck, Erryk, Herik, Heryk, Hireck, Heryck, Hericke, Hearick, Heyricke, Heyrick, Herrick. There are some very fine portraits in the volume, of which none are more interesting than those of Sir William Hericke, and Joan Lady Hericke, of 1628 and 1632, who resided in the old Beau Manor Park homestead, which has since that time been the home of the English branch of the family. The old manor-house was rebuilt in 1739 on the original site, and again, in 1840, was destroyed, to make room for the modern structure, which was finished in 1847. In feudal times two moats surrounded the buildings, but these have been filled, and the space is now inclosed in the lawn.

The volume presents an array of American representatives of the family none the less creditable than their English ancestors: and it contains an elaborately arranged index of surpassing value.

ELEMENTS OF ZOÖLOGY (Appleton's Science Text-books). By C. F. HOLDER and J. B. HOLDER. 12mo: pp. 385. New York, D. Appleton & Co.

This compendium of zoölogy in its modern

phases is prepared by two well-known specialists, one a Fellow of the New York Academy of Science and the other the Curator of Zoölogy in the American Museum of Natural History in Central Park. Both are experienced teachers, and the result of their labors supplies a text-book which embraces all that the ordinary student need know regarding the classification, nomenclature, and many of the habits of all the animal kingdom from the lowest form of animate protoplasm to the highest Caucasian type. The illustrations are abundant and of admirable clearness, nearly four hundred in number, and showing some five hundred different creatures. These are many of them original drawings, while others are from Huxley, Darwin, and the best authorities in every department of this science. The series when complete will embrace Chemistry, Anatomy, Physiology and Hygiene, Geology, etc., and will form a valuable addition to the list of scientific text-books.

THE AMERICA'S CUP. How it was Won in 1851, and has been since Defended. By ROLAND F. COFFIN. 16mo, pp. 155. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Captain Coffin is, beyond question, the best-equipped writer on nautical topics at present connected with the metropolitan press. He has long been the yachting editor of the *World*, and it is proverbial that most of the other reporters follow his lead, and, when possible, borrow (to use a mild term) his very ideas. His "Old Sailor's Yarns" are among the most admirable of sea stories, being written from the sailor's stand-point, for the author comes of good old Nantucket stock—a race of seamen who officered our ships when the American merchant marine was in its glory. The international yacht race has been sailed, but the volume before us will possess a permanent value for yachtsmen. We could wish that the publishers had provided a few blank leaves at the end for memoranda, so that the author's accounts of the races between *Genesta* and *Puritan* might have been pasted in to make the record complete.

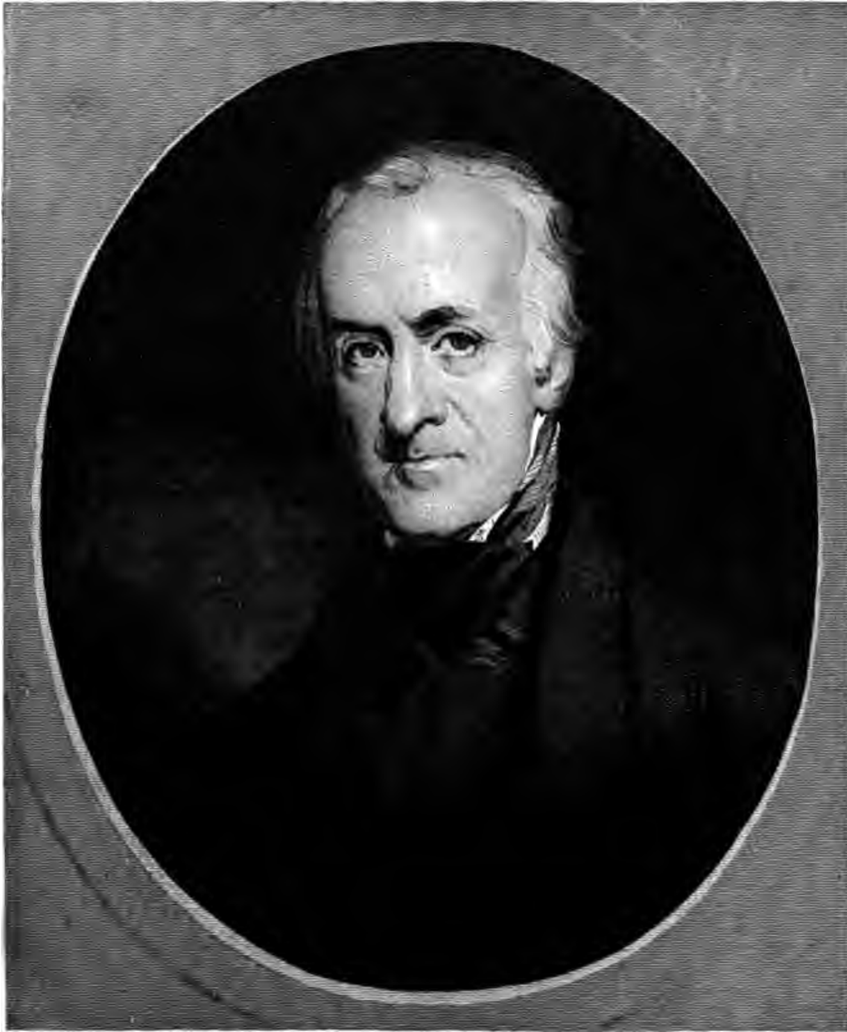
BLACK AND WHITE. Land, Labor, and Politics in the South. By THOMAS FORTUNE. 16mo, pp. 310. New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert. ($1.)

The discussion of American topics from the black man's side has at least the merit of novelty, but it is a question which time alone can solve whether the public is as yet prepared to read with avidity such a presentation. That the negro race has suffered grievous wrongs at the hands of the whites no intelligent person will be disposed to deny, but that it has also been the recipient of enormous concessions and favors is equally certain. To Mr. Fortune the fact that Mr. Lincoln regarded the preservation of the Union as paramount to the extinction of slavery, seems a dark stain upon his record, but he will not find many of the "dominant race" to agree with him. The question of negro suffrage, and of the future of those who were lately called the "freedmen," is beyond doubt one of the most weighty and perplexing that at present demands rather than commands popular attention. The volume is a suggestive contribution to the discussion, and may at no distant day assume an importance which cannot now be predicated for it.

THE INTEROCEANIC PROBLEM AND ITS SCIENTIFIC SOLUTION. An address before the American Association for the Advancement of Science: Thirty-fourth meeting, Ann Arbor, Michigan, August 26, 1885. By ELMER L. CORTHELL. 8vo, pamphlet, pp. 40. With Illustrative Plates.

This little work is an eloquent plea for a ship railway from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It was presented to the American Association for the Advancement of Science, at its recent meeting at Ann Arbor, as one of the most important commercial and scientific problems—one of the greatest public wants of the age. It touches in brief upon the growth of the railway, telegraph, ocean cable, and the steamship, each of which has supplied wants, but has also created greater ones. The author says: "Our wants develop, but our powers develop also. Whatever necessity may arise in any age, science always furnishes the means to supply it. No nation of the earth can now afford to be a stranger to any other. Distance and time must be annihilated. One barrier broken down, our efforts need all the more to be expended on the next that stands in the way. Although the northern part of the continent has been crossed by five lines of railroad, they cannot profitably transport many important bulky products."

Mr. Corthell proceeds to demonstrate the entire practicability of a ship railway. He answers the serious objections which have been made to it, one by one, and in clear, concise, convincing language, supported by figures, shows how capital will find it profitable to encourage and assist this vast enterprise. The project does not seem to be the conception of any impractical enthusiast or visionary. There is something real and tangible about it. For instance, in considering the grades to be overcome at the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, we are introduced to an engine with a system of adhesion and rack-rail combined; and a novel method is explained of making abrupt changes of direction.



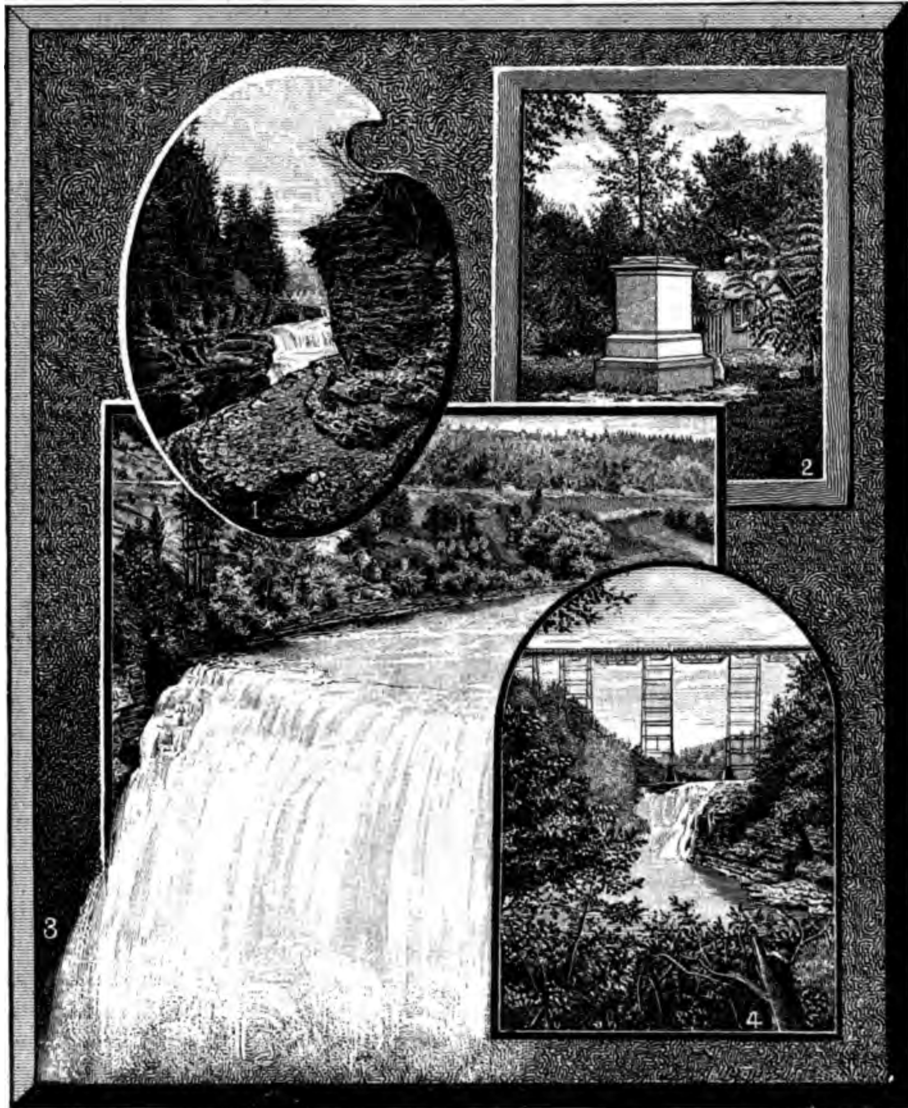
Jas. Wadsworth

giving more than a left-handed aid to Niagara and Oswego, which the British still occupied. In the mean time Massachusetts resigned to New York all political jurisdiction west of the eighty-second milestone on the Pennsylvania border; but she reserved—and sold to Oliver Phelps and Daniel Gorham, natives of her own soil—the pre-emptive right so far as the Indians were concerned.

The Indian title was soon partially extinguished through the efforts of the Rev. Samuel Kirkland; but Massachusetts was prevailed upon to take back the territory lying west of the Genesee River. "The Genesee country" was thenceforth bounded by "the pre-emption line" on the east, and on the west by a line running through the "Big Elm" at the junction of the Canaseraga with the Genesee, until, at the south, it met the border of Pennsylvania. At the north the line met Braddock's Bay, after following the Genesee at a distance of twelve miles. This tract was originally in the County of Tryon, or Montgomery, in the State of New York. At the present time it comprises all the counties known as Ontario, Steuben, and Yates; the greater part of Monroe and Livingston; one half of Wayne and the eastern towns of Alleghany.

Still further difficulties arose in the way of settling the country. In 1787 there were formed two corporations, known as "The New York Genesee Land Company" and "The Niagara Genesee Land Company." These corporations were soon found to be not only friendly to each other, but also under the influence of Brant, Butler, and other recent enemies of the United States, who were dwelling at Niagara. All of the land in the Genesee tract, and to the west of it as far as Niagara, had already been leased of the six nations by these companies for 999 years, when the treaty of Fort Stanwix was made in 1788. The "lessees," as they were called, fought this treaty. They also fought the Phelps and Gorham purchase until the proprietors agreed to a compromise. In the mean time Colonel Timothy Pickering, at Tioga Point (Athens, Pennsylvania), for the first time persuaded Red Jacket to allow the six nations to deal directly with "The Thirteen Fires" instead of with the single State of New York. The same process was afterward repeated at Elmira; and in 1794, at Canandaigua, in the presence of General Israel Chapin and fifty-eight Sachems, among whom were Hendrick, Fish-Carrier, Red Jacket, Cornplanter, and Handsome Lake. In all of these treaties the six nations were slow to part with their lands, and the Senecas took sides with the lessees. In fact, there was no absolute safety for settlers, and no surrendering of their territory by the Indians, until after the treaty at "Big Tree" (Geneseo), in 1797.

Phelps and Gorham unloaded most of their purchase upon Robert



GLIMPSES OF THE GENESEE COUNTRY.

1. *The Lower Fall of the Genesee River.*
2. *Tomb of Mary Jemison, at Glen Iris.*
3. *Mona-sha-sha, the Middle Fall, at Portage.*
4. *Upper Fall and Railroad Bridge, at Portage.*

Morris, the financier of the Revolution, and Phelps departed to look after the " Western Reserve " in Ohio. Morris acquired additional lands to the westward. In a hasty sale he unfortunately guaranteed the consent of the Indians, and the inability to keep his promise led to his end in a debtor's prison. But in spite of disaster to individuals, the country developed rapidly. The legislature abolished taxes for a term of years, allowed aliens to hold real property, and gave privileges to Virginians and Marylanders who brought their slaves. A State road was opened from Fort Schuyler (Utica) to Geneva, and another from near Geneseo across the Alleghany

RED JACKET.

Mountains to the Lycoming Creek. Bath was located where this road crosses Conhocton Creek. The exports to Canada were beef, salt, pork, flour, and whisky. The same exports were taken down the Susquehanna in "arks." The tributaries of the Susquehanna — the Conhocton, the Chemung, and the Canisteo—were named by the Indians "A Log in the Water," or "A Board in the Water." Tradition has it that these obstructions were started downward by the settlers building fires on the limestone ledges of the "rifts," and splitting them by pouring cold water or vinegar thereon.

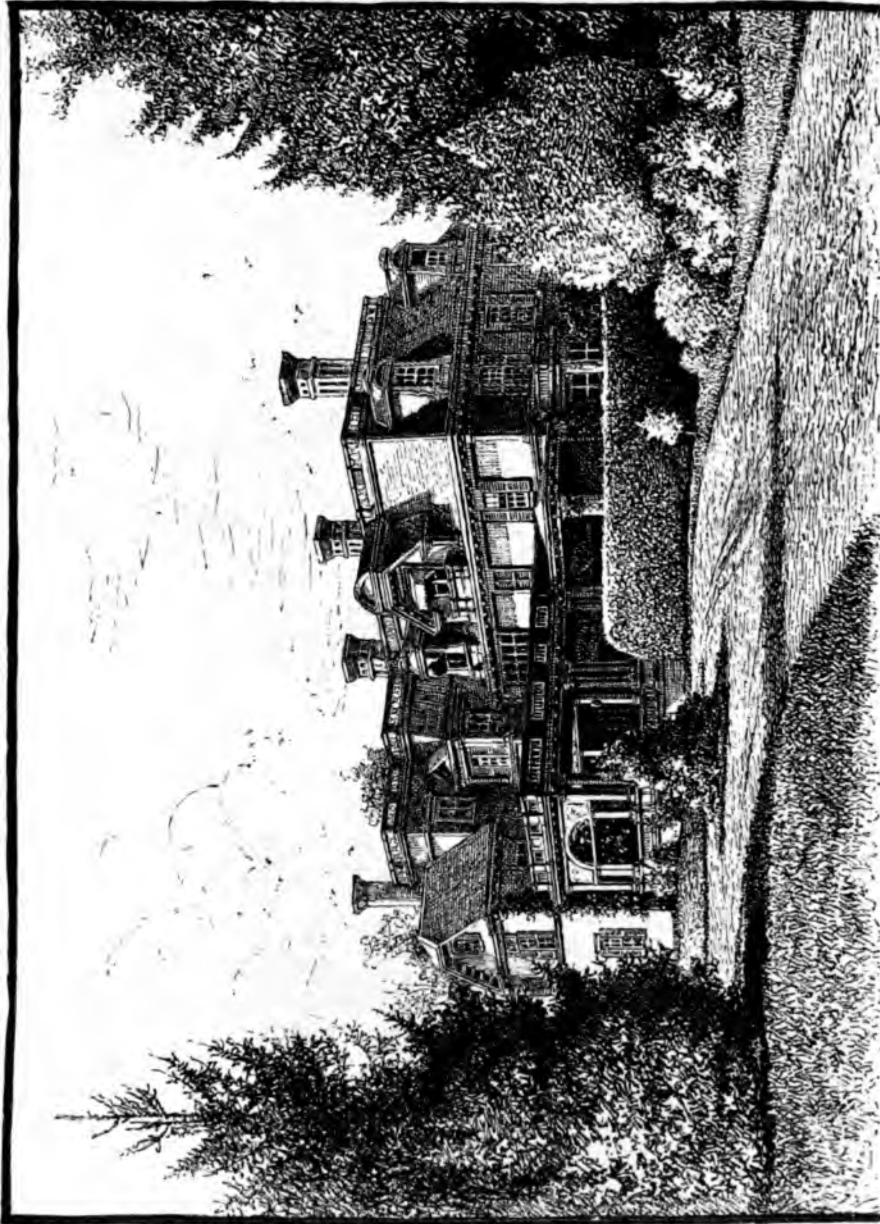
There is a Nemesis in the arts that make for peace even more than in

LONG HOUSE OF THE SENECAS. REMOVED FROM CANEADEA TO GLEN IRIS.

the prowess of war. The Senecas returned in straggling groups to find the white settler in place of the soldier. They had called the river—not after its turbulent waters, but after Gen-nis-he-yo—"The Beautiful Valley" from which they had been driven—a valley that broadens all the way to the northward. The white man had discovered this garden spot of alluvial flats, constantly enriched by the breaking down of the limestone hills and protected from extremes of temperature by the hills and the lakes. Robert and Thomas Morris finally prevailed upon Red Jacket, Farmer's Brother, Cornplanter, and Little Beard to come with the other Senecas to the "Big Tree." Early in the negotiations Red Jacket became very angry and declared the council-fire covered up. Then Thomas Morris made use of diplomacy. The Sachems were the rulers; but the warriors (as the lords of the land), and the women (as the mothers of the lords), might depose the Sachems, or set aside their rulings. Promises of presents turned the scale. Farmer's Brother declared the council-fire once more alive, while he insisted upon a reservation for Mary Jemison, "the White Woman." This was allowed, together with reservations at Canawagus, Caneadea, and nine other places. A huge tent was occupied as a council-house; and here, at last, the Senecas disposed of all their remaining territory for $100,000. So large a sum as this was beyond the limit of the

Senecas' arithmetic. They managed to grasp the idea, however, when a keg was filled with silver, and it was told how many such kegs would be filled, and how many horses it would take to draw them. The payment was not in coin, but in stock of the United States Bank. And here came a more serious difficulty—to present to the Indian mind the declaring of a dividend. Finally it was represented that it was the same thing as planting the money—sometimes the crop would be small, and sometimes large. For years afterward, whenever Morris came to this region, the first question of the Senecas was in regard to the quality of the crop at the United States Bank. Poor Senecas! The $100,000 was but a drop in the bucket, as the value is reckoned to-day. Our sympathies must go out to Thomas Jemison, grandson of the "White Woman," who, at the memorable council at Glen Iris, said: "Brothers! our fathers knew not the value of these lands, and parted with them for a trifle. The craft of the white man prevailed over their ignorance and simplicity. . . . I regret that our fathers should have given away their country, acre by acre, and left us in our present state. They knew not the value of the soil, and little imagined that the white people would cover the lands as thickly as the trees from ocean to ocean."

Several years before the great treaty the brothers James and William Wadsworth had arrived at the "Big Tree" village from Durham, in Connecticut. They came at the request of their uncle, Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth of Hartford, Connecticut, who had an interest in the Phelps and Gorham purchase. This branch of the family descended from the William Wadsworth who came over from England, in 1632, and settled in Hartford. Among the other descendants of William Wadsworth were Captain Joseph Wadsworth, of Charter Oak fame, and General Daniel Wadsworth, who founded the Hartford *Athenæum*. In the same ship that brought William, came also Christopher Wadsworth, who settled in Duxbury, Massachusetts, and lived for a generation near Miles Standish, whose autograph, as justice of the peace, may be seen on the title-deed of the Wadsworth farm, preserved in the Memorial Hall at Plymouth. Others of Christopher Wadsworth's descendants are to be found in Maine. Of the two brothers who settled in the Genesee country in 1790, William, the younger, was the sturdy farmer whom the backwoodsmen called "Old Bill" or "General Bill," because he shared in all their sports. He served in the war of 1812 with credit, and died in 1833, leaving his large estates to the elder brother, James. With such an addition to his own extensive property, James Wadsworth was the most wealthy proprietor in western New York. It was possible for him to drive to Rochester, twenty-five



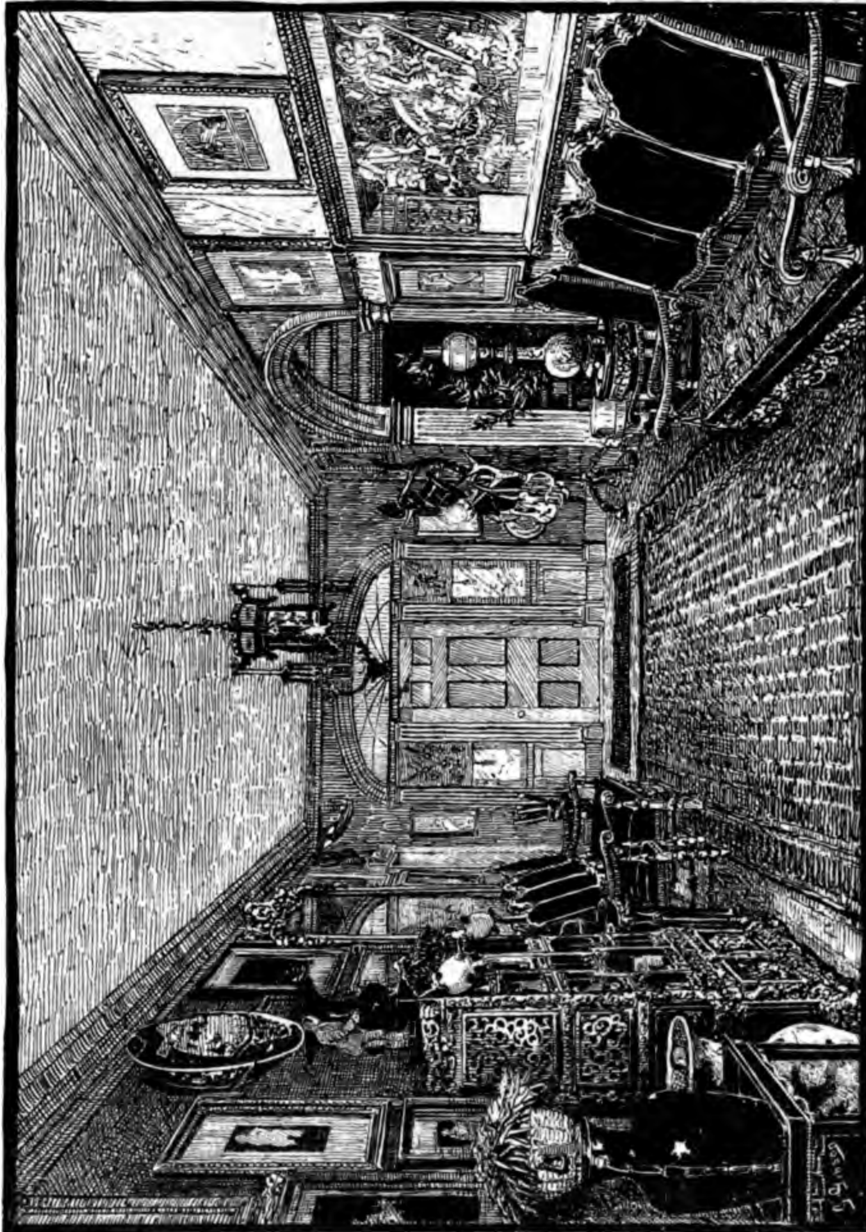
THE WADSWORTH HOUSE, AT GENESEO.

miles distant, along one bank of the river, and return on the other—all on his own estate. This good fortune he ever held as a trust for the promoting of education and the development of agriculture. The "Wadsworth Estate" of those days was about 50,000 acres of cultivated lands. The farms were rented for a fixed annual sum. There never was any trouble between landlord and tenant corresponding to the "anti-rent war" on properties that were held in various parts of the east. The establishing of normal schools and libraries through the State of New York was the result of James Wadsworth's efforts. Every one of his deeds stipulated that in each township one hundred and twenty-five acres should be reserved for a school and the same amount for a church. With such influences rightly turned within his own household, it is not strange that many thousand acres of choice lands still remain to his descendants, and they continue to reflect honor upon the name of their ancestors. There is a trio of great names that will ever cling to the earlier years of this region. Red Jacket stands as the defender of his people. Sullivan was the avenger of war. Wadsworth was the apostle of civilization.

All along the fertile bottoms of the river may be seen groups of white swamp-oaks that tower to a height of nearly one hundred feet. The original "big tree" of treaty fame was one of these; but the river finally undermined it, and to-day it exists only in sections that are preserved with religious care at Geneseo and Glen Iris. In later years these trees were known as "the Wadsworth oaks." Weaving this fact with the other, that the original proprietor was a relative of Captain Joseph Wadsworth who hid the charter of Connecticut, a local poet has caused the oak of Geneseo to address the oak of Connecticut in these words:

"A far-famed man of noble mien,
Lord of those hills, these pastures green,
And foremost of the pioneers,
In the hale winter of his years
Still lives, with youthful strength endowed;
And sends, like me, tho' worn and old,
To scythe-armed Time defiance bold.
The name he bears that warrior bore
Who hid, when night dusk mantle wore,
Deep in thy gray and caverned hole,
Insulted Freedom's parchment-scroll."

Geneseo is only five miles from Mount Morris as the bird flies, but if the course by the river is taken it is twenty-seven miles. On these rich plains cattle may be seen as far as the eye can reach. "Whenever I look out



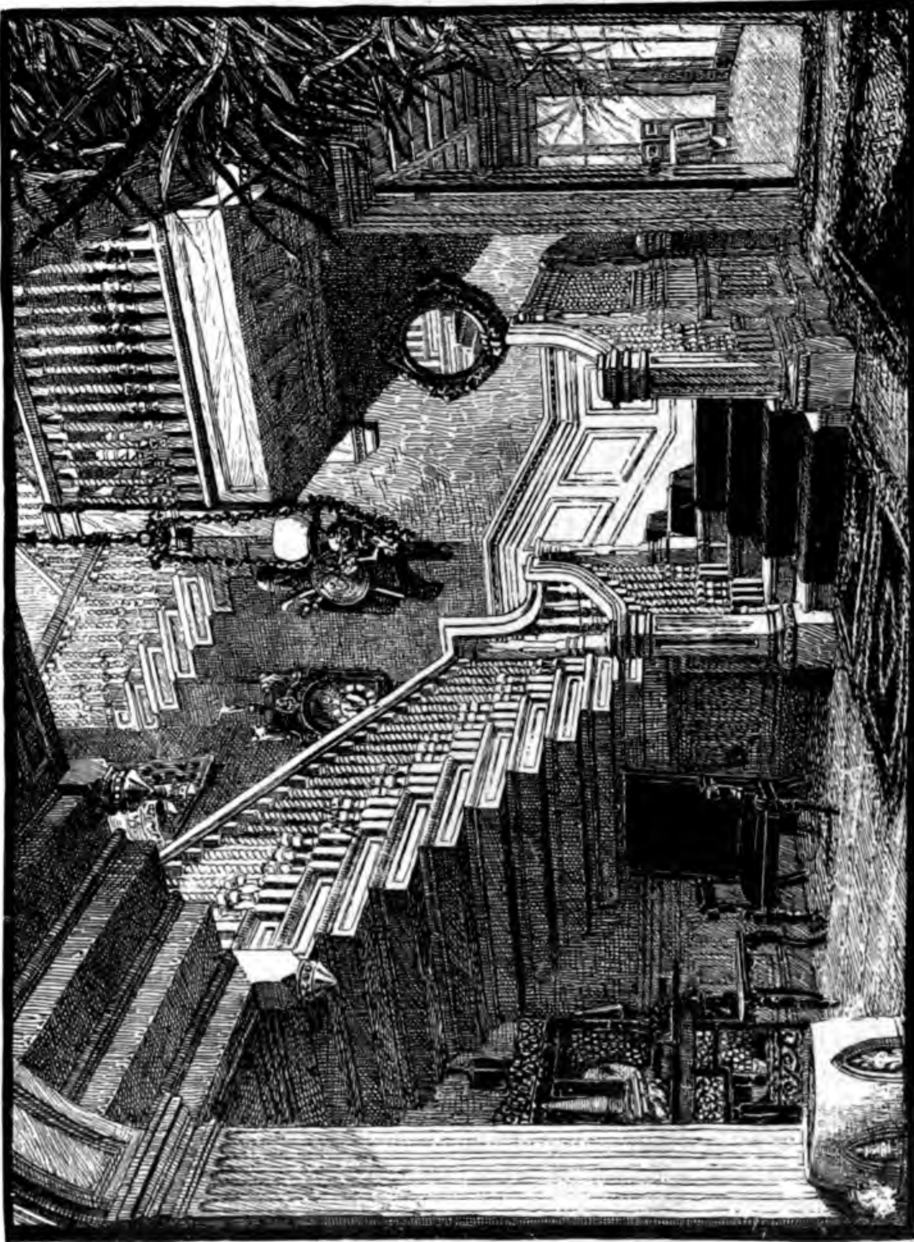
ENTRANCE HALL TO THE WADSWORTH HOUSE, AT GENESEO.

upon this scene," says a resident of the village, "my mind fully responds to the divine strains of the pastoral symphony in the *Messiah;* and I do not believe that any one can fully appreciate that music until he has been to the spot." At any rate, to minds not so musically bent, the scene cannot but stand for "the all-pervading symphony of peace." As seen from the village, the west bank of the Genesee rises in one gradual slope of pasture and fertile uplands, dotted with a village here and there, until it meets the horizon fifteen miles away. Every inch of land is cultivated, even to the hill-tops; and from these slopes, as well as from the lowlands, come the grain and the stock that make the valley so famous.

The main part of the original homestead of James Wadsworth was built about the year 1800. It was four square, with the front door facing the east, after the most approved fashion in New England. This main part still exists, although now covered with a more modern exterior. It was bullet proof in those days. The siding, of three-inch oak plank, is set on end, and the spaces between the studding are filled with stone and mortar. The frame is hewn from oak—18 x 12 or 18 x 24, being the size of the sections. In this shape it was ready to resist the attacks of Indians who were not, in all instances, friendly. The original hall is practically unchanged. It is twelve feet wide, and runs through from the east to the west, with large rooms on either side. The present parlor is unchanged. The carving on the mantel is both quaint and beautiful. The "smoking-room" has been remodeled. It has no particular interest, although it was originally the library. The present library was once the dining-room—the change having been made about the year 1849. Here may be seen a large portrait of "General Bill," and a very accurate painting of the Big Elm.

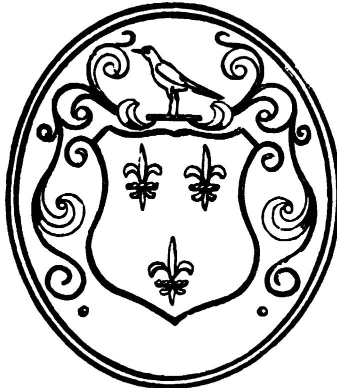
The rooms on the second story are unchanged, and they contain furniture of the good old styles. The rooms in the third story were recently carved out of the immense old garret that formerly covered the house. The staircase leading to them, with its landing in a bay window outside the house, is due to Mr. John H. Sturgis, who made the alterations very successfully without changing the character of the house. Indeed, so well was the work done, that many did not know that the house had been touched. An addition was made at the south, which is the present morning-room and dining-room, originally a bedroom and a kitchen. The present wing was built about 1820, to replace a smaller one then existing; and the small addition to the eastern end of the wing was built in 1870, for a laundry, when the kitchen was moved away from the main building.

Among those most closely identified with the house were James, "the squire," and "General Bill." James Wadsworth married Miss Wolcott.



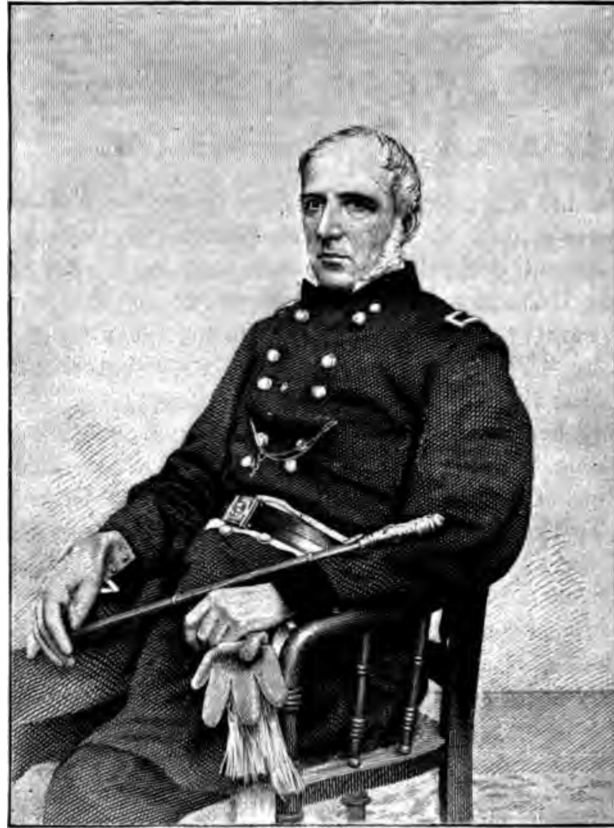
THE STAIRCASE OF THE WADSWORTH HOUSE, AT GENESEO.

Of the daughters, one married the Hon. Martin Brimmer, of Boston; the other, Miss Elizabeth, a talented young woman, a great beauty and an heiress, married Sir Charles A. Murray, son of the Earl of Dunmore, and died in 1848. Also General James S. Wadsworth, who married a Miss Wharton of Philadelphia, a remarkable beauty. General Wadsworth's own substantial home was at the other, or northern end of the wide street that forms the main part of the village of Geneseo. In that hospitable mansion, of a more recent date, he received the most distinguished men of his day, down to the time that he met his tragic death while trying to stem the tide against the enemy at the battle of the Wilderness in 1864. Horace Greeley wrote of him: "The country's salvation claimed no nobler sacrifice than that of James S. Wadsworth of New York. . . . No one surrendered more for his country's sake, or gave his life more joyfully for her deliverance."


WADSWORTH ARMS.

Aside from the names already mentioned, there were identified with the original homestead William Wadsworth, a younger brother of General Wadsworth, who married a Miss Austin of Boston, a personal friend of Longfellow, Prescott, Motley, Ticknor, and Holmes; also William W. Wadsworth, Miss Harriet, and Miss Cornelia. In a later generation, Captains Charles, Craig, and James W. Wadsworth—whose swords hang rusting by the side of their elders'—were either inmates of, or frequent visitors at, the mansion on the hill-side, surrounded by old-fashioned gardens with lofty hedges, and overlooking the "Home Farm," or "Big Tree Farm" of two thousand acres. Within sight is the spot made memorable by the slaughter of Lieutenant Boyd's scouting party, that tried to help Sullivan in his advance upon the Senecas. Before the days of railroads the house was situated so near the "State road" that many people stopped on the way to Niagara. Nearly all the leading men of fifty years ago visited the place at one time or another. In fact, all travelers in that region went there, from the Duc de la Rochefoucauld—who was snubbed by "General Bill," went away in a huff and paid him off in print—down to the humblest. As the place was a center of attraction, there were many political and other gatherings at the old house. There was also considerable communication with the older branches of the family in Connecticut and in England.

Horatio Seymour says, "The man who has lived fifty years in the inte-



GENERAL JAMES S. WADSWORTH.

rior of the State of New York has seen more changes in the advancement of science and in social improvement than a citizen of Great Britain would have seen if he had lived five hundred years." This is especially true of the Genesee valley; which, under the lead of the Wadsworths, the Leroys, the Fitzhughs, and other pioneer families, has become a shining example of the American doctrine of self-development. In this instance nature—like providence—helped those who helped and made the most of themselves.

Frederic G. Mather.

THE BATTLE OF BLADENSBURG

BURNING OF WASHINGTON IN 1814

Prior to the late Civil War, during many years, we had for second assistant postmaster-general Mr. William H. Dundas, who was somewhat of a wag, and who delighted in rallying the mild and staid John Smith, one of the clerks of the Department, on having served in a militia company at the battle of Bladensburg, otherwise reproachfully called "the Bladensburg Races." Said he, "The red coats got a little the better of you at the start, but you beat them *in the long run*."

There having been so many meager and often conflicting stories about this famous battle, and the fall of Washington, I determined, if possible, to sift the various accounts, and present within reasonable limits, an intelligible record. To this end I examined the files of many of the prominent newspapers of the day, and read all I could find on the subject in books. It appears that no serious fears were felt for the safety of the capital until within a few days of its capture. We can imagine what consternation prevailed among the citizens when the danger suddenly became imminent. The *Boston Centinel* of August 24 contained a letter from Washington, dated August 16, saying: "We are all in alarm here. The enemy are said to be in great force in the Chesapeake. It is apprehended this city is their object, and that they will land in the Patuxent or near Annapolis, near which several of their ships have been seen. It is expected the President will issue another proclamation, directing Congress to assemble at some other place except Washington—say Lancaster, Pennsylvania." President Madison had already summoned Congress (August 8) to meet on the 19th of September. Another item in the *Centinel* of a later date was: "The public papers began to be removed from Washington 21st August, and all the horses, carriages, and drivers are pressed. The roads are crowded with women and children, and the greatest distress prevails." A correspondent of the *Baltimore Patriot* wrote from Washington that: "On Sunday (21st) the public officers were all engaged in packing and sending off their books, and the citizens their furniture. On Monday this business was continued with great industry and many families left the city. The specie was removed from all the banks in the District." A gentleman wrote from Washington at one o'clock in the morning of the day of the battle: "I cannot find language to express the situation of the women

and children, who are running the streets in a state bordering on distraction; their husbands, fathers and brothers all under arms, scarce a man to be seen in the city. Enemy reported to be 13,000 strong."

The British squadron under command of Vice-Admiral Cochrane entered Chesapeake Bay on the 16th of August. On the 18th a part of their ships with the British troops, under General Ross, then estimated, as one account states, "at from 5,000 to 10,000, probably rising 7,000," entered the Patuxent river, and a part ascended the Potomac—in all then reported to be "composed of fifty sail, including transports." It was known that the troops were largely made up from the army of the Duke of Wellington—tried veterans in the regular service—whose embarkation for the United States our government had been advised of as early as the month of June succeeding the triumphant entry of the allied forces into Paris, March 30, when Napoleon abdicated to give place to Louis XVIII. (on the 6th of April, 1815), and the pacification of Europe. The report soon came that these British troops were landing at Benedict, twenty-seven miles east of Washington, on the Patuxent, and that they were preparing to march to Washington, although there was great uncertainty as to whether Washington, Annapolis, or Fort Washington on the Potomac, was their objective point. Meantime more active preparations for defense were hastily made by calling out all the available militia and regular United States troops in the District of Columbia, as well as from Baltimore and other sections not far distant. General W. H. Winder was ordered to the command, and under date of August 20 issued two "General Orders," calling on his soldiers "to do their duty without regard to sacrifice and privation," and upon the people within and contiguous to his command "to rally round the standard of their country in defense of the capital and their own firesides." These orders were supplemented by a similar stirring appeal from James H. Blake, the Mayor of Washington.

There is undoubted evidence that President Madison was early alive to the importance of adopting effective measures for the safety of the capital. At a special Cabinet meeting called for this purpose on July 1, 1814, the subject was fully discussed and a plan of defense agreed on, which, had it been carried out, might have proved successful. But this failed, it appears, through the inefficiency or indifference, or both combined, of General Armstrong, Secretary of War, who could not, or would not believe, until the enemy was seen on his march to Bladensburg, that Washington was his destination; who seemed to think it far more probable that he was going either to Baltimore or Annapolis, that he "would never be so mad as to make an attempt on Washington, and that it was therefore totally unneces-

sary to make any preparations for its defense." As late as the day of the battle, the *New York Evening Post* received information from Washington that, although the British had disembarked at Benedict, they had not marched thitherward, and that the militia had collected in such numbers in and near the capital as to ensure its safety in case of attack. The result, however, was that, "only eleven days before the enemy entered the city, the commanding general had under his orders but little more than one thousand men," and with his utmost exertions he had succeeded in collecting not more than half the force it was intended by the President he should have when the day of battle came. Even then, a regiment of some eight hundred men from Virginia, who arrived in the city the day before, could not join the army for want of the necessary equipments, for which the War Department had made little or no provision. General Winder, in his official report, says: "About five thousand men, including three hundred and fifty regulars and Commodore Barney's command (about five hundred men), was all he was able to interpose at Bladensburg. Much the larger part of this force, he says, arrived on the ground when the enemy were in sight, and were disposed of to support in the best manner the position which General Stansbury had taken with his command from Baltimore. They had barely reached the ground before the action commenced."

For several days before the British ventured up the Patuxent, detachments were from time to time landed from their vessels and engaged in committing depredations on the unoffending planters, burning their dwellings and seizing tobacco and other products, not omitting to supply themselves with provisions, the most delicate within their reach. Commodore Barney had moved his flotilla up the Patuxent above Nottingham. It consisted, he said, "of fourteen open rowboats (not gunboats) and one tender, having crews amounting in the whole to five hundred and three men." On Friday, August 19, Colonel Monroe, Secretary of State, with Captain Thornton's troops from Alexandria, made a reconnoisance, and discovered that the enemy was debarking at Benedict. A letter from Washington, in the *Richmond Enquirer*, of August 23, states that Colonel Monroe was near being captured at Nottingham, but that he escaped from one side of the town while the British were marching in at the other. Mr. George R. Gleig, a British subaltern present, thus describes the debarkation: "As soon as the dawn began to appear on the morning of the 19th, there was a general stir throughout the fleet. A gun brig had already taken her station within one hundred and fifty yards of a village called St. Benedict's, on the left bank of the river, where it was determined that the disembarkation should be effected. Her broadside was turned toward the shore, and

her guns, loaded with grape and round shot, were pointed at the beach to cover the landing of the boats; and being moored fore and aft with spring cables, she was altogether as manageable as if she had been under sail. . . . By three o'clock in the afternoon the whole army was landed, and occupied a strong position about two miles above the village."

On Saturday, August 20, General Winder dispatched Lieutenant-Colonel Tilghman, with his squadron of dragoons, "by way of the Wood Yard (about fifteen miles from Washington), to fall down upon the British, to annoy, harass, and impede their march by every possible means, to remove or destroy forage and provisions from before the enemy, and gain intelligence. Captain Caldwell, with his troop of city cavalry, was dispatched with the same views toward Benedict by Piscataway, it being wholly uncertain what route the enemy would take if it was his intention to come to Washington." Other smaller detachments were sent to different points to watch the movements of the enemy and give information. At that time, being pretty well convinced that it was the intention of the enemy to proceed direct to Washington, General Winder gave orders to Colonel Scott and Major Peter to retire, and occupy the first eligible position between the junction of two roads leading thither and the Wood Yard. After a great deal of reconnoitering and some skirmishing, in which shots were exchanged with little effect, the British forces continued slowly to advance and ours to fall back towards the eastern branch of the Potomac and Bladensburg. Commodore Barney's flotilla was lying near Mt. Pleasant, about nine miles from Nottingham, when on the approach of the British fleet, August 21, the Commodore, with four hundred of his men, abandoned his boats, leaving the rest of the crew with orders to blow them up, which they did on the following day, and all joined the army. The capture or destruction of this flotilla, which could not have been very formidable, was undoubtedly the first object the enemy had in view, and so soon as its destruction was thus accomplished, they were left free to decide whether to take the road to Washington, Annapolis, or Baltimore. While resting within a few miles of Nottingham, squads of British soldiers were sent out to scour the neighboring woods, where it had been represented by some of the country people, probably slaves impressed as guides into the service of the enemy, "numerous detached bodies of riflemen lay in ambush amid the thickets;" and Mr. Gleig relates "a little adventure," which he says occurred to himself on one of these excursions, premising that it illustrates what he was pleased to style "the low cunning which forms a leading trait in the American character." He says they surrounded two men dressed in black coats, and armed with bright fire-locks and

bayonets, sitting under a tree. "As soon, he says, as they observed me, they started up and took to their heels, but being hemmed in on all sides, they quickly perceived that to escape was impossible, and accordingly stood still. I hastened toward them, and, having got within a few paces, I heard the one say to the other, with a look of the most perfect simplicity, 'Stop, John, till the gentlemen pass.' There was something so ludicrous in this speech, and in the cast of countenance which accompanied it, that I could not help laughing aloud; nor was my mirth diminished by their attempts to persuade me that they were quiet country people, come out for no other purpose than to shoot squirrels. When I desired to know whether they carried bayonets to charge the squirrels, as well as muskets to shoot them, they were rather at a loss for a reply; but they grumbled exceedingly when they found themselves prisoners and conducted as such to the column."

During the night of August 21 the enemy remained at Nottingham—their boats and tenders were anchored there—and the next day, soon after day-break, the whole moved forward again; but in such a way, first on one road and then on another, or by dividing their forces, some taking the road toward Fort Washington and some toward Annapolis, so as to keep General Winder in the dark respecting their real purpose, as well as to weary out his troops by constant watching. As the enemy advanced, our troops retired. By two o'clock, on the afternoon of August 22, General Ross, supported by Rear-Admiral Cockburn, had reached Marlborough, "where he remained until the same hour next day, having, of course, abundant time to rest and refresh his troops, and being perfectly unmolested." Late in the afternoon of the 22d, General Winder, with the cavalry of observation, retired to the Long Old Fields, ten miles from Bladensburg, where his troops were encamped. Here "he was informed that the President and heads of departments had arrived at a house one mile in the rear of the camp." About two o'clock in the morning of the 23d, his troops were roused by "a false alarm from a sentinel, were formed in order of battle, and when dismissed, were ordered to hold themselves ready for their posts at a moment's warning." This was the second night in succession in which they had been deprived of their rest. Before nine o'clock in the forenoon they were under arms again, and were reviewed by the President and suite. General Stansbury was now at Bladensburg in command of the Baltimore troops. The enemy still pressing forward toward the Long Old Fields, General Smith had, agreeably to orders, sent off the baggage across the Eastern Branch, and his troops, together with Commodore Barney's men, were drawn up ready to receive the enemy should he make an attack.

Orders had been sent to the city for the removal of the public records, and the most important of these in the State Department, and probably also in the War Department, both being in the same building, were taken first to an unoccupied mill on the Virginia side, near the Chain Bridge, a few miles above Georgetown, and soon afterward to Leesburg.

The head of the enemy's column, by three o'clock in the afternoon of the 23d, was about five miles from Marlborough and within three miles of General Winder's position, where they halted. This being "at a point from whence they could take the road to Bladensburg, to the Eastern Branch bridge, or to Fort Washington, indifferently, or it might be to cover their march upon Annapolis," great doubt was yet entertained which course the British meant to pursue. Their force was, still "very imperfectly known, opinions and representations varying, General Winder says, from four to twelve thousand, the better opinion fixed it at from five to seven thousand," while his force at Long Old Fields numbered only about twenty-five hundred. In this state of doubt and uncertainty, after waiting for the enemy till sundown, General Winder determined, he said, to retire over the lower Eastern Branch bridge, and Commodore Barney concurring, they retired with their respective commands accordingly, and encamped in the city that night, when by his order the upper bridge over the Eastern Branch was destroyed. The President and heads of departments likewise left and went home. Commodore Barney posted his artillery so as to command the lower bridge at the Navy Yard.

About ten o'clock next day, the 24th, General Winder "received intelligence that the enemy had turned the head of his column toward Bladensburg," leaving now no further doubt of his intention to strike for Washington. General Winder at once "ordered General Smith with the whole of the troops to move immediately to that point," while he himself, "leaving the President and some of the heads of departments at his quarters, where they had been for an hour or more," hastened forward and arrived at the Bladensburg bridge about twelve o'clock, where he found Colonel Beall had that moment passed his command, having just arrived from Annapolis." Upon inquiry, he learned that General Stansbury was on rising ground on the left of his line, where he soon found him and Colonel Monroe, who had been aiding General Stansbury to post his command. Meantime, General Smith with his troops had arrived on the ground, and "Commodore Barney's men and the marines were halted on the turnpike about a mile" nearer the city, in the rear of the main force.

Of this final struggle, all the accounts seem to agree as to the main facts. About one o'clock of the 24th a column of the enemy appeared in

sight, moving up the Eastern Branch parallel to the position of our troops. A galling fire from the advanced artillery and Major Pinkney's battalion of Baltimore riflemen was immediately opened upon them with terrible effect as they were descending the street toward the bridge. Mr. Gleig, referring to this encounter, says: "While we [the British troops] were moving along the street, a continued fire was kept up, with some execution, from those guns which stood at the left of the road, but it was not till the bridge was covered with our people that the two-gun battery on the road itself began to play. Then, indeed, it also opened, and with tremendous effect; for at the first discharge, almost an entire company was swept down." This caused the enemy to leave the street, and they crept down under cover of houses and trees, in loose order, so as not to expose themselves to risk from the shot; it was therefore only occasionally that an object presented at which the artillery could fire. In this sort of suspension the enemy began to throw rockets, and his light troops to accumulate down in the lower parts of the town, near the bridge, but principally covered from view by the houses, and soon began to press across the creek, everywhere fordable, and in most places lined with bushes and trees, which sufficiently concealed their movements. The advanced American riflemen fired half a dozen rounds, when they retreated twenty or thirty yards while the enemy's rockets, being at first aimed too high, were flying over their heads. The President and Attorney-General Richard Rush, were briskly riding toward Bladensburg, just before the battle began, without perceiving that the British were so near as to be almost within musket range, and they were in great danger of being captured. They turned into the orchard among our troops, where they met the Secretaries of State and War, and where the greatest consternation was manifest. Soon the rockets "received a more horizontal direction, and passed very close above the heads of Shultz's and Ragan's regiments, composing the entire left of Stansbury's line. A universal flight of these regiments was the consequence;" nor could they be rallied, with the exception of about forty men of Colonel Ragan's and a part of Captain Showers' command, who, although thus deserted, made a gallant but ineffectual stand. Colonel Ragan, in his great efforts to rally his men, was wounded and taken prisoner. Major William Pinkney, the eloquent lawyer and distinguished statesman, was also seriously wounded. The 5th Baltimore regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Sterrett, being the left of General Stansbury's brigade, still stood its ground, and except for a moment, when part of them recoiled a few steps, remained firm until ordered to retreat. The reserve under General Smith, with the militia of Washington and Georgetown, the regulars, and some detachments of Maryland militia,

flanked on their right by Commodore Barney and his men, and Colonel Beall, maintained the contest with great effect until overpowered by numbers.

Commodore Barney had taken position, with three 18-pounders, between General Stansbury's and General Smith's commands, not far from the noted dueling ground, and, feebly supported by Colonel Beall's militia on a neighboring eminence, by a well-directed fire the enemy was held in suspense and suffered severely more than an hour, until the British general, Ross, advanced with fresh troops to the rescue. All accounts agree that the most stubborn resistance was made under Commodore Barney, whose brave marines fought "until the enemy reached nearly to the muzzles of the guns; nor did they retire until ordered to do so, after every hope of victory vanished." The British narrator, Gleig, says the sailors not only "served their guns with a quickness and precision which astonished their assailants, but they stood till some of them were actually bayoneted, with fuses in their hands; nor was it till their leader was wounded and taken, and they saw themselves deserted on all sides by the soldiers, that they quitted the field." The gallant commander, as he was preparing to withdraw from an untenable position, received a ball in the upper part of his thigh, which was never extracted, and of which wound he died several years afterward. Thirteen of his men were killed in action before the order for retreat was given.

This ended the battle. Although General Winder hoped to be able to rally his troops and make another stand near the Capitol, his forces were so disorganized and scattered that he found it impossible; and both the Secretary of War and Secretary of State concurred with him that "it was wise and proper to retire through Georgetown and take post in the rear of it, on the heights, to collect his force." He "accordingly pursued this course, and halted at Tennallytown, two miles from Georgetown, on the Frederick road." General Armstrong suggested throwing our troops into the Capitol building, but this plan was at once dismissed as impracticable, "since it would have taken nearly the whole of them to have sufficiently filled the two wings, which would have left the enemy masters of every other part of the city."

Meantime the President and heads of departments had made their escape in advance of the retreating troops, and the utmost terror reigned in the cities of Washington and Georgetown. A letter in the *Baltimore Patriot* of August 26, from an eye-witness, says: "The President, who had been on horseback with the army the whole day, retired from the mortifying scene and left the city on horseback, accompanied by General Mason

and Mr. Carroll. At Georgetown, the President met his lady, she having left the city only half an hour before, having remained with great composure at the President's house until a message brought her the tidings that the British were within a few miles of the city, and that our army were retreating without any chance of being rallied so as to check their march. The President and Secretary of State went to Virginia with their families—the other officers of the government to Fredericktown, where the President intends to meet his secretaries next week." I may add that our soldiers did not tarry long at Tennallytown, but kept on to Montgomery Court House.

I am inclined to believe that the President met his carriage on reaching the city, as I found in the *Richmond Enquirer*, of August 27, a statement to the effect that two gentlemen, who passed through Washington on the day of the battle, when about to start from Pennsylvania Avenue for the Long Bridge, heard the cry: "There goes the President!" and looking, they saw him driving in his carriage toward the President's house. They had come in a stage from Baltimore, and the first intimation they had of danger was on the road near Bladensburg, where they were met by shrieking women who reported that the enemy were approaching, and the stage came into the city in a roundabout way. Mr. Charles J. Ingersoll says: "After Barney's and Miller's defeat and retreat [Miller was captain of marines], Ross attempted nothing further. One-fifth of his army was killed, wounded, or missing, for they deserted whenever they could; and the rest were so entirely overcome by their labors and exertions from early in the morning until four o'clock [when the contest, begun at one o'clock, ended] that they were incapable of further effort. Rest was indispensable to them, and as they lay on the ground it was Barney's opinion, freely expressed, that five hundred well-disciplined cavalry could have rode through and taken them all, almost without waking them from their heavy slumbers. Cockburn's jocular and contemptuous official reason for not pursuing was, that the victors were too weary and the vanquished too swift."

There is no doubt as to the exhausted condition of a large part of the forces of both armies. The weather was very hot; many of our troops had been without proper food and rest for three or four days; and a writer in the *Baltimore Patriot* states that the British soldiers "were so overpowered by their rapid march that many of them fell dead on the road. As they passed through Bladensburg their mouths were open, gasping for breath, and their officers were ordering them forward with their swords and spontoons. Twelve were buried in one field that had not a wound." The *National Intelligencer*, of September 1, says: "The loss of the enemy

before he regained his ships [on 29th August] probably exceeded a thousand men. He lost at least two hundred killed in the battle and by explosion, and three or four hundred wounded. Many died of fatigue, numbers were taken prisoners by the cavalry hanging on his rear, and not a few deserted." Our loss was twenty-six killed and fifty-one wounded.

On August 20, in a sharp encounter near the coast, the British lost one of their distinguished officers, Sir Peter Parker, commander of the ship *Menelaus*, besides thirteen soldiers killed and twenty-seven wounded. According to *Niles' Register*, he had said he "must have a frolic with the Yankees before he left them," and in order to gratify this desire, he went out with a detachment to surprise Colonel Read, a veteran of the Revolutionary war, who, with one hundred and seventy men, was watching the enemy at Belair. They met in the night, and in the "frolic" which ensued Sir Peter received a mortal wound and expired in a few minutes. It is worthy of note, singular as it may seem, that, for this military exploit, he has a monument in Westminster Abbey.

Accounts vary slightly as regards the entry and reception of the enemy into the city. A correspondent wrote from Baltimore, September 1: "The British army was halted on the plain near the capital. General Ross, Admiral Cockburn and some other officers, with about one hundred and fifty men, entered the city. On passing a house near the Capitol, in which Mr. Gallatin formerly resided, a shot from a window, said to be fired by a French barber, killed the horse on which General Ross rode. This imprudent act caused the destruction of the house and adjoining buildings." Mr. Chester Bailey, a United States mail contractor, purporting to be an eye-witness, wrote to *Poulson's Advertiser*, Philadelphia: "After the battle, a small party of the British entered the city about 9 P.M.; on passing the first house (this was at the corner of Second Street East and the old Baltimore turnpike, which had been occupied by Mr. Gallatin when Secretary of the Treasury) a volley was fired from the windows, which killed General Ross's horse under him, one soldier, and wounded three others; the house was immediately surrounded and some prisoners taken (a part of them were negroes) and the house set on fire." Ingersoll says: "Having given his exhausted soldiers some indispensable repose, Ross, with Cockburn, attended by a body guard of two hundred bayonets, and saluted by the fulminations from the Navy Yard, rode slowly into the wilderness city, whose population was (a little over) eight thousand, scattered over large spaces, and of whom almost every male was then absent, either in arms, some distant hiding-place, or a few keeping close in their dwellings. Many passed the night in huts and cornfields around the town. The first considerable

dwelling the enemy was to pass had been Mr. Gallatin's residence, the house of Mrs. Sewell, some hundred yards from the Capitol. From behind the side wall of that house, as is supposed, at all events from or near to it, a solitary musket, fired by some excited and perhaps intoxicated person, believed to be a well-known Irish barber, but never ascertained who was the perpetrator, no doubt aimed at General Ross, killed the bay mare he rode."

Mr. Gleig said it was General Ross's intention only "to lay the city under contribution, and to return quietly to the shipping," and that therefore "he did not march the troops immediately to the city, but halted them upon a plain in its immediate vicinity whilst a flag of truce was sent in with terms. But whatever his proposal might have been, it was not so much as heard, for scarcely had the party bearing the flag entered the street, than they were fired upon from the windows of one of the houses, and the horse of the General himself, who accompanied them, killed. You will easily believe that conduct so unjustifiable, so direct a breach of the law of nations, roused the indignation of every individual, from the General himself down to the private soldier. All thoughts of accommodation were instantly laid aside; the troops advanced forthwith into the town, and having put to the sword all who were found in the house from which the shots were fired, and reduced it to ashes, they proceeded, without a moment's delay, to burn and destroy everything in the most distant degree connected with the government."

It is proper to state here that this British account of an intention to spare the city is not credited, as Admiral Cochrane, Commander-in-chief of the British fleet, had, under date of August 18, addressed a letter to Secretary Monroe, informing him that he had received instructions from his government "to destroy and lay waste such towns and districts on the coast as may be found assailable," in retaliation for alleged depredations of our troops in Upper Canada. The Admiral, however, knew, or should have known, that full reparation had been made to the satisfaction of the Governor of that province in the preceding February, and he took the precaution to retain his threatening letter until ten days after the date before sending it off, so that it did not reach its destination until August 31, a week after the burning of the Capitol and other government buildings. While the enemy were entering the city, the Navy Yard was being destroyed by order of the Secretary of the Navy, and the bridge over the Eastern Branch there was also blown up most unnecessarily, as it was considered, by United States engineers.

The first public building set on fire by the British was the Capitol. The British column continued its march to the eastern front of that edifice,

then deployed into line, and directing a volley of musketry at it, took formal possession in the name of their king. It is a singular and interesting historical fact, that the British lieutenant who forced the Capitol, by breaking down one or more of its doors, was afterwards for many years a member of Parliament. He won great distinction in the army, serving in India, Portugal, and Spain, before he was sent to America, where he took part in the attacks on Washington and Baltimore, and was wounded before New Orleans. He served under Wellington, both in the Peninsular war and at Waterloo. He was noted for volunteering for storming parties. In 1835, he commanded a British auxiliary legion of ten thousand men in aid of the Queen of Spain against Don Carlos; was a lieutenant-general in the Crimean war, "and for his services at the Alma and Inkerman he received the thanks of Parliament, and the grand cross of the Bath, and was made a grand officer of the Legion of Honor." This was Sir De Lacy Evans, who was born in 1787 and died in 1870.

Finding that the Capitol was partially fire-proof, it was at first decided to blow it up with gunpowder, but this determination being announced to the citizens nearest the building, their "expostulations, together with the entreaties of the ladies, induced the General to order it to be set fire to in every vulnerable point, and it was soon enveloped in flames." Mr. Ingersoll states that it was among the stories told when Congress met three weeks afterwards, "that the Admiral (Cockburn), in a strain of coarse levity, mounting the Speaker's chair, put the question, 'Shall this harbor of Yankee democracy be burned? All for it will say, Aye;' to which loud cries of assent being vociferated, he reversed the question, pronounced it carried unanimously, and the mock resolution was executed by rockets and other combustibles applied to the chairs and furniture (as well as library books and papers) heaped up in the center and fired wherever there was a fit place. The temporary wooden structure connecting the two wings readily kindled. Doors, chairs, the consumable parts, the library and its contents in an upper room of the Senate wing, everything that would take fire, soon disappeared in sheets of flame, illuminating and consternating the environs for thirty miles round, whence the conflagration was visible. In a room adjoining the Senate chamber portraits of the King and Queen of France, Louis the XVI. and his wife, were cut from the frames, by whom has never appeared. The frames were scorched, but not burned." Some parts of the building, being fire-proof, escaped the flames, notably the vestibule of the Supreme Court Law Library, where some of the columns are ornamented with a unique and beautiful American order of architecture, representing Indian corn in the ear.

The Capitol, with its library and most of its public records, being thus destroyed, the troops, headed by Ross and Cockburn, and conducted by a former resident (who was soon after arrested as a traitor), marched along Pennsylvania Avenue, "without beat of drum or other martial sound than their ponderous tramp," and set fire to the President's house and Treasury building. Mr. Gleig states that "when this detachment, sent out to destroy Mr. Madison's house, entered his dining parlor, they found a dinner-table spread and covers laid for forty guests. Several kinds of wine in handsome cut-glass decanters were cooling on the side-board; plate-holders stood by the fire-place filled with dishes and plates; knives, forks, and spoons were arranged for immediate use; in short, everything was ready for the entertainment of a ceremonious party." They sat down to this dinner, he says, "not indeed in the most orderly manner, but with countenances which would not have disgraced a party of aldermen at a civic feast; and having satisfied their appetites and partaken pretty freely of the wines, they finished by setting fire to the house which had so liberally entertained them." This grand dinner was no doubt a myth. The story is improbable for various reasons. In the first place, the President had been with the army in the field much of the time, for two or three days the greatest alarm and confusion prevailed amongst the inhabitants remaining in the city, and we have the testimony of the President's porter, not only that there was no preparation for dinner or eating beyond a small quantity of meat in the kitchen, but if there had been food, that the British would not have eaten it, such was their fear of poison. Mr. Bailey, before cited, however, in his account, says the troops entered and took some porter and collected some papers, and soon an explosion was heard and the house was seen on fire. The Treasury Office, he adds, was also soon on fire; the President's house being first despoiled of a few objects of curiosity—some pictures and books from Mr. Madison's library, and a parcel of the pencil notes received by Mrs. Madison from her husband while he was with the troops. Before leaving the house she had seen to the removal of many valuable articles, including the full length portrait of Washington still preserved in the White House. It has been often said that, in order to save this portrait, she cut it from the frame, which it appears she was ready, knife in hand, to do, but fortunately those assisting succeeded in detaching it from the gilt frame and preserving it intact on the inner wooden frame. She is likewise credited with having saved the original Declaration of Independence.

The Hon. J. H. B. Latrobe, President of the Maryland Historical Society, kindly placed in my hands an interesting letter written to his

mother by Mrs. Madison, December 3, 1814, giving a graphic account of her escape from the White House. As an excuse for delay, she says that she wrote a long letter, then in her drawer unfinished and out of date, her husband having been taken sick before she had described all her adventures, and continued indisposed so long that she lost the thread of her story and became ashamed of her egotism. She continues: "Two hours before the enemy entered the city, I left the house where Mr. Latrobe's elegant taste had been so justly admired, and where you and I had so often wandered together, and on that *very day* I sent out the silver (nearly all)—the velvet curtains and Gen. Washington's picture, the cabinet papers, a few books, and the small clock—left everything else belonging to the publick, our own valuable stores of every description, a part of my clothes, and all my servants' clothes, &c., &c., in short, it would fatigue you to read the list of *my* losses, or an account of the general *dismay*, or *particular* distresses of your acquaintance. Mrs. Hunter and Mrs. Thompson were the only ladies who stood their ground. I confess that I was so unfeminine as to be free from fear, and willing to remain in the *Castle*. If I could have had a cannon through every window, but alas! those who should have placed them there, fled before me, and my whole heart mourned for my country! I remained nearly three days out of town, but I cannot tell you what I felt on re-entering it—such destruction—such confusion! The fleet full in view and in the act of robbing Alexandria! The citizens expecting *another visit*—and at night the rockets were seen flying near us!"

In a letter to his wife, October 14, 1814, William Wirt wrote: "I went to look at the ruins of the President's house. The rooms which you saw, so richly furnished, exhibited nothing but unroofed naked walls, cracked, defaced and blackened with fire. I cannot tell you what I felt as I walked amongst them. . . . From this mournful monument of American imbecility and improvidence, and of British atrocity, I went to the lobby of the House of Representatives, a miserable little narrow box, in which I was crowded and suffocated for about three hours, in order to see and hear the wise men of the nation. They are no great things. . . . I called on the President. He looks miserably shattered and woebegone. In short, he looked heart-broken. His mind is full of the New England sedition." Besides his excellent library, Mr. Madison lost a large amount of other private property, estimated at twelve thousand dollars. Whilst these buildings were blazing, eleven of the British officers, including Ross and Cockburn, were taking a supper at Mrs. Suter's boarding-house near by, which General Ross had ordered before applying the torch, insisting against the good woman's protest that he preferred her house to McLeod's tavern across

the way, "because (he said) he had some acquaintance with her, mentioning several familiar circumstances," showing that he had been there, no doubt as a spy, before the battle. The woman who waited at the table recognized two of the party, one of them, wretchedly dressed, pretending to be a deserter from the British army, having a few days before called at the house and begged for something to eat. Another had also been there previously, and was acquainted with the localities. Mr. Ingersoll, who received his information from the landlady herself, asserts that when the party came for supper, one of them, dressed in blue and mounted on a mule, rode partly through the low front door into the house, introducing himself as the much-abused Admiral Cockburn. At table he blew out the candles, saying he preferred the light of the burning palace and Treasury, whose conflagration hard by illuminated the room. The following appeared in the *Intelligencer* a few days afterwards: "*Look out for spies!* It is an impression now very general that the fall of this city may be ascribed to the facility with which spies and traitors carried on their operations, even within a week preceding the capture by the enemy. With a view to warn our neighbors against the evil into which it appears our citizens fell, we shall state a singular fact, which is susceptible of legal proof. The lady of a house where the British officers supped on the evening they entered the city, recognized among them a person who had been at her house, and even called on Mrs. Madison in the President's house (as the person declared) in the disguise of a distressed woman, *on the Saturday preceding the capture!* This is a fact which may be relied on. The number and names of all the landlady's family, then absent, were also known to this officer, with whom was General Ross and Cockburn, the incendiary."

After destroying the Capitol, President's house, and Treasury building, the British retired for the night to their main army in camp on Capitol Hill. The edifice of the State and War Departments and the building occupied by the Patent and General Post Office, on the present site of the latter department, being still unharmed, they sallied out again on the morning of the 25th with orders to commit them also to the flames, together with the printing office of the *Intelligencer*. On their way up the avenue they were confronted by a young man on horseback, whose name was Lewis, "claiming relationship to General Washington," who discharged a pistol at them, when he was instantly shot down. It was said he sought thus to avenge himself from having been impressed on a British ship and compelled to fight against his own country. The column kept on and the State and War Department building was soon in ashes, but the Patent Office was spared through the earnest intercession of its chief, Dr. William Thornton,

Rev. O. B. Brown, and other citizens, who urged that it would be a shame and disgrace to burn the valuable models and drawings deposited there, which would be useful to all mankind. Thus the Post Office, too, was saved. Coming to the office of the *Intelligencer*, which was obnoxious to British vengeance on account of its bold denunciation of British barbarities in the destruction and pillage of private property on the coast and elsewhere, the incendiary torch was about to be plied to that building, when, seeing that its conflagration would involve the destruction of several other private buildings adjacent thereto, the officer in charge was prevailed on to spare it, taking care, however, to destroy the editor's library and the presses and other printing materials of the establishment. "Be sure," said Cockburn, "that all the C's are destroyed, so that the rascals can have no further means of abusing my name as they have done. I'll punish Madison's man Joe (Gales) as I have his master Jim."

While this devastation was going on, another detachment of troops, both soldiers and sailors, was sent to complete the destruction at the Navy Yard and Arsenal, which had been partially destroyed by order of the Secretary of the Navy, with one or more war ships lying in the river. Having, as they thought, accomplished their vandal work, among other things mutilating the Naval Monument, afterwards removed to the basin at the west front of the Capitol, and thence, a few years ago, to Annapolis, Mr. Ingersoll states that one of the men, as they were about leaving Greenleaf's Point, where the Arsenal was located, "pitched his torch, as a safe place for extinguishment," into a dry well where large quantities of gunpowder, shells, and other munitions of war had been concealed, when, "with a terrible crash, the mine instantly exploded, flinging missiles of death and mutilation wide around, killing and cruelly wounding near a hundred of the surrounding destroyers." Mr. Edward Simms of Washington, a well-preserved gentleman of ninety years, who was officially mentioned for his bravery at the battle of Bladensburg, told me a few weeks before his death, which occurred on the 14th of February, 1884, that this explosion was caused, not by the throwing of a torch into the well, but from the ignition of a train of powder which had fallen from the kegs in their removal to the well. This seems more probable, since the incendiaries were sent to burn and not to extinguish. An officer of the British ship *Regulus*, writing home at the time, and giving an account of this disaster, states the number killed as "about twelve, and wounded about thirty more, most of them in a dreadful manner." He says he had the good fortune to escape with whole skin and bones but somewhat bruised, adding, "the groans of the people, almost buried in the earth, or with legs and

arms broke, and the sight of pieces of bodies lying about, was a thousand times more distressing than the loss we met with in the field the day before." Major Williams thinks the British loss was understated by this officer.

On the night of the 24th, or following day, the Long Bridge over the Potomac was rendered impassable by the burning or blowing up of both ends—the Washington end by the British, and that on the Virginia side by a corporal in charge of it, perceiving, as he thought, a body of the enemy about to cross from the city; whilst on the other hand, the British were equally panic-stricken under the apprehension that our troops, to the number, as they supposed, of twelve thousand or more, were on their way from the other side to recapture the city. That night a complete Bull Run panic reigned on both sides. "Early in the evening," says a British officer who was present, "the different British corps had been directed, in a whisper, to make ready for falling back as soon as darkness should set in. From the men, however, the thing was kept profoundly secret," although they were given to understand that an important movement was about to take place, and hints were thrown out to induce the expectation of a further advance instead of a retreat, which was carried out with all the secrecy and silence possible before morning. While the ruthless invaders were thus stealing away in alarm on account of the non-arrival of their fleet at Alexandria, as expected, and what they had erroneously supposed was a greatly augmented force of American troops ready to swoop down upon them from Georgetown Heights, the President and heads of departments, with Mrs. Madison, having crossed over into Virginia the evening before, had made their way to the point of rendezvous—a tavern sixteen miles from Georgetown, where they were to spend the night. At midnight they were startled by a report that the British were coming; and it had been given out that it was their purpose, if possible, to capture the President and take him to London. Telling his wife to disguise herself, use another carriage than her own, and fly still further, the President left "his hiding-place in the inn to pass the rest of that moist and wretched night in a hovel in the woods." Early next day tidings reached them that the British had withdrawn, and all now turned their steps towards the city.

When Mrs. Madison, still in her disguise, with only one attendant, arrived at the Long Bridge, burned at both ends, Colonel Fenwick, in command there, and "busy in transporting munitions of war over the Potomac in the only boat left at his disposal, peremptorily refused to let any unknown woman cross in the boat with her carriage." She sent for him, and on making herself known confidentially, she "was driven in her

carriage into the frail boat, which bore her homewards," and she stopped at her sister's, Mrs. Cutts's house, which was owned and occupied many years, and to the time of his death, by ex-President John Quincy Adams, on F Street, one square from the Treasury Departments. The President and his secretaries returned by way of Georgetown, and the government was soon again set on foot. After boarding at Mrs. Cutts's a few weeks, the President and family resumed house-keeping in the Ogle Tayloe mansion, still standing at the corner of Eighteenth Street and New York Avenue, where they passed the winter. The special session of Congress, called for the 19th of September, was held in the Patent Office.

The enemy did not stop to bury their dead, and they left many of their wounded behind. Philip Frenau thus describes their arrival and exit:

> " A veteran host by veterans led,
> With Ross and Cockburn at their head,
> They came—they saw—they burned—and fled! "

A part of their fleet pushed up the river to Alexandria, August 28, when that city at once capitulated on humiliating terms. Captain Gordon, the British officer in command, states that Fort Washington was abandoned and the magazine blown up by the United States garrison without firing a gun, leaving the way clear for his ships to reach Alexandria, and that he took from there seventy-one vessels loaded with flour, tobacco, cotton, wine, sugar, and other merchandise of value. With comparatively little damage, in spite of all that could be done to oppose them by shore batteries, fire-ships, and sharp-shooters, the enemy escaped with their booty. Their next move was against Baltimore, where, at the battle of North Point, September 12, Admiral Cockburn, officially reported, "General Ross, in the first desultory skirmish, received a musket ball through his arm into his breast, which proved fatal to him on his way to the water-side for re-embarkation." Thus fell the British general who led the attack on Washington, and who at a dinner there, August 25, gave as a toast: "Peace with America—war with Madison."

As will have been observed, I have introduced several extracts from the British narrative of Mr. George R. Gleig; and it may be interesting to state that some time after I had prepared this sketch, I learned incidentally that he was still alive, and, at the age of ninety-one years, the Chaplain General of the British army. Thinking he might favor me with some reminiscences of the British invasion and occupancy of Washington, I addressed him on the subject, and have received two letters from him in reply, one dated April 24, and the other June 4, 1884.

In the first he writes: "You ask me for anecdotes connected with the Battle of Bladensburg and the Capture of Washington. I could give you many were we face to face. On paper I must try to confine myself to such as are least likely to over-tax your patience. 1. Nothing could exceed the kindness of the inhabitants of Bladensburg to our wounded; both when first thrust upon them and after we had returned to our ships. In the same room with Colonel Thornton lay your gallant Commodore Barney, both grievously hurt. A friendship was at once struck up between them, which lasted through their lives. The Commodore told Thornton the following story: 'I commanded a battery of artillery and saw one of your men deliberately pile up some stones—then lie down behind them and take aim. "Oh," said I to myself, "you are a crack shot, I suppose, but I'll bank you," which I did, for I pointed one of our guns at him myself, and when the smoke cleared away his parapet was in ruins, and himself nowhere. I hope he ran away.'

"2. When your people gave way, one brave fellow tried to stop them by waving the flag he carried and taking a few steps to the front. But it is not easy to rally raw troops as yours were, and only a few men answered to his call. One I well remember, for he fired thrice at me, and wore a black coat. We were in loose skirmishing order, and being very anxious to capture the colour, I ran directly towards the bearer. Before I could reach him, he dropped the colour, evidently having received a wound, and my friend with the black coat moved off also, though not till with his third shot he gave me a scratch in the thigh. I got the colour, which now hangs in the Chapel of Chelsea Hospital. My wound, though slight, made me stiff, and I was glad to enter Washington on horse-back.

"3. Two adventures befel me there. I was limping past a house in a street near the Capitol, when a window was opened and a negro woman invited me to enter. The family had quitted the town and the servants offered me all manner of good things. I was amused, and told them I wanted nothing except a clean shirt, having only one which I had worn since the 19th. The clean shirt was immediately produced which I put on, leaving mine to replace it.

"4. On the 25th a hurricane fell on the city, which unroofed houses and upset our three-pounder guns. It upset me also. It fairly lifted me out of the saddle, and the horse which I had been riding I never saw again. This is surely gossip enough."

In my letter of grateful acknowledgment, I inquired of Mr. Gleig respecting the conflicting accounts of the fatal explosion at the Arsenal, and of the alleged flag of truce. This is his reply:

"I really do not know what was the cause of the explosion to which you refer. The explosion itself I perfectly recollect; but not being near the spot where it occurred, I have nothing more to revert to respecting its cause than the rumors of the camp. Both the accounts which you give to me were circulated among us. Which is the correct one, if either, I cannot tell. I have no doubt you are right as regards the shots fired after General Ross and Admiral Cockburn entered Washington. It was dark when they entered the town, and as the American army had I believe evacuated the place the men (who) fired on the General would not understand either the nature of the roll of the drum, which demands a parley, or a white flag, if it were shown. With respect to the other point, bearing on Ross's instructions, the facts are these: Twenty-three American soldiers engaged in the invasion of Canada, were recognized, when taken prisoners, as deserters from the British army. They were imprisoned preparatory to trial; whereupon General Dearborn immediately imprisoned as many British prisoners, and warned the English authorities that life would go for life. Forthwith forty-six more Americans, officers and non-commissioned officers, were put in arrest as guarantees for the lives of the British prisoners. On neither side were lives taken, but the incident embittered the feeling of hostility which on the American side vented itself in the burning of some Canadian villages during the winter, and on the side of England called forth the stern order to destroy American towns on the coast. Ross' despatch was not a happy one. He seems to have been hurried by indignation into sanctioning proceedings which met with no approval in London; indeed, so little was our vandalism approved that the government withheld from him the honors which he would have otherwise received after a brilliant though short campaign."

The enemy succeeded, not only in destroying property valued at two million dollars, but by unparalleled barbarity in inflicting upon their country a stigma, the record of which there is not an Englishman of to-day who would not rejoice to see erased from the pages of history. Our own countrymen, too, I am inclined to believe, would be willing to see this done, provided the record and recollection of the not over-creditable defense of the capital could also at the same time be forever blotted out.

Horatio King

WASHINGTON, D. C.

WITCHCRAFT IN ILLINOIS

It will perhaps occasion no little surprise to the casual reader, and prove an unexpected revelation to those familiar with the general facts of Western history, to learn that capital punishment for the supposititious crime of witchcraft has occurred within the limits of the present State of Illinois, and almost within the memory of persons yet living. That a veritable Salem existed in the old capital town of Kaskaskia, almost one hundred years after the doctrine of witchcraft had been exploded in all other parts of the civilized world, is nothing which we need feel particularly proud of, but as an historical truth, which goes far to explain the character and habits of the early settlers of our prairie State, it is worthy of critical attention; none the less so since the light of criticism and the investigation of modern scientific thought is turning over and giving a new setting to many of the well accepted, but often poorly accredited myths of history.

The writer of this, born and bred within a day's journey of Old Fort Chartres, in boyhood often heard the story of the burning of the witch at "old Kaskia." Such executions had not yet become a part of veritable history, and were then given with other weird and wild stories of the French and Indians for winter-night entertainment, at the cabin fire of the early American settler to the east of the old French villages of Kaskaskia and Cahokia. A few of the old French romances have been preserved to posterity with the even wilder Indian legends, in the poetical form of Honorable James Hall, the pioneer venturer on the untried sea of Western literature, and are accessible to-day to the curious reader in the *Legends of the West*. These executions escaped the attention of Mr. Hall, however. No serious account was ever published of the witchcraft delusions until 1852, when ex-Governor John Reynolds wrote a little work entitled *The Pioneer History of Illinois*. This book refers to Illinois witchcraft in the following manner: "In Cahokia, about the year 1790, this superstition (the belief in necromancy or witchcraft) got the upper-hand of reason, and several poor African slaves were immolated at the shrine of ignorance for the imaginary offense. An African negro called Moreau was hung for witchcraft on a tree not far south-east of Cahokia. It is stated that he had said 'he poisoned his master, but his mistress was too strong for his necromancy.' Another slave, Emanuel, was shot in Cahokia for this crime,

and an old woman, Janette, was supposed to have the power to destroy persons and property by her incantations; many grown persons and all the children were terrified at her approach." * The old governor quaintly adds, as if in the abundance of his caution: "All countries have had their *witches*, and I hope Illinois will never again return to such scenes of bloodshed to appease the demon of ignorance." As the period at which these executions actually occurred was more than ten years prior to the date stated by Governor Reynolds, and during the most obscure period of our early history, no record had up to this time been made of the matter in any other publication, so far as is now known. Brown, whose *History of Illinois* was published in 1844, seems never to have heard of the witchcraft trials. Neither Perkins nor John M. Peck in the two earlier editions of *Annals of the West* make any mention of the matter. It is entirely unlikely that Peck, who was well acquainted with that section of the country, had ever heard of the occurrence, or it would have appeared in some shape in some of his many publications covering the local history of that part of the State. Even Governor Reynolds' statement was variously accepted. People in the older settled portions of Illinois, particularly in his own city and district, to some of whom the legend had been known before its publication, received it as genuine historical fact, while many questioned the truth of the occurrence, and more than one unfriendly critic pronounced it "an old-wife's fable;" and no doubt the publication of this matter, with some others, equally true, but equally doubted, led to the serious question of Governor Reynolds' veracity as a local historian. It was left, however, to modern research to sustain the historical accuracy of the occurrences mentioned by Reynolds on the strength of tradition, and by undisputed historical records bearing proof not only of the execution, but of the previous trial and conviction, under the forms of the law at least, of these the latest victims of a cruel superstition sacrificed within the limits of a Christian land.

To Mr. E. G. Mason, of Chicago, is the credit due for bringing out from obscurity the truth published first in a lecture before the Chicago Historical Society (February 15, 1881), and secondly, in a printed pamphlet (Fergus' "Historical Series, Number 12") of Colonel John Todd's *Record Book.* This book, furnished by Governor Patrick Henry, of the Commonwealth of Virginia, and sent by him to his appointee and subordinate, Colonel John Todd, Lieutenant-Commandant of the County of Illinois—a part of that commonwealth—contained in its first pages the "instructions," under which the newly appointed official was to administer and carry out the laws

* Reynolds' *Pioneer History*, page 143.

of Virginia in the newly acquired territory which the valor of General George Rogers Clark and the Virginia militia under his command had recently so successfully wrested from the control of the English Government, and added to the territory of the "Old Dominion."

Many curious and important entries occur in this old *Record Book*, which contains the official record of the whole of Governor Todd's administration as county lieutenant, from his appointment in December, 1778, or, more properly, beginning with his landing in Kaskaskia the May following, and ending with his unfortunate death at the Battle of Blue Licks, in Kentucky, August 18, 1782. Not only are all of his official acts entered, but those of his subordinate, and for a time successor, Timothy de Munbrunt, a French gentleman of Kaskaskia. Many of the entries are of rich historical interest, and the publication by Mr. Mason of his lecture, in the cheap form of the Fergus series, places the contents of the *Record Book* within the reach of all, and relieves the priceless original, now the property of the Chicago Historical Society, from the handling of the curious.

This society, which has rescued much valuable historical matter from destruction, and placed it under careful and intelligent custody, found the Todd *Record*, amongst other papers sent it by the board of county commissioners of Randolph County, and through one of its most painstaking and intelligent members has thus given an account of it to the world. But to return to the subject of witchcraft, quoting from the Fergus publication,* we find:

"Illinois to wit

To Richard Winston Esq.,

Sheriff in chief of the District of Kaskaskia Negro Manuel a Slave, in your custody is condemned by the Court of Kaskaskia, after having made honorable fine at the door of the church, to be chained to a post at the water side, and then to be burnt alive, and his ashes scattered, as appears to me by record. This sentence you are hereby required to put in execution, on tuesday next at 9 o'clock in the morning, and this shall be your warrant.

Given under my hand and seal at Kaskaskia the 13th day of June, in the 3rd year of the commonwealth."

On this page of the *Record*, which appears to have been a copy of the death-warrant of the slave, who is no doubt the same designated in Reynolds' history as "Emanuel," there are heavy lines drawn across, as if to efface the writing; was the sentence changed to the more merciful death by

* Fergus' "Historical Series, Number 12," page 58.

shooting, administered by Captain Nicholas Janis and his militia company, as Reynolds states? or was it carried out in all the barbaric particularity of the given warrant, and the ashes of the victim swept from among the links of the scorched and blackened chain, "scattered" from the "water side" over the muddy waters of the Kaskaskia River, to accompany them in their vexed and turbulent journey down the boiling Mississippi to the Gulf?

On the next page of the *Record Book* is the following order:

"To Capt. Nicholas Janis.

You are hereby required to call upon a party of your militia to guard Moreau, a slave condemned to execution, up to the town of Kohos. Put them under an officer. They shall be entitled to pay rashtions and refreshment during the time they shall be upon duty to be certifyed hereafter by you

I am sir your hble servant

"I recommend 4 or 5 from your comp'y and as many from Capt. Placey and consult Mr. Lacroix about the time necessary J. T."

Jno. Todd
15th June 1779."

This Captain Janis is shown in another place to have been commissioned as captain of the "first company" of the Kaskaskia militia, which corps was commanded in its entirety by Captain Richard Winston, otherwise sheriff, who bore the rank of "Deputy Commandant." Nicholas Janis was also one of the judges of the court of Kaskaskia, as was also Charles Charleville, the 2d Lieutenant of his militia company, while five of the seven judges of the Cahokia court held commissions in the militia. The Mr. La Croix mentioned in the postscript, was, as Mr. Mason suggests, Mr. J. B. Le Croix, the first sheriff of the Cahokia (Cohos) district, by whom, no doubt, the sentence was duly and properly executed. Mr. Mason says: "These two entries, therefore, confirm Reynolds' account of this matter, the accuracy of which has sometimes been questioned."

There, however, the connection of the historian as a plain recorder of facts would seem to end. But the quaint and half-apologetic advice of Governor Reynolds suggests another interesting train of thought. "All countries have had their *witches*," and in many countries the crime or supposed crime of witchcraft was visited with heavy and bloody penalties. These Africans were duly condemned by organized courts of the State of Virginia. Presumably under her laws, did Virginia have witches, and laws for their punishment? If so, were these laws then in force? In other words, we propose to follow the inquiry as to the legal authority under which these men were executed.

By the first section of the act of the Virginia Assembly under which the "County of Illinois" was organized, enacted in October, 1778, it was, among other things, provided,

> "And all civil officers to which the said inhabitants have been accustomed, necessary for the preservation of peace and the administration of justice, shall be chosen by a majority of the citizens in their respective districts, to be convened for that purpose by the County Lieutenant or Commandant, or his deputy, and shall be commissioned by the said County Lieutenant or Commandant in Chief, and be paid for their services in the same manner as such expenses have been heretofore borne levied and paid in that county; which said civil officers after taking the oath as before prescribed, shall exercise their several jurisdictions, and conduct themselves agreeable to the laws, which the present settlers are now accustomed to, And on any criminal prosecution, where the offender shall be adjudged guilty, it shall and may be lawful for the County Lieutenant or Commandant in Chief to pardon his or her offense, except in cases of murder or treason; and in such cases, he may respite execution from time to time until the sense of the governor in the first instance, and of the General Assembly, in case of treason, is obtained." (*Hening's Stat. at Large of Virginia. Vol. ix. p.* 552.)

Thus was continued under the new arrangement not only the old officials but the old laws. Prior to the conquest of the Illinois country in July, 1778, it had been under the dominion of the British Government, whose last governor, the mild Frenchman, M. de Rocheblave, had, by common consent, succeeded his predecessor, an English officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Wilkins, who had abandoned a government which was not only distasteful to him, but a climate which did not agree with him, several years before. Under Colonel Wilkins, civil courts were established in December, 1768, the common law of England, modified by the laws and customs of the French settlers, was the recognized rule of action. Since the acquisition of the Louisiana territory by the treaty of Paris in 1763, the British Government had pursued a conciliatory policy toward the French inhabitants, and the treaty provisions preserving to them their laws and customs were strictly adhered to. Governor Reynolds in his *Pioneer History* (page 115) says: "The government was very imperfect, but the people needed but little or none, there was a kind of a mixture of the civil and English law in the country, administered by the courts down to the year 1790. When Governor St. Clair came to Kaskaskia and set in motion the territorial government."

Such was the condition of affairs at the date these trials took place. The court consisted of a bench of seven justices, elected from the body of the French population, with but little knowledge of law of any kind, and no acquaintance whatever with the English common law. Had the defendants been English or Americans, they might, and doubtless would

have insisted on a jury trial, and the conviction, if any was had, would have been under the strict forms of the common law, extended by general enactment of the assembly over the whole State of Virginia. Had they been Frenchmen even, their conviction would hardly have been probable, as the Bull "Summis desiderantos" of Innocent VIII. enunciated in 1484, and under whose cruel provisions thousands had met a cruel and bloody death, had not been enforced in France after about the middle of the seventeenth century. In England no legalized executions had occurred since 1716. Even as early as 1751, the leader of a mob, which executed a reputed witch in Staffordshire, was tried and executed for murder.

In France no execution for witchcraft had occurred for over a century. But the priesthood of the French colony of Louisiana, was like its people —the customs, habits, fashions, and even ideas of the preceding century were still in force with all the authority of law.

But why should Governor Todd allow the executions to be carried out if the law did not justify the conviction? The victims were slaves, the property of the prosecutors, they were condemned by popular clamor, and their execution demanded by their own people, their owners, their guilt unquestioned by all who knew them, even their fellow slaves.

It was not to be expected of him, a stranger to the people and their customs, to long combat their desires as to the punishment of those whom custom and even the high authority of his own Church had ranked as heathen brutes, unworthy of a moment's consideration. The humanity of the Virginia gentleman, it is to be hoped, asserted itself, however, in the case of Manuel, and the sentence prepared with all the particularity of horrible detail by the French clerk of the Kaskia court, and which was evidently intended for his signature, yet does not bear it, was changed for the milder punishment, as administered by the detachment from the militia company, after they had been properly "refreshed" at the expense of the commonwealth.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1861–1862 IN KENTUCKY

UNFOLDED THROUGH THE CORRESPONDENCE OF ITS LEADERS

SECOND PAPER

Halleck wrote to Buell, January 6, 1862, in terms similar to those used in the letter to the President, and yet, on the same day he, without any "communication or concert" with Buell as to the time when this co-operation would be needed, ordered Grant to make a demonstration on Mayfield, and in the direction of Murray, *i. e.*, toward Fort Henry, and cutting off Camp Beauregard, or threatening to turn it. The demonstration was only a feint, and was to be supported, if possible, by the gunboats. This order specified no time for Grant's movement—it was not an order *to get ready* and then move after consultation with Buell. On the 8th of January, Grant wrote to Halleck: "Your instructions of the 6th were received this morning, and *immediate* preparations made for carrying them out. Commodore Foote will be able to co-operate with three gunboats. . . . This movement will be commenced *to-morrow*, and every effort made to carry out your design." January 9, Grant wrote to Commodore Foote: "Full directions have been given for the movement of troops on the expedition just fitting out. It will commence this evening."

It is necessary now to return and read a letter from General McClellan to Halleck, dated *January* 3: "It is of the utmost importance that the rebel troops in western Kentucky be prevented from moving to the support of the force in front of General Buell. To accomplish this, an expedition should be sent up the Cumberland to act in concert with General Buell's command, of sufficient strength to defeat any force that may be brought against it. The gunboats should be supported by at least one, and perhaps two divisions of your best infantry taken from Paducah and other points from which they can best be spared. At the same time, such a demonstration should be made on Columbus as will prevent the removal of any troops from that place; and if a sufficient number have already been withdrawn, the place should be taken. It may be well, also, to make a feint on the Tennessee River with a command sufficient to prevent disaster under any circumstances. As our success in Kentucky depends in a great measure on our preventing reinforcements from joining Buckner and Johnston, not a moment's time should be lost in preparing these expeditions. I desire that you give me at once your views in

full as to the best manner of accomplishing our object, at the same time stating the nature and strength of the force that you can use for the purpose, *and the time necessary to prepare.*"

This was a very positive order from the General-in-Chief. On the 3d of January, Buell wrote a letter to Halleck which was questionable in policy, as it laid out the plan of campaign for Halleck, which would be annoying to most generals, and particularly so to a man of Halleck's temperament. The letter closes with these words: "Whatever is done, should be done speedily, within a few days. The work will become more difficult every day. Please let me hear from you at once." This letter should certainly have been received before the 6th of January, the day on which Halleck wrote to Buell, saying: "Probably *in the course of a few weeks* I will be able to send additional troops to Cairo and Paducah to co-operate with you, *but at present it is impossible;* and it seems to me that if you deem such co-operation necessary to your success, *your movement on Bowling Green should be delayed*"—the very day, also, on which he ordered the demonstration by Grant without deigning to give Buell notice of his intention or order.

It was not yet too late for McClellan to put all Kentucky under Buell. With the force under Grant and his own command, aided by the gunboats, Buell had the necessary strength, and had it been done, the Confederate power in the West, at that time but the merest shell, would never have solidified to fight the battles of Shiloh, Stone River, and Chickamauga. On the 6th of January, McClellan wrote confidentially to Buell: ". . . Halleck, from his own account, will not soon be in a condition to support properly a movement up the Cumberland. Why not make the movement independently and without waiting for that?"

On the 7th of January the President, ignorant of course of Halleck's order to Grant, telegraphed to Buell: "Please name as early a day as you safely can on or before which you can be ready to move southward in concert with Major-General Halleck. Delay is *ruining us* and it is indispensable for me to have something definite. I send a like dispatch to Major-General Halleck." On the same day, January 7, at midnight, Halleck telegraphed to the President, "I have asked General Buell to designate a day for a demonstration to assist him. It is all I can do till I get arms. I have no arms" (a new excuse). "I have sent two unarmed regiments to assist in the *feint*. I wrote you yesterday and will write again to-night." In this letter Halleck speaks of a feint he *has* ordered. The feint was in connection with ideas of his own or of Buell's—if to be of assistance to Buell it would of necessity be at a time to accord with Buell's movements

which it evidently was not. Buell to the Secretary of War, in answer to a dispatch of the 7th and presumably of that date: ". . . Concert of action, by which the enemy may be prevented from concentrating his whole force from Columbus to Bowling Green on one point of attack, would have the same and a better effect than more troops immediately here." January 9, the day on which Grant's movement was to begin, Halleck wrote to McClellan: ". . . On the 6th instant, I wrote the inclosed communication to General Grant" (order for feint) "and on the 7th *telegraphed to General Buell to designate a day for the demonstration.*" (We must bear in mind also Halleck's letter to Buell dated January 6.) ". . . One additional regiment will be withdrawn from the Iron Mountain Railroad and one from the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad, making six in all" (reinforcements to Grant). "As soon as we receive arms two more regiments can be sent from Benton Barracks. . ." (then a long story about Price, etc.). ". . . I can make with the gunboats and available troops a pretty formidable demonstration, but no real attack. . . . With good luck here we can by the early part of February throw some 15,000 to 20,000 additional troops on that line. If you insist upon my doing this now your orders will be obeyed, whatever may be the result in Missouri."

Grant to Halleck, January 9, informed him that fog was so dense as to delay movement for a day, *i. e.*, till the 10th. Halleck to McClellan, January 10: "Do you insist upon my withdrawing troops from Missouri for the purpose indicated in your letter of the 3d instant?" (the order was most peremptory). "If so, it will be done, but in my opinion it involves the defeat of the Union cause in this State. I will write more fully what I have done and can do to assist D C. Buell." January 10, Halleck telegraphed to Buell: "Troops at Cairo and Paducah are ready for a demonstration on Mayfield, Murray, and Dover. Six additional regiments will be there next week. Fix a day when you wish the demonstration, but put it off as long as possible, in order that I may increase the strength of the force." *Thus the day after Grant ordered his force to move*, Halleck telegraphed to Buell "to fix a day" for the demonstration; and on the same day on which he had put into a dispatch to the General-in-Chief all the force due to his rank, reputation, and opinion against the concerted movement, which the General-in-Chief desired, he telegraphed to Grant: "Reinforcements are delayed and arms. Delay your movements" (which were without concert or action) "until I telegraph." Grant had ample force for the movement he was ordered to make, and with him there was no question of asking for a delay for reinforcements, when he directed the movement to begin on the 9th.

As General Halleck had repeatedly reported himself as being unable to send troops to co-operate with Buell, by reason of the necessity for overawing insurgents in Missouri, and presenting a front against "Price and others," against whom he reported himself (January 6, to the President) as acting with all his available force, and on the 9th to McClellan, when he reported Price at Springfield, with a force "variously estimated from 12,000 to 40,000," it is proper to turn to see what went on in Missouri during this time. From the 29th of December to the 13th of January there were various moves ordered against small bands of the enemy and bridge burners in various parts of the State, *and none* other except an expedition of cavalry, consisting of twenty-four companies under Colonel Carr, on December 29, who moved from Rolla in the direction of Springfield after Price, *who was reported as retreating*. Halleck to Pope, December 28: ". . . General McClellan is now sick. As soon as he is able to attend to business you will probably receive instructions in reference to new operations. This is confidential and must not be repeated." Halleck was not interfered with by McClellan in the slightest degree, in the administration of affairs in Missouri. The illness of the General-in-Chief, therefore, could have affected only plans for some movements outside of the State. McClellan had allowed Halleck to see enough of what was proposed in Kentucky to make him form independent plans for a movement up the Cumberland and Tennessee. Halleck was bent on not co-operating with Buell.

On the 1st of January, *after* the President's call of *Dec.* 31, for "communication and concert," Halleck found that Price was going to be troublesome, and telegraphed Curtis—"Information received here that Price does not intend to leave the State, but to return with additional artillery and troops sent him from Arkansas, which he fell back to receive. . . . You will therefore have your forces ready for a movement." January 2, Curtis reported "4,000 in Springfield." Halleck to Hunter, January 2—"Price was at Springfield two days ago, and has probably been attacked by 2,000 of our cavalry to-day." (The cavalry were not within fifty miles of Springfield at that time.) "If necessary they will soon be sustained by infantry and artillery." January 1, Curtis, in command against Price, reported his strength as 8,934 of all arms for duty. On the 9th of January he wrote from Rolla: ". . . I earnestly desire to move infantry and artillery forward to support the cavalry. An effectual force against the rebels in Springfield would close them out in Missouri. Three more batteries, three regiments of infantry and three of cavalry would be desirable for that purpose, but I would risk it with less. Price could be driven out of Springfield with a much smaller force." Curtis had been positively ordered, December

28, by Halleck, to make no forward move with infantry. Curtis to Carr, January 11: "The question as to whether you shall fall back with cavalry or I move forward with other arms to support you, is pending at headquarters. I have very late news from Price's army. It is much demoralized and poorly equipped. I think, too, it is melting away by desertions and discharges. . . ." Halleck to Curtis, January 12: ". . . Orders from Washington required *three divisions* (24,000 men) to be sent down instantly, which would have stripped both you and Pope. I begged and protested for time in order that you might drive Price from the State. Orders and protests have been repeated and the matter is still undecided. . . ." Curtis by his own showing was able to drive Price out of Springfield. January 13, Curtis reported to Halleck's adjutant-general, ". . . 5,000 cavalry moving this way from Springfield. They report they are moving against us. . . . Shall I move . . . forward to support cavalry?" Halleck to Curtis, January 13: "Your telegram of this evening has determined me to order an advance without waiting any longer for advices from Washington." (Regiments are mentioned which he hopes to send.) ". . . *At any rate your forces will be superior to any reliable estimate I have received of Price's army.* . . . The additional force" (four regiments and two batteries at the most) "will reach you this side of Springfield and will serve as a reserve."

December 31, 1861, the President appealed to Halleck to make a demonstration to aid Buell, and January 13, having scotched the snake of co-operation, Halleck ordered an advance against Price with not to exceed 12,000 men all told, and after reporting Price as variously estimated from 12,000 to 40,000 men, leaving in his command yet 79,000 men to fight bridge burners and predatory bands, but had nothing to spare for a movement in conjunction with Buell. Halleck to McClellan, January 14: "Advices received from scouts and spies who have been in the enemy's camps, lead to the belief that Price's pretended retreat was a ruse to deceive us. He fell back rapidly from Osceola to Springfield, giving out the report that he was instantly to retire to winter quarters in Arkansas. *It was expected*" (by Price, of course, who was in our secrets) "that on receiving information of this retreat we would withdraw the mass of our forces at Rolla and Sedalia *for operations against Columbus.* As soon as this had been done, Price was to return with reinforcements from Arkansas and march rapidly to Lexington and Jefferson City. . . ." General destruction of railroads and telegraphs to be commenced by emissaries, and then "This city was at the same time to be set on fire in several places and a general insurrection," etc. Price was clever enough to find out all McClellan's and Buell's plans, and yet published a bulletin of his own intentions, so that Halleck,

the astute general, discovered the nefarious plot, and saved McClellan from himself by not allowing the diversion against Columbus. ". . . A depot of supplies *is* established at Lebanon" (General Curtis, in his letter of the 9th, already quoted, recommends a depot near Lebanon, and ten days before Lebanon had been reported as occupied by 250 Confederates), "and the infantry and artillery at Rolla are held in readiness to move if the enemy should manifest a disposition to give battle." (These troops *were ordered the day before* to advance and drive Price from Springfield *as being superior* to his in numbers) "If it should be found that Price's and McCulloch's forces are as strong as represented, and that they are disposed to dispute the possession of southwest Missouri, a portion of the troops at Sedalia must also be sent against them" (and therefore could not assist Buell). . . . This letter, written the day after the order to Curtis to advance, does not speak of that movement, but, on the contrary, speaks of the force at Rolla as not on the offensive. The letter of January 14 is too long to be copied in full, but will repay the reading as a specimen of nursery tales for children.* Halleck to McClellan, January 14, " . . . dispatch from General Smith at Paducah, dated the 11th, saying that he has reliable information from Columbus to the 10th, *that no troops* have left that place for Bowling Green since the two regiments reported two weeks ago, except part of a regiment of cavalry which has crossed into Missouri." †

"The demonstration which General Grant is now making, I have no doubt, will keep them in check till preparations can be made for operations on the Tennessee or Cumberland. I sent three infantry regiments to Cairo yesterday and have two more ready for to-morrow, but the ice in the river will probably prevent. . . . Our cavalry sent to Springfield found Price in strong force. They have been obliged to fall back to Lebanon and probably to the Gasconade." (The cavalry had not been obliged to fall back, having been on the Gasconade in camp since January 3. From that point they had not fallen back, for there was no demonstration against them.) "I have ordered Curtis to move forward with all his infantry and artillery. His force will not be less than 12,000." (Enemy reported to be superior in artillery by from five to ten guns.) "I also propose placing a strong reserve at Rolla, which can be sent forward if necessary." ‡ On the 18th

* War of the Rebellion, Official Record, Series I., Vol. 8, pp. 500, 501, 502.

† General Smith had already reported, December 29, 5,000 men as having gone from Camp Beauregard to Bowling Green, and later that a reconnoissance had determined that their place had been filled with "two months' men." He was extremely cautious in making reports, and it is pardonable to doubt that a dispatch of that precise import was sent by C. F. Smith.

‡ See correspondence of Curtis and Carr from December 24 to January 13, War of the Rebellion, Official Records, Series I., Vol. 8.

Halleck advised Curtis that he had ordered an entire division to report to him. Halleck to McClellan, January 20: " . . . On this supposition I venture to make a few suggestions in regard to operations in the West. . . . A much more feasible plan is to move up the Cumberland and Tennessee, making Nashville the first objective point. This would turn Columbus and force the abandonment of Bowling Green. Columbus cannot be taken without an immense siege train and a terrible loss of life. . . . But the plan should not be attempted without a large force, not less than 60,000 effective men" (yet he did attempt it with 15,000 men). . . . "I am ignorant of General Buell's force or plans. . . . The main central line will also require the withdrawal of all available troops from this State; also those in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Ohio which are armed and still to be armed, and also the transfer to that route, or near it of *all the Kentucky troops not required to secure the line of Green River.* The force at Cairo and on the Ohio River, below the mouth of Green River, is now about 15,000. Seven regiments have been ordered there from Missouri. By the *middle or last of February,* I hope to send about 15,000 more. If 30,000 or 40,000 can be added from the sources indicated, there will be sufficient for holding Cairo, Fort Holt, and Paducah, and to form the column proposed. . . ."

The hand is now shown. In Halleck's opinion the real point of attack was in his territory, and he wished all the Kentucky troops not required to hold the line of Green River to be turned over to him, leaving Buell under him, or at least confined to defensive operations. *By the middle or last of February,* he hoped to have 15,000 more men at Cairo, and one would naturally conclude that he could not begin his campaign before the first of these periods.

It is interesting to return now to Kentucky and take up matters there, where we left Grant, with the troops ready to move when the fog should lift, in receipt of an order (dated January 10) to suspend the movement until further notice. On the day after—the 11th—Halleck, impatient of delay, telegraphed to Grant: "I can hear nothing from Buell, so fix your own time for the advance. Three regiments will go down on Monday." Grant replied to Halleck, January 12: "Before the receipt of your telegram directing delay on the demonstration previously ordered, I had commenced by sending a portion of my command immediately under McClernand to Fort Jefferson. As it would be attended with a good deal of trouble to bring these troops back, and have a demoralizing effect on them besides, I have left them there. They occupy a good camp ground and have Mayfield Creek, a stream not fordable, between them and the enemy. . . . Reinforce-

ments starting from St. Louis on Monday, as I am advised by your telegram, I will commence the move again on Tuesday. I have just learned . . . that seven regiments have left Columbus recently for Bowling Green. I am inclined to believe that the garrison of Columbus is now weaker than it has been for several months back. It is also probable that the best armed and best drilled troops have been taken." McClellan to Buell, January 13: ". . . I incline to this" (advance in east Tennessee) "as a first step for many reasons . . . Halleck is not yet in condition to afford you the support you need when you undertake the movement on Bowling Green.'

This extract shows what a victory Halleck scored on the subject of co-operation. McClellan had given up the contest, and was desirous of getting Buell to hold on to the Green River line and make an advance into east Tennessee. McClellan to Halleck, January 13 (same day), acknowledged receipt of telegram of 10th, putting the onus of loss of Missouri on the General-in-Chief, if troops were moved out of Missouri, which telegram, as we see, took the backbone out of all the authorities in Washington. ". . . My letter" (of 3d) "states what I consider it desirable to accomplish, and in conclusion I ask your views and time necessary to prepare, as well as the force you can use for the purpose. If you can spare no troops, it is only necessary to say so, and I must look elsewhere for the means of accomplishing the objects in view. There is nothing in my letter that can reasonably be construed into an order requiring you to make detachments that will involve the defeat of the Union cause in Missouri. I have now to request that if you have not already done so, you will send to me as soon as possible a statement of the numbers, positions and conditions of the troops in your department, together with the same information in regard to the enemy as far as you can give it." Why not ask after the gunboats? his last dispatch on that subject was dated December 5. Halleck has played his hand with skill, has in reality broken up the campaign against Bowling Green, caused the General-in-Chief to drift off to thoughts of east Tennessee, and can now make his move when he is ready. The letter of the General-in-Chief shows a suspicion that he has not had full information as to affairs in Missouri, and a determination to judge for himself; but it is too late.

President Lincoln at this time is beginning to show a grasp of military matters which would have been of immense value to the country, if with it had come a confidence in his own judgment on such questions. He wrote to Buell, January 13: "For my own views, I have not offered them, and do not now offer them, as orders; and I would blame you to follow them contrary to your own clear judgment, unless I should put them in the

form of orders. . . . With this preliminary, I state my personal idea of this war to be that we have the greater numbers and the enemy has the greater facility of concentrating forces upon *points of collision*; that we must fail unless we can find some way of making our advantage an overmatch for his; and that this can be done only by menacing him with superior forces at different points at the same time, so that we can safely attack one or both if he makes no change, and if he weakens one to strengthen the other forbear to attack the strengthened one, but seize and hold the weakened one, gaining so much. . . ." No military question could be more concisely stated, and no ground could be better covered by any military man. "Applying the principle to your case," the President continues, "my idea is that Halleck shall menace Columbus and 'down river' generally, while you menace Bowling Green and east Tennessee. If the enemy shall concentrate at Bowling Green, do not retire from his front, yet do not fight him there either, but seize Columbus and east Tennessee, one or both, left exposed by the concentration at Bowling Green. It is a matter of no small anxiety to me, and one which I am sure you will not overlook, that the east Tennessee line is so long and over so bad a road."

The indorsement on the President's letter is as follows: "Having to-day written General Buell a letter, it occurs to me to send General Halleck a copy of it." That long line was really what demoralized Buell, in attempting to work out the east Tennessee campaign. Buell telegraphed McClellan, January 13: ". . . By the organization of the Kentucky regiments and the introduction of raw regiments from Ohio and Indiana our numerical strength has suddenly risen from 70,000 to 90,000. It is unnecessary to say that a large proportion of this is unfit for active operations." (How will it compare with the sixty days' men armed with shot-guns and hunting rifles?) " . . . It ought to be increased to . . . say in all 120,000 men. . . . "—Grant to Halleck's adjutant-general, January 14: "The troops from St. Louis, expected to-day, have not yet arrived. I have, however, commenced the move directed a few days since, without them. . . . "—Grant to adjutant-general, January 17: " . . . To-morrow I shall visit all the points occupied by the Cairo forces, and the next day commence a movement back to old quarters, unless orders are received requiring a change. . . . " On the 18th Grant ordered the troops back.

It is eminently proper at this point to estimate the strength of the enemy. Johnston to Benjamin, January 5, reported Polk's force at 13,000, and his own at Bowling Green at 23,000. Polk reported, January 11, that the garrison at Fort Henry, January 1, were 655 men. From Fort Donelson on the 17th, we learn that all the guns were mounted, plenty of ammuni-

tion on hand, and small arms being received. January 18, Tilghman telegraphed *for ammunition for Fort Henry;* same date report at Bowling Green, *that Fort Henry was being attacked*—a regiment ordered there from Alabama. This was one of the results of the demonstration of Halleck without "communication and concert." January 20, Floyd with 8,000 men detached to protect railroad to Clarksville. Garrison of Fort Henry, January 23, 3,035 men. Garrison of Fort Donelson, January 23, 2,175 men. Johnston to Cooper, January 22: ". . . General Smith, commanding enemy's forces on the Tennessee, turned yesterday from Murray toward Pine Bluff on Tennessee River, ten miles below Fort Henry. . . . The badness of the roads on the route to Paris, and the movement in his rear, has made him relinquish his march to the railroad at Paris, which it is presumed he desired to cut before investing Forts Henry and Donelson. . . . I will send to Tilghman at Fort Henry two regiments."

An affair which directly affected the campaign in western Kentucky was in connection with Zollicoffer, who had come from east Tennessee, September 12, to occupy Cumberland Ford with a force of about 3,000. He had gradually worked his way down the Cumberland River with an increasing army till he finally settled down in winter quarters at Mill Springs. The position, naturally strong, he fortified; it was admirably chosen, as it guarded Johnston's right flank, and also the left flank of the line covering east Tennessee. He also from that point threatened Somerset, and generally the left flank of Buell's force operating against Bowling Green. Zollicoffer's position was so annoying that Buell determined to destroy him, and Thomas on the 28th of December (1861), received orders to move from Lebanon toward Columbia for that purpose. The roads were so bad that Thomas moved of necessity very slowly, and on the 18th of January had arrived at Logan's Cross Roads, near Somerset. Early on the morning of the 19th he was attacked by Crittenden and Zollicoffer with somewhat less than 6,000 men, and routed them, killing Zollicoffer and driving the remnant of the command across the river at such a rate that a week later Crittenden dated his report from Gainsborough, on the Cumberland, seventy miles from the scene of the action. The fighting was skillfully and gallantly done by Thomas, who reaped all the glory of it, but the movement was designed by Buell, who never received any acknowledgment for his part. On the 17th of January, Buell wrote to Thomas as follows:* "I have received your letter of 13th from Webb's

* Reply of Buell to letter of Thomas, asking that, on account of the condition of the roads, Schoepf be set to watch the enemy, while he with his command proceed to Burkesville, "to be available in any operations in the direction of Bowling Green."

Cross Roads. You will before this have received my letter of same date, sent with your messenger. I hope that letter will have determined your action. *It is not sufficient to hold Zollicoffer in check: he must be captured or dispersed. I think his situation offers the opportunity of effecting the former*. . . . It will not be advisable to march your command to Somerset, but rather *take a position in front of the enemy, so as to draw your supplies from Somerset, and be in a position to move down upon him*. . . . I am aware that the roads are in a horrible condition. They must be improved. . . . Take sure means of informing yourself constantly of the movements of the enemy, and apprise me daily by telegraph. You could not march to Burkesville, and it is not desirable that you should be there."

Of the results flowing from this victory of Thomas we gather the opinion of Johnston in his letter to Benjamin of January 22: "If my right is thus broken, as stated, east Tennessee is open to invasion, or if the plan of the enemy be a combined movement upon Nashville, *it* is in jeopardy unless a force can be placed to oppose a movement from Burkesville (100 miles from Nashville) toward Nashville. Movements on my left threatening * Forts Henry, Donelson, and Clarksville, have, I do not doubt, for their ulterior object the occupation of Nashville. *I have already detached* 8,000 *men to make Clarksville secure and drive the enemy back with the aid of the force at Clarksville and Hopkinsville*. . . ." Polk to Johnston's adjutant-general, January 24: "I have ordered Crain's field battery and Gee's Arkansas regiment from Memphis to Tennessee River Bridge; also Lee's regiment from Henderson Station; also Bowden's from same station to the same point, as soon as armed." This strengthening of Clarksville, and Polk's changes of troops, were due to the demonstration of Halleck, which, as we have seen, did Buell no good, but brought a strong force to cover the point Halleck had it in his mind to attack.

We now have before us what is of special interest relating to movements in Kentucky under Buell, and also in Kentucky and Missouri under Halleck, prior to the opening of the real campaign. We have the plan for the campaign against the Confederate front in Kentucky and Tennessee furnished in detail by the two lieutenants of McClellan. The approximate number of the forces under each general is shown, and what force each had to contend against, and we have seen through it all that the President and General-in-chief were powerless to compel "communication and concert" by the use at least of moral suasion. That which remains is to

* The demonstration of Halleck, then going on.

learn how the campaign was executed. The two generals, each with a large army at his back, and each jealous for military power and fame; the General-in-chief with a great confidence, often expressed, in these "lieutenants," and the patient President, who has informed them all that "delay is ruining us," and saying, "*here, as everywhere else*, nothing can be done," have let military matters drift into a fog in Kentucky; but, at the next moment of action, there emerges from the fog a figure which is visible through the remainder of the war, and which, climbing by rapid steps above the three, becomes the great military leader of the age.

Gen. C. F. Smith to Grant's adjutant-general, January 22: "I went up in the *Lexington*" (on that day) "to have a look at Fort Henry. . . . There were evidently from two thousand to three thousand men there. . . . Judging by the number of roofs seen in the fort it must cover considerable space. *I think two iron-clad gunboats will make short work of Fort Henry*. . . . I resume my march to-morrow morning. . . ." Halleck to Grant, same day: "All additional forces sent to you will be stationed at Smithland" (doubtless Smithfield at mouth of Cumberland River), "where preparations will be made for a large encampment. . . ." Halleck to C. F. Smith, January 24 (two days later): " . . . Send me . . . a full description of the road and country from Smithfield to Dover and Fort Henry; also of the road south of the Tennessee to Fort Henry, and the means of crossing the river at different points above Paducah. This report should be as much in detail as your means of information will allow. I particularly wish to know the character of the country between these roads and the rivers, and whether it is such that troops can sustain or be sustained by the gunboats; also, a description of the roads and country east of the Cumberland, and its character with regard to military movements of an enemy." Flag officer Foote to Halleck, January 28: "Commanding General Grant and myself are of the opinion that Fort Henry, on the Tennessee River, can be carried with four iron-clad gunboats and troops to permanently occupy. Have we your authority to move for that purpose when ready?" Grant to Halleck, January 28: "With permission I will take Fort Henry, on the Tennessee, and establish and hold a large camp there." (Probably the large camp to which Halleck alludes in the dispatch of 22d.) Grant to Halleck, January 29: "*In view of the large force now concentrating in this district*, and the present feasibility of the plan, I would respectfully suggest the propriety of subduing Fort Henry, near the Kentucky and Tennessee line, and holding the position. If this is not done soon, there is little doubt but that the defenses on both the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers will be materially strengthened. . . .

The advantages of this move are as perceptible to the Commanding General as to myself, therefore further statements are unnecessary." Halleck to Grant, January 30: "Make your preparations to take and hold Fort Henry. I will send you written instructions by mail." Of these written instructions extracts only are necessary: "Fort Henry should be taken and held at all hazards. . . . It is very probable that an attempt will be made from Columbus to reinforce Fort Henry, also from Fort Donelson, at Dover. If you can occupy the road to Dover you can prevent the latter. . . . Having invested Fort Henry, a cavalry force will be sent forward to break up the railroad from Paris to Dover."

In looking back we find that on the 22d, C. F. Smith telegraphed to Grant that the garrison at Fort Henry was from two thousand to three thousand men, and that two gunboats would make short work of that fort. C. F. Smith's opinion was one that would have great weight with most officers of Grant's date in the army. Grant and Commodore Foote have a consultation and determine that they have the force to capture Fort Henry, and they will take *four* gunboats. They then telegraph and write to Halleck, who has already this or a similar plan in his mind, and who, having effectually prevented the Buell movement, can now make the move, and in case of failure throw the responsibility on Foote and Grant, naturally expecting in case of success to take the credit, because it was a plan developed in his letter to McClellan of the 20th of January. In Halleck's plan, however, he seemed to favor a movement up the Cumberland rather than the Tennessee. McClellan had always seemed to favor that river for the *serious* effort, and it is to be regretted that Halleck did not give the order for the troops to move up the Cumberland, as in that case the garrison of Fort Henry would not have retreated to Fort Donelson, and the troops, by landing below Fort Donelson and occupying the roads across to the Tennessee, could have captured the garrison of Fort Henry and pressed the garrison of Fort Donelson at the same time, thus saving a week in time and more.

McClellan to Halleck, January 29, announced to the latter that he had recommended two men at Halleck's request for brigadier-general. ". . . Your welcome letter in regard to future operations is received" (letter of 20th, already given in part). "I will reply in full in a day or two. *In the mean time get your force in hand and study the ground.* I will try to-day to send you some more infantry arms. . . . *I like your* views as to the future. They fully agree with my own ideas from the beginning, which has ever been against a movement in force down the Mississippi itself. . . . I will try to devote this afternoon to you and Buell to give you my views

and intentions in full. . . . I am very sorry you have been so ill, but sincerely hope that you are now quite well again. . . . It is very desirable *to move all along the line by the 22d February if possible.*" Halleck to McClellan, January 30: "I inclose herewith a copy of instructions sent this day to General Grant in relation to the expedition up the Tennessee River against Fort Henry. As Fort Henry, Dover (Fort Donelson), etc., are in Tennessee, *I respectfully suggest that this State be added to this department.* . . . Fort Henry has a garrison of about 6,000, and is pretty strongly fortified" (C. F. Smith says from 2,000 to 3,000, and that two iron-clad gunboats will make short work of it). "Possible reinforcements may be sent from Columbus as soon as we move. . . . The roads south of the Tennessee River are almost impassable. . . . General Smith reported in his recent reconnaissance up that river that the road was horrible and new tracks had to be cut through the woods. It took an entire day to move one brigade three miles." * A telegram of the same day from Halleck to McClellan says: "Your telegram respecting Beauregard is received.† General Grant and Commodore Foote will be ordered to immediately advance, and to reduce and hold Fort Henry on the Tennessee River, and also to cut the railroad between Dover and Paris. The roads are in such a condition as to render all movements exceedingly slow and difficult." Buell had received a letter from Paducah, in which it is recommended that the gunboats go up the Tennessee River, shell out Fort Henry and destroy the railroad bridge, and then go on to destroying bridges and capturing steamboats. On the 30th of January, inclosing this letter, Buell writes McClellan: ". . . I believe his suggestion to be feasible at this time in whole or in part, and I don't hesitate to urge the attempt. It should be done promptly. . . . The destruction of the bridges and the boats in the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers is an object the importance of which cannot be overrated. It is well worth the risk of losing a gunboat or so. I have written to Halleck on this subject. . . . I have received your dispatch about Beauregard." Buell to Halleck on the same subject, and on the

* In C. F. Smith's published report of his reconnaissance, dated January 27, he says, from Aurora to Paducah, "A good road even at this period of the year . . . we accomplished the march (46 miles) in three days, an average of 15 miles per day." The engineer, Rzeha, in his journal for January 21, says, "Road towards Callaway bad." Callaway is on the river 15 miles below Fort Henry and three miles above Aurora.

† "Washington, January 29, 1862.

"Major-General Halleck and Brigadier-General Buell:—A deserter just in from the rebels says that Beauregard had not left Centreville four days ago, but that as he was going on picket he heard officers say that Beauregard was under orders to go to Kentucky with fifteen regiments from the Army of the Potomac.

"Geo. B. McClellan, Major-General."

same day: "I believe his suggestion to be feasible to a considerable extent, if not throughout, and I hope you will see enough in it to give it a prompt trial. . . . It requires no unusual preparation, and should be executed promptly." Halleck telegraphed to Buell same day: "I have ordered an advance of our troops on Fort Henry and Dover. It will be made immediately." After all the reports from Halleck and the orders from the President and General-in-chief about co-operation this must have been a thunderbolt to Buell. Determined, however, to join his best efforts, he asks on the same day, "Please let me know your place and force and the time, etc." To this Halleck responded January 31: "Movement already ordered to take and hold Fort Henry and cut railroad between Columbus and Dover. Force about 15,000; will be reinforced as soon as possible. Will telegraph *the day of investment or attack.*"

Buell to Halleck, January 31: "Do you consider active co-operation essential to success, because in that case it would be necessary for each to know what the other has to do? It would be several days before I could seriously engage the enemy, and *your operation ought not to fail.* The operation which was suggested in my letter yesterday would be an important preliminary to the next step." A most soldierly communication, and one which under all the circumstances reflects great credit upon General Buell. Halleck in reply to that, February 1, says: "*Co-operation at present not essential.* Fort Henry has been reinforced, but where from I have not learned." (The dispatches from Polk and Johnston have informed us *where from*, and that they were sent by reason of Halleck's demonstration ordered on the 6th of January.) "The roads are in such a horrible condition as to render movements almost impossible on land. Will write you fully my plans as soon as I get your letter of the 30th ult. *Write me your plans, and I will try to assist you.*" The major part of a letter from Buell to McClellan, dated February 1, is taken up with a serious discussion of the movements into east Tennessee, which is irrelevant to the campaign against the line from Columbus to Bowling Green, and is therefore omitted. The following extracts are, however, important: "Having stated to you candidly the difficulties in the way of the object you have so much at heart, you will naturally expect to know what I propose to do in the mean time. *It is to move at once against Bowling Green in combination with an attack up the Tennessee and Cumberland and an effective* demonstration against Columbus, each in sufficient force to do its work with the enemy's force divided. *Any* operations which depend on celerity, with the roads in their present condition, are out of the question. The object must be ac-

complished by hard knocks. The enemy is strongly fortified at Bowling Green, and is daily increasing along the whole front, of which that place and Columbus are the flanks. It is dangerous to allow him to continue the work of preparation. I believe he will rate the importance of his positions in this order: *First, the rivers*, including Nashville: Second, Bowling Green: Third, Columbus. His center is now the most vulnerable point, as it is also the most decisive. The attack on it should be made by an adequate force, and should be determined and persistent. Twenty thousand men might commence it, and these should probably be increased very soon to 30,000. The first object should be to carry Fort Henry, Dover and Clarksville, destroying the bridges: in fact, the latter ought to be effected by the gunboats, by surprise while the rivers are swollen, as suggested in my letter yesterday." (Much of interest in this part of the letter is omitted, as not necessary to the purpose of this paper.) ". . . We shall be dependent on the railroad, which must be repaired as we advance. It will take ten days or more to reach their position from Green River" (his advanced post). "I am not unconscious of the magnitude of the work I propose, but it has to be done, and the sooner we can do it the better. While you were sick, by direction of the President, I proposed to Halleck some concert of action between us. He answered, 'I can do nothing: name a day for demonstration.' Night before last I received a dispatch from him saying, 'I have ordered an advance on Fort Henry and Dover. It will be made immediately.' I protest against such prompt proceedings, as though I had nothing to do but command 'Commence firing,' when he starts off. However, he telegraphs me to-night that co-operation is not essential now. . . ." The whole letter of Buell's is a first class military document, and is admirable in its temper. It is in striking contrast to the communications from Halleck, either on the subject of strategy or the condition of Missouri.

Halleck now proposed *without co-operation* to attack the enemy's center from Paducah, leaving Buell *idle* at Bowling Green, which thus rendered his movement precisely parallel to the one he criticised, with this difference, that by the demonstration he had ordered on the 6th of January of his own volition, and without communication or concert, he had, as has been seen, brought three regiments and two batteries from *Memphis* and *Henderson* to add to the garrison of Fort Henry, besides the 8,000 detached from Bowling Green, which became a part of the garrison at Fort Donelson, Buell at the same time not being able to take advantage of the reduction at Bowling Green.

Grant to Halleck, February 1: "I will leave here to-morrow night . . ."

Halleck to Buell, February 2: "Yours of the 30th is just received" (letter suggesting destruction of bridges by the gunboats). "At present it is only proposed to take and occupy Forts Henry and Dover (Donelson), and if possible cut the railroad from Columbus to Bowling Green. The roads are in such a horrible condition that troops cannot move by land. How far we may venture to send the gunboats up the river will be left for after consideration. . . . The garrison of Fort Henry at last accounts was 6,000. It may be further reinforced from Columbus. *Keep me informed of your plans, and I will endeavor to assist you as much as possible.* If we take Fort Henry and concentrate all available forces there, troops must be withdrawn either from Bowling Green or Columbus to protect the railroads. If the former, you can advance: if the latter, we can take New Madrid and cut off the river communication with Columbus. But it will take some time to get troops ready to advance far south of Fort Henry."

I will not stop to point out the military blunder in the suggestion of concentrating at Fort Henry without first disposing of Fort Donelson and *absolutely occupying* the railroad only 16 miles distant from Fort Henry, but will merely call careful attention to the letter as breathing forth in every line an assertion that he should want no help, and expected in fact to be able to help Buell, whose hands he knew he had tied by his refusal to co-operate, accompanied by the statement, that silenced the President and General-in-Chief, that the force necessary for this work *taken from the State of Missouri* would lose that State to the Union cause. It will be seen how quickly he calls for help when he *knows it must be given to him*, and that the President, McClellan, and Buell himself must lend every possible assistance to secure his conquest. The most serious question in the whole history is, What would have been the result if Halleck, like a true soldier, had made known to his superiors and to Buell the force he had at his command for this movement and the time at which he could be ready? There may be as many opinions as there are men to express them, but I should doubt if the great majority would not agree that far more beneficial results must have accrued to our cause if a joint movement had been made.

A RIDE WITH SHERIDAN

My ride with Sheridan was not a solitary one. It was shared with some ten thousand tried and gallant men who, on scores of bloody fields, had rendered quite malapropos Hooker's famous sarcasm of, "Who ever saw a dead cavalry man?" From the Rapidan to Richmond and Petersburg, and thence to Appomattox they marched and counter-marched, skirmishes here and battles there, until almost every portion of that fair country became the final resting-place of the Union dead.

We then saw in our commander a man about thirty-four years of age, short of stature, but compactly built, with broad square shoulders and a muscular and wiry frame, that suggested powers of endurance far beyond the average. With his firm chin, crisp mustache, and keen searching eye, he looked every inch the soldier. In more senses than one the head of General Sheridan was not a common head. He found it difficult, it is said, to make a hat stay on properly. Certain irregularities called by phrenologists bumps of combativeness were the cause of this singular shape, and greatly inconvenienced himself—as well as his enemies. To prevent his hat from escaping, when galloping over the field during a fight, he often held it in his hand, an act which suggested cheer and encouragement to the men.

The spring of 1864 found the Army of the Potomac, with its encampments along the northern line of the Rapidan, in momentary expectation of the order to prepare for another wrestle with its ever-watchful, its desperate but incomparable antagonist, the army of Northern Virginia. Grant had recently assumed command of all the Federal armies—his head-quarters with the Army of the Potomac—while Sheridan, with the halo of his recent brilliant record in the West fresh around him, took in hand, for the first time as his sole command, the cavalry corps attached to this army. As much as any other commander, Sheridan shielded his troops from unnecessary peril and fatigue, and more, perhaps, than any other, he spared them not, either by night or day, in cold or heat, in storm or in calm, when the enemy was to be met or a position gained.

In giving a short sketch of some of the operations of the cavalry corps attached to the Army of the Potomac, with a few personal reminiscences of the bivouac, march, and battle, I am simply following an irresistible impulse which time does but intensify. No one who has not participated in

the strange and stirring scenes of actual war, can even faintly appreciate the fascination that attaches to its memories. The old soldier will tell you that even the odor of burning leaves carries him back instantly to the bivouac and camp fire: he hears again the clatter and tumult caused by the quick, sharp strokes of the soldiery as they drive down the stakes to which they tie their horses, together with all the low undercurrent of sound characteristic of a great multitude preparing for food and rest after the toil of the day. The crack of the sportsman's rifle recalls the picket line, and the simultaneous discharge of a score or more is wonderfully suggestive of the ominous reports along the skirmish line. More than all else, perhaps, the roar of the cannon, according to its nearness and the volume of its sound, suggests the threatening or fully opened conflict, and brings fresh to mind the mingled and the peculiar sensations experienced by the participant.

On the 2d of May, 1864, came the looked-for orders that were to end the quiet and uneventful monotony of camp life, and set in motion an army of more than a hundred thousand men with "its rolling of drums, tramp of squadrons, and immeasurable tumult of baggage wagons." To adequately describe the commingled scenes of earnest preparation, vociferous salutations and commands, ludicrous incidents, and picturesque movements associated with such a general disruption calls for an abler pen than mine. Confusion reigns supreme, seemingly, but soon it becomes evident that this "mighty maze is *not* without a plan." Scattered formations begin, and companies of men, like rills flowing to their stream, assume the concrete form of a regiment, regiments coalesce into brigades, brigades into divisions, until finally the whole cavalry corps of twelve thousand moves grandly away to meet the enemy; but when, or where, or how, it knows not.

Shortly after midnight on the 4th of May the crossing of the Rapidan began, the cavalry fording the river and preceding the infantry, which crossed over on pontoon bridges. Opposition to the passage had been expected, and although not a gun was fired, yet no one will ever forget the strained and expectant state of mind as we plunged into the cold water in anticipation of a volley from the opposite shore. Galloping up the hill to the plain no reminder of the enemy was discovered, with the exception of torn bags of grain and meal which the Confederate pickets had left in their hasty flight. A few miles farther on, the outskirts of the famous Wilderness was reached, and here in few hours were gathered the converging lines of troops who had crossed on bridges farther up the river. Here also, at Wilderness Tavern, were grouped a notable body of men

—Grant, Sheridan, Meade, Hancock, Sedgwick, Warren, and a score or more of other general officers in consultation, or in anticipation of orders.

The cavalry took but little part in or immediately preceding the battle of the Wilderness, and the artillery was rendered almost useless. The ground for many miles was covered with a dense growth of scrub-oak, which rendered the operations of even infantry exceedingly difficult; much of their fighting was with an invisible enemy. For the artillery there were few places that afforded an effective range, hence, as opposed to the continuous rattling of musketry, the artillery reports were feeble and intermittent. In no other battle perhaps were the startling effects of musketry volleys more marked than here, and many are living who to this day remember, and will always remember, the really unique but awful effect of an infantry volley on the night of the 5th of May. With the division of Gregg, of which our regiment was a part, we had moved away some miles from the main body of the force engaged, and after a day of watching and waiting were about preparing for rest. The sky was cloudless and starlit, and after the crash and carnage of the day, everything had subsided into the most profound quiet. The wounded left upon the field were lying too far away for us to hear their sighs and groans. Our party stretched upon the ground were just sinking into slumber, when, in the perfect silence, and without a single preliminary shot, a volley, fearful in its volume and distinctness, brought every man to his feet, tingling with an astonishment and alarm impossible to conceal. We take no heed of time on such occasions, but surely the firing could not have lasted sixty seconds, yet for the time it seemed as if ten thousand rifles were crackling in the adjoining field. Almost as suddenly as it began, the horrible clamor died away, followed by a calm as quiet and peaceful as the grave.

Subsequently it was understood that the firing came from the Federals, and was due to a real or imaginary preparation for an assault by the Confederates along certain portions of our line, and instead of being in close proximity to us, was absolutely a mile or more away. It illustrates the deceptive character of sound in the silence and darkness of night. A ludicrous sequel found expression in the frantic efforts of one poor fellow awakened thus rudely from his sleep. Completely dazed, he leaped upon the back of the nearest horse, and with shouts and kicks, and without saddle or bridle, he urged forward the equally frightened animal, who being securely tied to a stake, simply reared and plunged, quickly pitching his rider to the ground, there to regain his head at leisure.

On the following morning General Custer encountered Hampton's division, and had quite a brush, while our division (Gregg's) met Fitzhugh

Lee at Todd's Tavern, and after a sharp engagement, handsomely repelled his attack. Early the next morning Custer was again driving the enemy, and about the same time Gregg's and Merritt's divisions attacked Stuart's combined cavalry force, charging and capturing his barricades and rifle-pits. It thus became evident to the dullest among us that the cavalry was to share equally with other branches of the service in the work and perils of active warfare.

On the 8th of May General Sheridan received instructions to concentrate his scattered forces, pass around the right of Lee's army to its rear, and after doing all the damage possible by destroying railroads, burning supplies, etc., proceed to Haxall's Landing, on the James, and replenish supplies from General Butler's stores, rest his command, and then return to the army, wherever it might be. This historic raid consumed just fifteen days, in which time was concentrated perhaps as much movement and incident as in any other operation of similar length during the war. Early on the morning of the 9th we were in motion, the object being to get away from Lee's infantry before meeting Stuart's cavalry. It was early spring, and a cloudless sky and clear, invigorating atmosphere contributed to render the day nearly perfect. The roads were in excellent condition, free from mud or dust, and we passed through a country untouched by the ravages of war. Few whites were seen, but the negroes from every hamlet and hut gathered along the roadside in undisguised admiration and wonder at the ceaseless stream of artillery and horse.

"Pompey, have you seen many soldiers go along this way to-day?" was asked of a gray-headed old negro, and as the old fellow lifted up both hands he excitedly ejaculated, "Yes, marser, tousands and tousands and tousands. You go right into Richmond now, suah." It was made sufficiently evident by the old man's unfeigned action and tone that he at least was heart and soul with the Union cause.

Our regiment (the 6th Ohio) occupied the extreme rear of the line, and the beauty and quiet of the morning was still upon us, when, as we made a turn through a short stretch of wood, the advance was startled by the well-known Confederate yell, accompanied by rapid firing. The colonel commanding, turning in his saddle, saw the rear of the regiment scattering in every direction, closely pressed by the attacking party. In an instant everything was in the utmost confusion. The artillery, pack train, forage wagons, and forming bodies of troops, seemed to be inextricably mixed, and the writer found himself in a sort of pandemonium, separated from every familiar face, and uncertain which way to turn, either to avoid the increasing fire, or to find a post of duty. Just then a captain on the staff

galloped past, and with a shout, "You are wanted this way, doctor," he swept by and I followed on. In a moment a position was attained, enabling me to witness the rare sight of cavalry fighting hand to hand with sabre and pistol. The excitement was too great to allow the details to be firmly fixed in my mind. A swaying, yelling mass of horsemen, and the roar of a section of artillery in the rear was the main impression made. Only one distinct act left its impression sufficiently to be recalled at this day. The adjutant of the regiment, whose sad death occurred but a short time subsequently, had just received the ineffectual fire of a Southern soldier. I see the adjutant now as I have in imagination seen him hundreds of times before, with that expression of concentrated excitement characteristic of such scenes of peril. With horses careering side by side, he had grasped the Confederate by the collar of his coat with one hand, and with the other was in the act of striking him from the saddle with the butt of his pistol. One poor fellow was lying upon the turf bleeding and pale, and dismounting, I gave the reins of my horse to an attendant who had just joined me. It was anything but a pleasant time or place for the exercise of the gentle ministrations of the healing art. Bullets were whistling through the air on every side, and it needed only the ear to assure us that the enemy were in close proximity. The wounded man was too weak to lift his head from the ground, and as I was intently engaged in examining the arm through which a bullet had passed, the startling cry of "Here they come!" was heard.

We were in a plowed field, and in looking up, a body of Confederate cavalry was seen, not over a hundred yards away, coming toward us as rapidly as the nature of the ground would permit, firing their carbines, and with all manner of exclamations. Not one of us stood upon the order of his going. The orderly gallantly led the flight, followed by the surgeon, who was in turn closely followed by the wounded man. He, poor fellow, had not feigned anything as he lay there apparently unable to rise. It was only the stimulus of imminent danger that enabled him to leap unassisted to his feet and to his saddle. My own horse, left to himself, started, and there was only time to grasp him by the neck and throw one leg over the saddle; but further, for a few moments, it was impossible to get. The efforts of the thoroughly terrified horse, as he plunged through the soft earth, were frantic enough, but not more so than my own as I strained every nerve to retain my hold and right myself. Success finally crowned these efforts, and our speed was further rewarded by the welcome sight of a line of our own forces just ahead. These were flanked, and as we came to a halt the wounded soldier was close at our heels. In a sudden attack such as this there could be no very satisfactory or permanent alignment.

The scene of contest constantly shifted; hence, no sooner had we alighted and stretched the almost fainting man upon the ground, than we had the extraordinary experience of being exposed a second time in five minutes to the enemy's charge, and were compelled to fly once more; this time we did not halt until it was certain that we had safely outdistanced that persistent body of the enemy. It has been often stated that surgeons are not exposed to much danger; I doubted this, and on many subsequent occasions this doubt received strong confirmation. Finally the attacking force was beaten back, and in thick darkness, for night had set in, the task of reforming the scattered troops began. This accomplished, away we all went, pell-mell, in one of the fastest cavalry rides ever experienced, to join the advanced forces on the banks of the North Anna River.

The following morning Gregg's and Wilson's division crossed the river, exposed to the artillery fire of our untiring adversary, who had followed us the night before, placed his guns in position, and waited for morning. Custer, with his brigade, was sent to Beaver Dam Station, where he destroyed ten miles of the Virginia Central Railroad, locomotives, cars, and army supplies. He also recaptured many prisoners who had been taken in the Battle of the Wilderness, and were then on their way to Richmond.

I will not attempt to give in detail the various side movements and encounters of our cavalry from this time until it reached the bank of the James, where it rested for three days, and then rejoined the main army on the 24th. One incident may be related, however, of a night's ride to Ashland Station on the Fredericksburg Railroad for the purpose of destroying the road and a depot of supplies that were stored there. It was dark when the brigade (Davies') started, but as the column wheeled into an unfrequented forest road, the darkness became Cimmerian. Our progress was not especially disagreeable so long as our horses were allowed to walk; but the necessity of reaching our destination before the Confederate cavalry, soon urged the whole force into a rapid gallop.

As we descended into gullies, mounted hillocks, and leaped obstructions in the darkness, our animals were necessarily left to their own guidance. Only by sound and shout could we tell when horses stumbled and fell pitching their riders where no one knew or halted to inquire. Hats were brushed away by the branches of the trees, and faces scratched and bodies bruised; but on we rode for several miles until the woods were cleared. Never were men more glad to see a star than were we. In the early morning we reached the station, drove away a small force, and successfully accomplished the object for which we had been sent. By this time Stuart, the brilliant Confederate cavalry leader, had, by moving on roads parallel

to ours, outstripped us and planted himself in our path at Yellow Tavern, six miles from Richmond. The battle here was very severe, and the casualties great. On the side of the enemy General Gordon was killed and the gallant and renowned Stuart mortally wounded.

Following up his success, Sheridan penetrated to the outer defenses of Richmond, and great was the excitement and consternation there. Most plainly could be heard by our forces the ringing of bells and the puffing of locomotives, and from subsequent evidence it would seem as if the town could have been easily captured because of the small force left for its defense. On the morning of the 12th, it was proposed to recross the Chickahominy, but the bridge was found destroyed, and had to be rebuilt under a heavy fire from a force of the enemy on the opposite side, while at the same time we were harassed by attacking bodies from the direction of Richmond. For a few hours it was a season of anxiety to General Sheridan, lest he should be attacked by an increasing force before the completed bridge afforded him an opportunity to go on his way. The story was current among us that when the bridge was finished and the troops were about to cross, the general seized a bottle containing nothing stronger than water, and as he was about to elevate it to his mouth, with a "Here's to you, Johnnies!" a stray bullet effectually shattered it. Nothing daunted, it is further related that the general, turning in the direction from which the missiles came, quickly substituted for his salutation the exclamation and reproach, "That's d—d unhandsome of you, Johnny!"

We reached Haxall's Landing, on the banks of the James, on the 14th, but not without sharp fighting with some of the enemy's infantry and dismounted cavalry, who had advanced from their works to intercept us. Never were men more grateful for uninterrupted sleep. Since leaving the Wilderness our marching and fighting had been almost continuous, and both rider and horse, to say nothing of the patient mule, were utterly exhausted. It is a notable fact that during the movements of an army one seldom sees a wild animal or venomous reptile, even though wild the region and thick the forests. On this occasion, however, soon after reaching camp, while quietly slumbering under my low and narrow shelter tent, I was aroused by a loud cry from some one near me, and looking around, was startled by the sight of a very large flat-headed snake which had entered the tent, and whose head was now in close proximity to mine. I cleared the entrance instantly, and with assistance soon had the satisfaction of killing the intruder. He measured four feet and some inches, and proved to be of an exceedingly poisonous variety. On the 17th of May, quite refreshed and well supplied with rations, the cavalry retraced its steps to

rejoin the main army, which it readily accomplished on the 24th with little opposition. The Army of the Potomac at this time found itself in a peculiar position. It had crossed to the south bank of the South Anna River in two different sections, and then confronted Lee's intrenched forces. The peculiarity of the situation was that it not only had the river in its rear, but an intrenched division of the enemy, like a wedge, extended to the river, widely separating the two sections of the Union army. It is readily seen, therefore, that for one part to support the other, it would be necessary to cross the river twice. The position was thoroughly unsatisfactory, and not devoid of peril, and on the night of the 25th, in the most intense darkness, the withdrawal was successfully effected.

Portions of our cavalry corps brought up the rear of the infantry, while General Sheridan, at the head of the rest, preceded the whole.

Crossing the Pamunky River, on the 27th, we halted, and soon a thousand camp-fires were brightly gleaming in the valleys and along the hillsides. The first thing for the soldier to do, however, was to see that his horse was secure, and to this end every man was eager to obtain as quickly as possible a portion of rail, or some small limb of a tree, and utilize it as a stake. Imagine ten thousand men, more or less, simultaneously driving down these stakes. In the clear night air the sound reaches one from near and far, now echoing and re-echoing in a single crushing volume, and again with a rapid and irregular clatter, quite indescribable. In the midst of all this confusion and fancied security came right up from among us the startling report of a bursting shell. In an instant every sound was hushed. The cessation of active life was as real, and the silence as profound as when, in the story, all the inmates of the palace of the king went to sleep for a hundred years. The awakening also was almost as sudden. For a moment there was strained expectation, with a thousand arms held high in air, then a single blow, then another, and immediately the air was again resounding with sturdy strokes. It seems that the fire at our brigade head-quarters had been built over an unnoticed and unexploded shell, thrown in some previous cavalry skirmish, and in its explosion one of our officers detailed temporarily for staff duty was severely wounded. I venture to say, that never before or after in the history of the war did the explosion of a single shell excite more attention and comment. The following day witnessed one of the severest and longest cavalry engagements of the campaign. General Sheridan, pursuant of orders to feel for the enemy, pushed forward Gregg's division on the road from Hanovertown to Richmond. Near a place called Hawes Shop a large company of Confederate cavalry belonging to Fitzhugh Lee and Hampton's divisions

were found dismounted and occupying temporary breastworks of rail. My post of duty in the beginning of the contest was with the regiment at the front, and when finally directed to the field hospital in the rear, to assist there, I found an old house filled, and the yard strewn with wounded men who had either been operated upon, or who were patiently waiting their turn to be placed upon the repulsive-looking tables. Here, for the first, but not for the last time, I regret to say, it was my unpleasant experience to see a hospital with its protective flag flying above, and filled with the wounded and dying, exposed to the fire of artillery.

Surgeons could not be expected to work with steady nerve when shells were bursting around them. Fortunately the cannonading was of brief continuance, but long enough to inflict some damage; how much I am not aware, as my horse, which I had mounted a few minutes previously to return to my regiment, became so unmanageable at a bursting shell that he bore me quickly away. The direction taken by the horse acquits me of all intentional running away, for it was toward a still hotter fire, and it was fully a mile before the animal could be subdued. This shell bursting underneath had promptly killed the horse of the surgeon by whose side I was riding, and scattered our attendants in every direction. It was here, during a lull in the fighting, that our old, plain-spoken colonel, now dead, sent back a reply to the commanding general, which I understand he never forgot.

Staff-officer: "General Sheridan wishes to know, colonel, how you are getting along?"

Colonel: "You tell the general that we are licking the bile out of them."

This reply was literally transmitted by the faithful aid, and caused amusement at head-quarters. A few years after the war, the members of the legislature of Ohio, of which body the old colonel was one, were introduced to the general, and upon the former being presented, Sheridan quickly remembered him, and good-humoredly brought him to task for the language in which his official information had been couched.

For the next few days the cavalry were incessantly active. The disastrous assault at Cold Harbor took place, and in this they took vigorous part, losing heavily in killed and wounded, and almost immediately after were ordered to proceed along the Central Railroad of Virginia, damage it as much as possible, and then join the command of General Hunter in the lower valley. After this we were again to return to the Army of the Potomac. Only a part of this duty were we able successfully to perform. Our route lay along the north bank of the North Anna, and on the after-

noon of the 10th of June we crossed the river at Carpenter's Ford, and encamped near the line of the Virginia Central Railroad, where I was ordered to transfer my services temporarily to the battery of the division, which at that time stood in special need of surgical and medical aid. When General Sheridan reached Trevylyan Station he found himself opposed by a large force of cavalry under Hampton and Lee, who had followed closely and on interior lines to intercept him. On the morning of the 11th the opposing forces met, and through all that day the fighting was desperate and the losses great. The advantage was upon our side, but learning from prisoners that General Hunter was not in position to be readily reached, and that we were likely to be opposed by both Ewell and Breckinridge, General Sheridan decided to quietly withdraw under the cover of darkness. The ammunition also was running so low that another engagement would have exhausted it.

It was just twilight when my regiment, which I had rejoined, was sent out to do picket duty and cover the withdrawal of the rest of the troops. The dust that we raised must have been seen by our watchful foe, for a storm of shell was opened upon us that, for a few moments, was as fearful as anything we ever experienced. Shells exploded around and above us, and the brilliant illumination in the twilight added to the impressiveness of the scene. The storm lasted but for a few minutes, but in that time it seemed as if the regiment would be annihilated. Many of us were struck in face and body by bits of flying bark from the trees, for we were passing through a wood, and near us one little tree was cut in two. The fact that not a man was injured, illustrates how out of all proportion to the damage inflicted may be the noise and demoralizing effect of an artillery fire. After midnight the withdrawal was skillfully accomplished and with entire secrecy, and a backward march commenced which, in some respects, was more painful than anything we had before or would hereafter experience. We had captured some five hundred prisoners, who had to be guarded, and were encumbered with nearly six hundred wounded men; of these, ninety were too severely injured to be moved, and, together with the enemy's wounded that had fallen into our hands, were left behind in charge of surgeons detailed for that purpose. We were far from our base of supplies, and five hundred helpless men, suffering from injuries of almost every conceivable character, had to be transported for days over rough roads, in ambulances and in army wagons without springs, and in the heat and thick dust of summer.

Look not for the extremest horrors of war upon the battle-field, however awful the carnage or cruel the adversary, but find it rather in some of

the experiences of prison life and the unutterable and prolonged agonies of a retrograde march such as ours, of eight days' duration. From sunrise to sunset the long cavalcade of canvas-covered vehicles toiled along with jar and jolt, enveloped in clouds of dust, and eliciting from the wretched sufferers a continuous succession of groans and heart-rending outcries. Soldiers in general know little of such scenes as these, only the surgeons and attendants. The excitement and danger of the battle over, the resultant suffering is quickly removed and left to proper care. Our brave and humane old colonel had occasion to ride forward along the line of the moving ambulances. He returned actually pale with suppressed emotion, and exclaimed, "My God! No consideration would tempt me to go over that course again and see the sights and listen to the groans that I have this day seen and heard." And here, without any invidious distinction, attention may be called to the work of the medical staff of the army, who labored without hope of special preferment or possibility of distinction. They shared the fatigue and much of the danger of the campaign, and in emergencies their labors were simply incredible. On this very march, for instance, after a long day's ride, when all others were sleeping, the surgeons collected about the ambulances, and, with the dim light of candles, dressed each wound with gentle care. Every effort was made to save the lives of those who were not too far gone. The dying were passed by, excepting to minister to their immediate wants, and the dead were quickly buried. As I recall, at this distance of time, those nights of toil, with wagons against the dark background crowded with wounded, and surgeons here and there bent low over the sufferers, engaged in their humane ministrations, the scene loses none of its weird and solemn impressiveness. We passed over the recent battle-field of Spottsylvania, where the destructive effects of the terrific shower of shot and shell were plainly visible. Broken branches of trees were on every hand. Many trees were almost completely denuded of bark and foliage, some were riddled with bullets, and others were felled to the ground by the shots. Brigadier-General Grant, of the Vermont Brigade, Sixth Corps, thus graphically describes the close and deadly fighting at the celebrated "Angle:" "It was not only a desperate struggle, but it was literally a hand-to-hand fight. Nothing but the piled-up logs or breastworks separated the combatants. Our men would reach over the logs and fire into the faces of the enemy, would stab over with their bayonets, and many were shot and stabbed through the crevices and holes between the logs. Men mounted the works, and, with muskets rapidly handed them, kept up a continuous fire until they were shot down, when others would take their places and continue their deadly work. . . . Several times during the day

the enemy would show a white flag about the works, and, when our fire slackened, jump over and surrender, and others were crowded down to fill their places. . . . It was there that the somewhat celebrated tree was cut off by bullets; there that the brush and logs were cut to pieces and whipped into basket stuff; . . . there that the enemy's ditches and cross sections were filled with dead men, several deep. . . . I was at the 'Angle,' the next day. The sight was terrible and sickening, much worse than at Bloody Lane (Antietam). There a great many dead men were lying in the road and across the rails of the torn-down fences, and out in the corn-field, but they were not piled up several deep, and their flesh was not so torn and mangled as at the 'Angle.'"

Glad enough were we to reach our supplies at the "White House" on the 21st, where we passed the night. On the 22d an immense train of nine hundred wagons started to join the main army. The cavalry was ordered to protect these trains until they had crossed the James at Bermuda Hundred on pontoon bridges. After crossing the Chickahominy at Jones' Bridge, Torbet with one division was held with the train, while Gregg with the other was sent to St. Mary's Church to protect an uncovered flank. Our brigade, under General Davies, was stationed in an open space on slightly rising ground, in the center of which was a shabby little house, the inmates consisting of an invalid with his wife and several children. They were thoroughly alarmed at the threatening outlook. When the conflict began this family sought shelter in their cellar, and emerged after its cessation unhurt. We were here confronted again by our agile and valiant opponents, the cavalry divisions of Hampton and Lee, who were eager to obtain some of the rich pickings in the trains moving along "so near, and yet so far." Several hundred yards in our front was the edge of a dense forest, and from the frequent interchange of shots between our advanced pickets and the concealed foe it was apparent that danger lurked in those dark recesses. The morning wore wearily away, and a portion of the afternoon. The train to be protected had nearly passed, and the troops were drawn up ready to retire, when suddenly the enemy opened a furious fusilade from the woods. Henceforward, until darkness ended the conflict, it was with us a series of stands and retreats, for the foe greatly outnumbered our forces. All the noncombatants, and many that were not, were soon in full retreat. At every position lost by us, the enemy planted his artillery and vigorously bombarded the retreating mass, inflicting some damage, but mainly accelerating the speed of the flying. The usual field hospital was established a mile or two in the rear, and here the wounded were brought. Orders soon came to move farther on, and the wounded

were relifted into the ambulances and carried to a place supposed to be secure; but presently an aid dashed up and in great excitement cried to us to "get out of here," as the Confederates were close at hand. A few bursting shells gave emphasis to these words, and with no delay the wounded were again hustled into the waiting ambulances. The last one had disappeared, and I was about to follow, when four men came up bearing a wounded man upon a shutter. Dismounting, and kneeling by his side, I found him to be the adjutant of our regiment, suffering from what was evidently a fatal wound in the side. He recognized me only by my voice, and asked me in faltering tones if his wound was mortal. My answer was perhaps evasive, but he divined instantly the truth, and in tones intensely pathetic, and which seem to me as real now as then, he said: "My time then has come; I must die." But at that very instant the men were rushing to the rear, and on a crest of ground not many rods away the enemy could be plainly seen. The "boys," although quite exhausted, cheerfully lifted the dying man again, in a last attempt to place him beyond the reach of danger. A loud shout, sharper firing, and the tread of horses revealed at that moment a body of charging Confederate cavalry directly in our path. There was not a moment to lose, seeing which the adjutant, raising himself upon his elbow with a last effort, exclaimed, "Leave me, boys—leave me," and he was dropped and left to his fate. The foe galloped by, but fortunately without injuring him, and the next day we found his dead body by the roadside. We learned that he lived but a short time after our departure, and was attended and ministered to by a kindly old negro. I can never recall without emotion the evidences of his inherent nobility of character as illustrated by his quick cry of "Leave me, boys."

When it is remembered that for a period of six weeks during the campaign not only was it oppressively hot, but not a drop of rain fell, the reader will better appreciate our hardships. Springs and ponds were dried, and of many of the larger streams only trickling rills were to be seen. The dust lay ankle deep upon the highways, and frequently the troops were so completely enveloped in it that objects not many feet distant were invisible. It was fine dust, penetrating eyes, ears, nose, and throat, both of man and beast, and rendering it difficult to tell the blue coat from the gray.

At this point, or very soon after, our ride with General Sheridan was interrupted for several months. Early in August he was assigned to the command of the Department of the Shenandoah, and taking with him two of the three cavalry divisions constituting our corps, he began that series of brilliant movements finally ending in the practical annihilation of Early's

forces. The second division, commanded by General Gregg, was left behind to operate with the Army of the Potomac. From this time forward until November, when the army went into winter quarters, the cavalry seconded the infantry in all its undertakings. Strong and persistent efforts were made directly against Richmond, against Petersburg, but more especially against the different lines of railroads running from the south and southwest into these cities, and upon which Lee's army depended for its supplies. Most of these efforts failed, but finally the Weldon Railroad was captured after a long and bloody struggle, and our lines thrown across and beyond it. The two armies, each strongly intrenched, now confronted each other in the last desperate but heroic efforts of the Confederacy. To all appearances it was Richmond and Petersburg that were so tenaciously defended by Lee and so eagerly sought for by Grant, but as events showed it was the life of his army rather, that the Confederate commander was so desperately defending, and it was this life rather than any capital city, however important, that the Union general was seeking. The winter of 1864 and 1865 was unusually severe, and in the various movements the suffering from cold and sleet was very great. While in camp, however, we lived in comparative comfort, and as it fell to the cavalry to guard the rear of the lines, its duty was far less severe and dangerous than that of the infantry, who faced each other along the front, and who almost constantly were exposed to storms of shot and shell. We had our trials, however, for no sooner had we begun to congratulate ourselves upon our fortunate position as compared with the infantry, than we were unceremoniously packed off on some errand of danger and destruction. For instance, our regiment was on the road to and not far from brigade head-quarters. Time, two o'clock in the morning; weather, disagreeable with cold and sleet. A horseman rattles rapidly by at breakneck speed. All who hear him know well his errand, and I confess to a fit of shivering as under my army blankets I await developments. Simultaneously with the shake at the colonel's door comes a knock at my own, with the statement from the brigade surgeon that the division has orders to march within an hour with three days' rations. This to the surgeon means that the bugle must sound the sick call, so that all those who are ill and unable to go may present themselves for examination and be excused in proper form. Sometimes even before the work was accomplished Confederate cavalry and infantry would be upon us, and then would begin fighting in retreat, the most disagreeable of all forms of combat, since it was difficult in many cases to take off our wounded, and every man labored under the unpleasant apprehension of becoming a prisoner and a candidate for Andersonville or Belle Island.

One night we started for Stony Creek, some twenty miles away, and after successfully destroying a considerable amount of property began the return march. As usual, the foe was quickly upon our heels, and with such increasing pressure that it became necessary to make a positive stand, and therefore the 1st Maine cavalry was brought to the rear, and distributed along a stretch of rising ground behind trees and stumps and fences, and awaited the nearer approach of the enemy. This regiment was armed with carbines of the sixteen-shooter pattern, and when it opened fire, each man discharging his cartridges in quick succession, it seemed as if instead of five hundred there were five thousand men hid in ambush. The furious fusilade lasted only a short time, but effectively cooled the ardor of the pursuers, and elicited the remark from a captured Johnny that: "You uns put the butt end of your carbines against your cartridge boxes and fire without stopping."

Our regiment had been transferred from the first to the third brigade, commanded by General Charles Smith, now colonel of the nineteenth regular infantry, and in the absence of the brigade surgeon I had been temporarily transferred to his head-quarters. The general occasionally made a tour of inspection along his portion of the picket line, and on one occasion I accompanied the party. It was the duty of each vedette to cry "halt" to those advancing, and allow but one to come near to give the countersign. For a time everything went on smoothly, all seeming to understand their duty, until we approached a young fellow who, instead of halting us, simply stared as if overpowered at the sight of so many advancing toward him. The general kept on, and reaching him, suddenly seized and wrenched the carbine from his hand, exclaiming: "Now, sir, you are in my power, I can shoot you." After a sharp lecture as to his duty, however, we passed on. Soon we came to a portion of the line where the relief party was officered by a captain of the general's own regiment—the 1st Maine. Orders had been given for those temporarily off duty to be on the alert and ready for any emergency, but we found the carbines lying around promiscuously and the horses tied here and there at random. The captain in charge saluted, and the general, in a mild, quiet tone of voice, said: "Captain, did I not order the carbines to be stacked?" "Yes, sir." "Did I not order the horses to be fastened in line?" "Yes, general; I told the men, but——" "You told the men," thundered the general; "you told the men, did you? You are a fine man to command. Hand me your sword and consider yourself under arrest." And back goes the astonished and crest-fallen officer under a guard of his own men.

On the 27th of March (1865), we heard with pleasure that General Sheri-

dan had again joined the Army of the Potomac with the other two cavalry divisions. With these reunited cavalry forces, Sheridan led the van in a chase of a hundred miles or more toward Appomattox Court House. In the early morning of the 29th he moved his cavalry out for the purpose of getting to the right and rear of Lee's army. Moving thence to Dinwiddie Court House, we encamped for the night in a pouring rain, which continued all the next day, rendering the roads absolutely impassable for artillery and wagons, and necessitating the construction of many miles of corduroy. There through all the dismal downpour of the 30th of March we stood around in the wet and mud, a supremely uncomfortable and dispirited crowd. And certainly the outlook was not encouraging. The country thereabouts was low and flat, covered with forest and thick underbrush, and abounding in sluggish streams that drained the water slowly, and swamps that were perennially wet. The soil also, in its mixture of clay and sand, was most uncertain and treacherous. The infantry, in desperate efforts to get to Lee's right flank and rear, toiled along manfully, but with exasperating slowness, and if any one had ventured to assert that within a hundred miles of where we then stood, shivering and disconsolate, and within two weeks, the army of Northern Virginia would surrender to General Grant, he would have been considered a fit subject for the lunatic asylum.

General Sheridan had large discretionary powers; as in the valley, he commanded infantry also, and could no longer be considered simply in his capacity as a cavalry leader. On the 1st of March, he fought and gained the bloody battle of Five Forks, which was the beginning of Lee's utter discomfiture, but so far as our simple narrative is concerned, the cavalry must mainly claim attention. On the morning of the 31st of March, our brigade moved out to a small stream a mile or so from the court-house, and formed along its edge, connecting with Davies' brigade a mile above, while the remaining brigade of the division was held in reserve. Here Lee's and Rosser's cavalry divisions attempted and succeeded in forcing a passage, but were afterward driven back with heavy loss. The fighting was very severe, and standing under a large tree, not two hundred yards in the rear of the forces that were struggling for the possession of the stream, I had a most excellent opportunity to observe several acts of gallantry. One of these relates to the enemy. In an attempt to charge the stream, they were driven back to their cover. One of their number was, however, left badly wounded in the water and exposed to the fire of both sides. Suddenly a Confederate rushed into the shallow stream and bore his helpless comrade safely to the other side, and I imagined that for the moment the fire sensibly slackened in obedience to an inherent humane impulse and

admiration for a gallant act. In order to encourage our men, the brass band was brought up, and on the other side the Confederates had theirs going also, and mingled with the rattle of musketry and the cheers of the men could be distinctly heard by both parties the strains of "The Union forever," and "Way down in Dixie." Standing under a wide-spreading tree by the side of the road, and behind its broad trunk for better protection, I attended to the wounded as they were carried or walked back.

One man's experience was singularly unfortunate. His wound, although painful but by no means dangerous, had just been dressed and he had started alone for the rear, perhaps congratulating himself that he was well out of the fight even at such a cost. He had not gone a hundred feet when I saw him fall, shot through the body by a far-reaching bullet. Finally, however, the Confederate cavalry, aided by Pickett's division of infantry, succeeded in forcing a passage over the "Run," pierced our line and pressed Smith's brigade and Gregg's back toward Dinwiddie. This spirited contest, however, was only preliminary to the greater and historic struggle of the morrow, the battle of Five Forks, which resulted in the capture of the lines of breastworks thrown up to impede our progress, and over three thousand Confederate prisoners. In the mean while various fierce assaults, both successful and unsuccessful, had been made by remaining portions of the army against the fortifications encircling the two cities of Richmond and Petersburg, and on the 3d, General Grant gave orders for what was hoped would be a final and successful assault. At three o'clock in the morning, however, it was discovered that General Lee had abandoned every intrenchment, leaving us in undisputed possession. And now began in good earnest the flight of the enemy's army, with ours close in pursuit and General Custer in the van.

It was only six days that this race was kept up, until, like a lion driven to his lair, the enemy's remnant on the morning of the 9th made its last desperate struggle; but who shall attempt to describe in minute detail the incessant activity of the two armies during this brief period? Every road for many miles was thronged with the pursued and the pursuing. With every nerve strained to its highest tension, Lee had for his objective point Lynchburg with its rations and defenses.

The very poverty of his troops was an aid toward this. Lightly loaded, and impelled by every impulse of self-preservation, they marched with quick step, and although suffering from hunger and the depression of expiring hope, they for a time repelled with all their old-time vigor and dash every onslaught of ours. The two armies were now moving parallel with each other along the line of Appomattox River. Every day had its battle,

together with smaller affairs not designated. The fight at Scott's Corners occurred on the 2d, Sweathouse Creek on the 3d, Tabernacle Church and Amelia Court House on the 4th, Fames Cross Roads on the 5th, Sailor's Creek on the 6th, Farmville on the 7th, Appomattox on the 9th. Owing to the rapid movements of the troops and the constant fighting, the wounded were thus left, and in attending to them my little party of hospital stewards and attendants found itself far in the rear. For several days before we overtook the regiment, our route lay along roads crowded with marching columns of infantry and artillery, and as we prolonged our chase sometimes into the night, the scene on every hand was rare and picturesque beyond description.

Passing along the highway, through the encampment of some corps or division, the gleam from innumerable fires would redden the atmosphere for miles. In every direction they could be seen, now blazing up brightly, now glimmering faintly, while in closer proximity every fire had its group of weary men intent on refreshment and rest. As the light played over the forms and faces of these men and of those that were sleeping, with here and there a blood-stained bandage; as it was reflected from the stacked arms, and penetrating woody recesses revealed still other groups of blue-coated soldiers, scenes were presented well worthy to be reproduced upon canvas. American art is progressing, but no one thing more clearly indicates the inferior position it still holds than the utter and lamentable lack of any adequate reproduction of the scenes and battles of the late civil war. In every shop window we see most artistic and lifelike representations of the German and the French soldier, and of war time in those countries in all its varying phases, but as yet we have no Detaille or De Neuville to aid in giving to the soldiers of the greatest war of modern times, and to their marches and battles, the historic permanency of artistic and realistic representation.

We finally overtook our command near Prince Edward's Court House, and as I write this name an incident is recalled that is worth repeating. When General Sheridan at the head of his troops reached this town, he "dismounted here, at the fence of a stiff old gentleman, who was sitting on his high piazza and scowling severely as we rode up. He was the typical Southerner of fifty years; his long gray hair fell over the collar of his coat behind his ears; he was arrayed in the swallow-tail of a by-gone period, a buff linen vest, cut low, and nankeen pantaloons springing far over the foot that was neatly encased in morocco slippers; a bristling shirt frill adorned his bosom, and from the embrasure of his wall-like collar he shot defiant glances at us as we clattered up the walk to his house. Prince Edward

Court House was a stranger to war, and our indignant friend was looking now for the first time on the like of us, and certainly he didn't seem to like our look. He bowed in a dignified way to the general, who bobbed at him carelessly and sat down on a step, drew out his inevitable map, lighted a fresh cigar, and asked our host if any of Lee's troops had been seen about here to-day. 'Sir,' he answered, 'as I can truly say that none have been seen by me I will say so; but if I had seen any, I should feel it my duty to refuse to reply to your question. I cannot give you any information which might work to the disadvantage of General Lee.'

This neat little speech, clothed in unexceptional diction, which no doubt had been awaiting us from the time we tied our horses at the gate, missed fire badly. It was very patriotic and all that, but the general was not in a humor to chop patriotism just then, so he only gave a soft whistle of surprise, and returned to the attack quite unscathed.

'How far is it to Buffalo River?'

'Sir, I don't know.'

'The devil you don't! how long have you lived here?'

'All my life.'

'Very well, sir, it's time you did know. Captain! put this gentleman in charge of a guard, and when we move, walk him down to Buffalo River, and show it to him.'

And so he was marched off, leaving us a savage glance at parting, and that evening tramped five miles away from home to look at a river which was as familiar to him as his own family." *

It was reserved for this last short campaign to most decidedly demonstrate the inestimable value of cavalry. In the earlier history of the war it was mainly used for the establishment of cordons around a sleeping infantry force, or for the protection of trains. This want of appreciation for a well-managed body of horse General Sheridan did much to correct, for his idea was that cavalry should not only fight the enemy's cavalry, but his infantry as well, should occasion demand. If it had not been for the persistent attacks of the cavalry upon the flank and rear of the rapidly retreating enemy, there can be no question but that he would have eluded us. It was the cavalry which marching night and day finally forged ahead of the Confederate army, and on the morning of the 8th of April threw itself boldly across the enemy's path. That night, from their elevated position, the sleepless pickets of the 6th Ohio saw the camp-fires of what was left of General Lee's weary troops as they flared and finally died away in the amphitheater below. To

* "With Sheridan in Lee's Last Campaign," p. 192.

be directly in the pathway of a desperate and dangerous enemy at bay is not the most pleasant of positions, but even the rank and file had heard that the infantry supports were being pushed rapidly forward, and knew that the expected morning attack must be held in check at whatever cost. At daybreak could be plainly seen the forming lines, and soon our brigade and that of Mackenzie were attacked in front and flank and rear, and so rapidly were we pushed back that it seemed as if they would after all escape us. All the time, however, the infantry had been hurrying on with might and main, and at the supreme moment, when the cavalry was giving way in every direction, Lee found two solid lines of infantry blocking the course. As the white flag was borne out from the broken ranks of the enemy toward us, how our cheers echoed and re-echoed through the morning air, at the thought of peace.

Who shall describe these things, and also who shall describe the unutterable sadness incident to the last conflict of a long struggle? Men who had passed unscathed through four long years of active warfare fell upon this the last day and closing hour. One poor fellow lay dying, and upon being told the cause of the cheering that reached his ears, mournfully ejaculated, "Too bad! too bad!" It was only a few months before that I had occasion to proffer assistance to young Colonel Janeway, commanding the 1st New Jersey Cavalry, who in an engagement had just received his eighth wound. He was perhaps the youngest commanding colonel, being but little over twenty years of age, and that he was brave and of the most splendid promise goes without saying. Urgent appeals from loving friends had extorted from him the promise that if he was ever wounded again he would resign. Shortly before the last shot was fired I saw him gayly riding at the head of his regiment smoking a cigar, preparatory to leading his men into action. Five minutes later I kneeled at his side as he lay with his ninth wound, but dead, with a bullet through his brain. Thus at Appomattox ended the sad and bloody work that attended the progress of Sheridan's cavalry. Slowly marching back to Petersburg came to us the astounding news of the assassination of president Lincoln. Resting there for a few days we were sent to join Sherman's army to be on hand in case Johnston still held out, but on reaching the borders of North Carolina word reached us of his surrender also.

A. W. Rockwell

BOMBARDMENTS AND CAPTURE OF FORT McALLISTER

As, in April, 1862, the problem of the demolition of masonry walls, at unusual ranges, by rifled guns was solved in the reduction of Fort Pulaski, to the surprise of many and in contravention of accepted theories,* so at Genesis Point the value of sand parapets in the face of ordnance of large caliber and tremendous force was fully demonstrated. Although the changing seasons have already spread the mantle of decay over its abandoned magazines, and wild flowers are blooming in its almost obliterated gun-chambers, the name of Fort McAllister is not forgotten. The heroic memories which were there bequeathed will be perpetuated in the annals of Georgia, and in the history of the gigantic war between the States.

Constituting the right of the exterior line designed and held for the protection of Savannah, and situated on the right bank of the Great Ogeechee River, at Genesis Point, this fortification effectually commanded that stream, afforded ample defense against the ascent of naval forces contemplating the destruction of the railway bridge near Way's Station, and prevented the disorganization of the slave labor employed upon the extensive rice plantations in its vicinity. From the date of its construction —which was well-nigh coeval with the earliest Confederate defenses on the Georgia coast—to the day of its capture on the 13th of December, 1864, it subserved purposes most conducive to the general welfare, guarded the agricultural interests in the rich delta of the Great Ogeechee, and, on various occasions, gallantly repulsed the persistent naval attacks of the Federals.

The original line, conceived by the Confederates in 1861, for the pro-

* It was not believed, at the time, by the Confederates that the walls of this fortification could be breached, or that the work could be rendered untenable by the fire of guns located on Tybee Island. This opinion was entertained and expressed by no less a commander than General Robert E. Lee, who had been assigned to duty in the Department of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. It was acquiesced in by other officers whose judgment and experience inspired confidence. In the history of siege-artillery breaches in substantial masonry walls had never been caused at such distances, and the impression was based upon the previously well-ascertained effect of round shot projected from 8 and 10-inch columbiads, than which no heavier guns, hurling solid shot, were then in general use. The results hitherto attained by smooth-bore guns were relied upon by the Confederates in conjecturing the influence of the anticipated bombardment. In this calculation the novel presence of rifle cannon, conical shot, and percussion shells did not enter. With them, and the potent injury they were capable of inflicting, the military mind was, at the moment, not familiar.

tection of the sea-coast of Georgia, involved the erection of earthworks, to be armed with 32-pounder guns, at every ship-channel entrance from Tybee inlet to the mouth of the River St. Mary. At the commencement of the Confederate struggle, when the art of war was but partially understood and it was deemed advisable to protect every foot of Confederate soil, small batteries on the outer islands were planned with a view of quieting the fears of the planters on the coast, who, apprehensive of the approach of armed vessels and the incursion of marauding parties commissioned to annoy exposed localities and disorganize the labor upon their estates, clamored for some shield of this sort. This attempt, however, to hold the outer islands was quickly given over. On the 11th of November, 1861, the battery on Warsaw Island was abandoned. About three months afterward the forts on the islands of St. Simon and Jekyl—built for the security of Brunswick—were dismantled, and their guns and garrisons transferred to more important and less isolated points. From the middle of February, 1862, the attention of the Confederate commander was chiefly engaged in guarding the water approaches to the city of Savannah. The exterior line for this purpose was then represented—

a: By a battery at Red Bluff, on the Carolina shore, well traversed, provided with a bomb-proof, and armed with two 24-pounder rifle guns, one 8-inch columbiad, and one 24 and two 12-pounder howitzers;

b: By Fort Pulaski;

c: By a battery on Wilmington Island, never completed, and held but for a short time;

d: By three batteries on Skidaway Island, connected by covered ways, and mounting, in the aggregate, ten guns, consisting of six 32 and two 42-pounder smooth-bore cannon, one 8-inch Dahlgren, and one 6-inch rifled gun. These works were, about the middle of April, 1862, dismantled, and their armament was transferred to *Thunderbolt;*

e: By a fortification on Greene Island, called Fort Screven, armed with one 100-pounder rifled gun, one 10-inch and two 8-inch columbiads, one 42-pounder, and five 32-pounder guns. Subsequently a smaller work was constructed at a remove of four hundred yards from Fort Screven, connected with it by a covered way, and armed with three 32-pounder guns withdrawn from the main fort.

The guns of these batteries were retired contemporaneously with those on Skidaway Island, and were placed in position at Beaulieu,* on Vernon River;

f: And lastly, by Fort McAllister, which constituted the extreme right.

* It was at this point that Count d'Estaing landed on the 12th of September, 1779.

Supplemental to this were two interior lines of forts and water batteries, which the limits of this article will not permit us to particularize. To these were subsequently added the western and southern defenses rendered necessary by the advance of General Sherman.

The first naval attack sustained by Fort McAllister occurred on the 29th of June, 1862. It was then in an unfinished condition. Its armament consisted of only one 42-pounder and five 32-pounder smooth-bore guns. Four Federal gun-boats, armed with 11-inch Dahlgren and rifled guns, constituted the assaulting fleet. Over seven hundred shots were fired by the Federals, and the bombardment was continued for more than two hours. Although the quarters in the fort were considerably injured and the 40-pounder gun was disabled, the parapet of the work, which was constructed of sand and newly turfed with Bermuda grass, sustained no special damage.

In November of the same year, twice was the fort shelled by United States gun-boats and mortar schooners.

On the morning of the 27th of January, 1863, the Federal iron-clad *Montauk*—accompanied by the gun-boats *Wissahickon*, *Seneca*, and *Dawn*, the mortar schooner *C. P. Williams*, and the tug *Daffodil*—advanced up the Great Ogeechee River and, at half-past 7 o'clock, opened fire upon McAllister. Armed with one 15-inch and one 11-inch Dahlgren gun, the *Montauk* occupied a position nearly abreast of the battery and in proximity to the obstructions occluding the river in front of the fort. Assisted by her companions at longer range, for five hours and a half did this iron-clad hurl her enormous projectiles against the sand parapet and explode them within the parade of this heroic work, the heaviest guns of which, although served with skill and determination, were powerless to inflict material injury upon the deck and turret of this war-vessel. Despite the prodigious expenditure of shot and shell, the damage caused to the river-front of the work was repaired before the next morning. To this bombardment much historical interest attaches, because on this occasion, if we are correctly informed, a 15-inch gun was first used in the attempt to reduce a shore battery, and the ability of properly constructed sand parapets to resist the effect of projectiles surpassing in weight and power those previously employed in modern warfare was fairly proven. Thus, upon the coast of Georgia, was a second military lesson inculcated, the importance of which was duly recognized in the subsequent conduct of the war—a lesson which enjoined essential modifications in the construction of permanent fortifications and in the preparation of river and harbor defenses. Two days afterward the Federals renewed the attempt to demolish this battery. It

was unsuccessful. On this occasion Confederate victory was purchased at the expense of the life of Major Gallie, the commander of the fort.

By far the most powerful attack upon Fort McAllister was launched on the 3d of March, 1863. Chagrined at their former failures, the Federals seemed resolved to compass the destruction of this now famous battery. The following formidable fleet was then concentrated for its annihilation:

The *Passaic*, a monitor, Commander Drayton, armed with one 15-inch and one 11-inch Dahlgren gun;

The monitor *Patapsco*, Commander Ammen, carrying one 15-inch Dahlgren gun;

The *Montauk*, a monitor, Commander Worden, with a battery of one 15-inch and one 11-inch gun;

The monitor *Nahant*, Commander Downs, similarly armed;

The *Peira*, Captain Tarbox, and two other 13-inch mortar schooners.

To complete the list, the gun-boats *Wissahickon*, *Dawn*, *Sebago*, *Seneca*, and *Flambeau* were present.

Evidently anticipating a successful issue to the impending conflict, General Seymour was at hand with troops, conveyed in steam transports, ready to land and take possession of the fort so soon as its defenders should have been driven from their guns by the terrible storm of enormous projectiles soon to burst in grand diapason above, around and, within the confines of this small earthwork. Against this weighty array the fort could oppose, in addition to its battery employed on former occasions, only a 10-inch columbiad.

The bombardment was commenced about forty minutes after eight o'clock in the morning by the mortar schooners stationed outside the range of the Confederate pieces. So soon as this curved fire had been fairly established, the monitor fleet slowly advanced, the *Passaic* taking the lead, and the *Patapsco* and the *Nahant* following. As she was coming into position, the Confederates opened upon the *Passaic* with 10-inch solid shot. Having selected an anchorage, these monitors engaged the fort and continued the bombardment, with trifling intermission, until half-past four o'clock in the afternoon, when they retired. The Confederates, in replying, relied chiefly upon their 10-inch and 8-inch columbiad, and upon a 42-pounder gun, although the 32-pounders were not silent. About midday an 11-inch shell shivered the carriage of the 8-inch columbiad and rendered that gun unserviceable during the rest of the action. The 42-pounder gun and one of the 32-pounders were temporarily disabled.

It is admitted that the *Passaic* was struck thirty-one times, and once, by a 10-inch solid shot, within a few inches of her port-hole. The *Nahant* and

Patapsco were also frequently hit. Perceiving that their projectiles were too light to penetrate the armor of the iron-clads and cause material injury, the Confederates narrowly watched the revolutions of the turrets, and, as a general rule, delivered their fire only when there was hope of entering the open ports. The conduct of the garrison was characterized by deliberation and intrepidity. The casualties sustained were slight. Just outside of the fort was a mortar battery, covering a single piece, which was admirably served.

The shelling from the mortar schooners did not cease during the entire afternoon and the ensuing night. It was evidently the intention of the Federal commander to renew the attack in the morning. When, however, he then ascertained, after careful observation, that the damages sustained by the sand parapet and traverses had been thoroughly repaired, and that McAllister was seemingly as prepared for the conflict as it was when the first gun had been fired, recognizing his inability either to reduce the work or to strike terror into the hearts of its brave defenders, he withdrew his fleet and abandoned the enterprise. Thus was accorded to the garrison a signal victory—a triumph which will live in the history of this eventful period—a success which settled affirmatively the ability of substantial and well-constructed earthworks to withstand prolonged and formidable bombardment by the most powerful guns in the Federal service.

Never again during the progress of the war did the United States navy attack Fort McAllister. It proved an overmatch for all the monitors, gun-boats, and mortar schooners which were sent against it. Seven times were they repulsed before its bermuda-covered parapets, and the fort lived on, the pride of the military district, the guardian of the fertile delta of the Great Ogeechee, and the conspicuous witness of the valor of Georgia troops.

Subsequent to this engagement of the 3d of March McAllister was materially strengthened, especially in its rear defenses. It merited and received the best engineering skill of the district. Its armament was increased, so that, in the fall of 1864, its battery consisted of one 10-inch mortar, three 10-inch and one 8-inch columbiads, one 42-pounder gun, one 32-pounder gun rifled, four 32-pounder smooth-bore guns, one 24-pounder howitzer, two 12-pounder mountain howitzers, two 12-pounder Napoleon guns, and six 6-pounder bronze field-pieces. In the magazines was a supply of rather more than one hundred and fifty rounds of ammunition to the piece. Captain Clinch's Light Battery was stationed in the neighborhood to act as a support and to occupy, upon an emergency, some light field-works distributed at advantageous points along the right bank of the Great Ogeechee River between the fort and the railway-crossing.

On the 10th of December, 1864, General Sherman, with his powerful army, confronted the Confederate line covering the land approaches to the city of Savannah. Its right rested upon the Savannah River at Williamson's plantation. Thence extending along the high ground, and keeping the rice-fields and swamps in its front, it crossed the Central Railroad, followed the crest of Daly's farm, passed through Lawton's plantation where it looks upon the low-grounds, dominated the rice-fields of Silk-Hope plantation, and, following the left shore of Salt Creek marshes and of the Little Ogeechee, rested upon the Atlantic and Gulf Railway bridge across the Little Ogeechee River. It was judiciously located. To render it more formidable, the rice-fields and swamps in its front had been inundated. Behind it lay ten thousand Confederates, commanded by Lieutenant-General William J. Hardee, assisted on the right by Major-General Gustavus W. Smith, in the center by Major-General LaFayette McLaws, and on the left by Major-General Ambrose R. Wright. About eighty pieces of artillery, of various calibers, were distributed along this line, and twelve light batteries were conveniently posted within supporting distance. General Sherman refrained from ordering a general assault. His army needed provisions, and he was intent upon early communication with the Federal fleet on the coast. In his dilemma he concluded to take possession of the Great Ogeechee River and form a lodgment where the United States vessels could approach and minister to the wants of his army. In order to do this the capture of Fort McAllister, now wholly isolated, became necessary.

King's bridge—crossing the Great Ogeechee River on the line of the Savannah and Darien road—had been burnt by the Confederates upon their concentration within the lines around Savannah. Promptly reconstructed by the 58th Indiana regiment, by the night of the 12th of December, 1864, it was ready for the passage of troops.

The Second Division of the 15th Army Corps, under the command of Brigadier-General Hazen, was, on the morning of the 13th, put in motion for the capture of Fort McAllister. Seventeen regiments constituted the detail. The garrison of the fort consisted of:

The Emmett Rifles, Captain George A. Nicoll, numbering for duty	25 men.
Clinch's Light Battery, Captain N. B. Clinch, numbering for duty	50 "
Company D, 1st Regiment Georgia Reserves, Captain Henry, numbering for duty	28 "
Company E, 1st Regiment Georgia Reserves, Captain Morrison, numbering for duty	47 "
Total	150 men.

Major George W. Anderson was in command. That this garrison had not been recalled within the lines of Savannah and Fort McAllister seasonably evacuated, can be explained only on the supposition that the Confederate commander hoped, by a bold retention of this outpost, that General Sherman might be induced, even at that late date, to avoid Savannah and seek on the Carolina coast some convenient point for communicating with the Federal fleet. In view, however, of the overwhelming strength of the Union army, and its manifest determination toward Savannah, such an idea could scarcely have reasonably been entertained.

Crossing the Great Ogeechee River at King's bridge, and, as soon as the high ground on the Bryan County side had been gained, marching along the main road which runs parallel with the river, General Hazen arrived with his force in the vicinity of the fort soon after midday. Deploying his division so as to invest the works on the land side, and posting his sharpshooters behind the trunks of trees from which the branches had been removed by the Confederates for the construction of abattis, for several hours the Federal commander harassed the garrison and watched for a favorable opportunity for making the purposed assault.

About five o'clock P.M. General Sherman, who, from Cheves's rice-mill on the other side of the Great Ogeechee River, had been closely observing these operations, signaled General Hazen that it was important he should carry the fort immediately. Accordingly that officer advanced promptly to the assault. Sweeping over the abattis and the rear defenses, he succeeded in a short time in overpowering the garrison and in effecting the capture of the fort. This he accomplished with a loss of one hundred and thirty-four officers and men killed and wounded. The resistance offered by the Confederates was desperate. Many of them refused to yield even after the works were filled with Federal troops. In the language of Major Anderson, "In many instances the Confederates were disarmed by main force. The fort was never surrendered. It was captured by overwhelming numbers." The testimony of General Hazen, in his official report, is equally emphatic: "The troops were deployed in our line as thin as possible, the result being that no man in the assault was struck until we came to close quarters. Here the fighting became desperate and deadly. Just outside the works a line of torpedoes had been placed, many of which were exploded by the tread of the troops, blowing many men to atoms; but the line moved on without checking, over, under, and through abattis, ditches, palisading, and parapet, fighting the garrison through the fort to their bomb-proofs, from which they still fought, and only succumbed as each man was individually overpowered." The Confederates suffered a loss,

in killed and wounded, of forty-eight—nearly one-third of the entire garrison. Utterly isolated, cut off from all possible succor—capture or death the only alternative—the conduct of this little force in the face of such tremendous odds was gallant in the extreme. There is no memory connected with the history of Fort McAllister which is not redolent of the truest valor. When the courageous deeds wrought by the soldiers of both armies in the recent war between the States are repeated for our emulation and that of the coming generations, the story of this fortification and of its brave defense will not be omitted.

Upon the capture of this work General Sherman acquired full command of the Great Ogeechee River, and was able at once to communicate freely with the Federal fleet and establish a convenient base of supplies for his army. Heavy guns and munitions could now be procured with which to prosecute the siege of Savannah. The retention of that city by the Confederates became, from this moment, a matter of impossibility, and its early evacuation was recognized as a necessity.

AUGUSTA, GEORGIA, *June* 8, 1885.

MINOR TOPICS

CRITICAL NOTES ON THE LOUISIANA BOUNDARIES

Attached to Vol. II. of Mr. McMaster's *History* is a very interesting map, showing land acquired by the United States from 1783 to 1885; but it would be interesting to know by what supposed facts the author was guided in drawing the northern part of the west boundary of the Louisiana purchase. This boundary is made to leave the continental divide at Henry's Lake and run northwesterly, until it crosses the 49th parallel more than two hundred miles west of the divide, including within the Louisiana purchase all of Pacific Montana and northern Idaho.

Only two positions seem possible: either the dividing ridge of the Rocky Mountains on the Pacific Ocean formed the west boundary of Louisiana, as purchased from France, north of the 42d parallel. Its extension to the Pacific coast was never seriously insisted upon. According to Mr. H. H. Bancroft, Jefferson objected to the wording of a (never ratified) treaty with England in 1807, which fixed our northern boundary on the parallel of 49°, as far westward as the possessions of the respective parties might extend, but not to the territory claimed by either beyond the Rocky Mountains, because the last condition was "an offensive intimation to Spain that the claims of the United States extend to the Pacific Ocean."

But even if such a claim was put forth, it was surrendered by the treaty with England, October 20, 1818, of which Article 3 states: "It is agreed that any country that may be claimed by either party on the northwest coast of America, *westward of the Stony Mountains*, shall . . . be free and open for the term of ten years . . . to the vessels, citizens, and subjects of the two powers." No historian can be found now-a-days who rests the title to Oregon on the Louisiana purchase, and even Mr. McMasters himself does not consider such a claim tenable. Whence, then, does he get the data on which he has based his map?

It may be noted that the legend on Oregon reads as follows:

Acquired by	Discovery,	1792
	Exploration,	1805
	Settlement,	1811
	Treaty,	1819

It will be interesting to see, in the author's future volumes, whether he will take the position that the claims he enumerates constituted so perfect a title to the Oregon territory, that the treaty of 1846, settling the claims of England, need not even be put upon record! P. KOCH

BOZEMAN, MONTANA, *August* 1, 1885.

SARATOGA BATTLE-GROUNDS

OBJECTS OF INTEREST THERE IN 1885

In the *Magazine of American History* for October appears an exceedingly suggestive article, entitled, "A Revolutionary Relic," in the sentiments of which every true lover of American history will heartily concur. The writer, however, is not quite accurate when, in the course of his paper, he makes this statement: "There is nothing left, where the battles of Bennington and Saratoga were fought, to distinguish the places where our patriot fathers gained memorable victories. The trenches have been filled, the breastworks obliterated, and the whole battle-ground turned into cultivated fields and luxuriant pastures, where flocks and herds are quietly grazing; and we are now obliged to turn to Rutland for a lasting memorial of a conquered army."

In regard to Bennington I cannot speak, but I can assert most positively that the Saratoga battle-field is perhaps the only Revolutionary one yet retaining numerous relics to recall the memories of the stirring scenes enacted on its site. Among these may be mentioned the following:

First. The breastworks which surrounded Riedesel's Brunswickers, and at the south-eastern extremity of which the Hanau artillery, under Captain Pausch, was placed (enclosing an area of, perhaps, twenty acres), are yet easily traced, being still two, and, in some places, five feet high. In the center of this space, and in the midst of a dense wood, is seen the old camp-well used by this portion of Burgoyne's army.*

Second. The traces of Breymann's intrenchments are yet to be seen very plainly. The place is considerably elevated by nature, and is known among the farmers in the vicinity as *Burgoyne's Hill.* Properly, it should be *Breymann's Hill.* It was at the north-east corner of this eminence that Arnold was wounded.

Third. The stump of the bass-wood tree, with another large tree grown out of its top, under which General Fraser was seated on his horse when mortally wounded by Morgan's sharp-shooter, Pat Murphy, yet stands by the side of the road.

Fourth. The house which was the head-quarters of Generals Arnold, Learned, and Poor, before, during, and after the two actions, is still standing in excellent preservation.

Fifth. The barn which served as a hospital for the wounded Americans remains to mark the spot where so many gallant men suffered and died, the timbers of which are as solid as when first put in.

Sixth. The foundations and cellar of the house in which General Fraser died while being ministered to by Madam Riedesel, are yet clearly seen by the river bank.

Seventh. The "Ensign House," which received a portion of Burgoyne's wounded,

* A large portion of the British camp, after the action of the 19th, was on the *site* of that battle.

together with the tall Dutch clock which ticked off the numbered minutes of the dying, still remain.

Eighth. The sleepers of the bridge which Burgoyne threw across the "great Ravine," just before he crossed it to fall in with the scouting party of Morgan on the afternoon of the 19th, are perfectly sound.

Ninth. Numerous trees, which were standing at the time of the battles, still keep in their trunks the bullets fired from the guns of Cilley's New Hampshire troops.*

Tenth. Not a season passes that cannon-balls, grape-shot, skeletons, stone and iron tomahawks, short carbines used by the German yägers, and similar relics, are not plowed up by the husbandman. Indeed, I myself, a few summers ago, picked up a gilt button of the 32d Highlanders, and a silver buckle, on the site of the bloody fight of that regiment, which Wilkinson has in mind when he writes: "In a square space of twelve or fifteen yards lay eighteen grenadiers in the agonies of death, and three officers were propped up against stumps of trees, two of them mortally wounded, bleeding and almost speechless."

Leaving now the battle-grounds proper, and following the river-road along the line of the retreat and pursuit from Wilkin's Basin to Saratoga (now Schuylerville), the traveler is confronted by many souvenirs of a similar character. Chief among these may be mentioned, first, the "Lovegat House" at Coreville, in which Burgoyne and his staff rested for one night, both on the advance and on the retreat, and which is rendered additionally interesting from its having been the starting point of Lady Ackland, when, accompanied by Parson Brudevell, she set out in a frail boat, and in the midst of darkness and a cold autumnal storm, to rejoin her husband then lying wounded in the American camp. The house remains exactly as it was at the time of Burgoyne's visit, and with the same old poplars standing in its door-yard; and secondly, "Sword's House," the cellar bricks of which still are visible, around which the British army encamped on the evening previous to the action of the 19th. Arrived at Schuylerville, the tourist of to-day may see the high breastworks of Gates's intrenched army, whence was thrown the cannon-ball which took off the leg of mutton from the table around which Burgoyne and his officers were seated. A little way from this, at the north side of Fish-Creek, Morgan's intrenchments, several feet in height, are easily traced. The breastworks, also, of General Fellows, on the north side of the Battenkill and the east bank of the Hudson, are nearly as high at the present time as when they contained the cannon from which was thrown the ball which took off the leg of the British surgeon, Jones (see *Madam Riedesel's Memoirs*). Again, on the north the plow has not yet leveled the intrenchments hastily thrown up by Stark, who thus made the investiture of the British army complete—catching it, as it were, like a mouse in a trap; and finally, the cellar in which Mrs. Riedesel took refuge with her children

* While at Saratoga, this last summer, a farmer brought in a load of wood cut on the battle-field. One of the sticks had embedded in it twelve grape-shot.

during the cannonade from Fellows' batteries, which is kept in excellent condition by Mrs. Marshall, who lives in the house and takes patriotic pride in its possession. Surely these various objects of interest all lying within comparative stone's-throw of the actual surrender ground, furnish—even more than those on the immediate battle-field—"lasting memorials of a conquered army."

In this connection, I would mention another fact, which may furnish our Worcester friend with a useful hint, viz.: Through the zealous and patriotic efforts of Mrs. Ellen Hardin Walworth of Saratoga,* a trustee of the Saratoga Monument Association, granite tablets have already been placed on several of the above mentioned historic spots on the battle-field—each of which bears appropriate inscriptions, telling the passer-by what it commemorates, together with the name of the donor.

As it is peculiarly the province of the *Magazine of American History* to crystallize such facts as the above, succeeding generations will know from this statement just what remains in the year of grace, 1885, to tell of an action which has justly been styled "one of the seven decisive battles of the world."

WILLIAM L. STONE

JERSEY CITY, *October*, 1885.

THE ARMY OF THE TENNESSEE

The annual reunion of the Army of the Tennessee took place at Chicago, September 9 and 10. It was an unusually large and most interesting meeting, the chief feature of which was General Sherman's eloquent eulogy on his friend and former chief, General Grant. The oration, which was to have been delivered by the late ex-President and General of the Army, was pronounced by General J. B. Sanborn, of Minnesota. Other speakers and prominent persons at the reunion were Generals Logan and Oglesby, of Illinois; General John M. Scofield, U. S. A.; General W. W. Belknap, of Iowa; General W. Q. Gresham, of Indiana; Generals Grant Wilson and Schuyler Hamilton, of New York; Colonel Fred D. Grant, and Colonel Vilas, of Wisconsin, the Postmaster-General. The next annual meeting of the Society will be held at Rock Island, Illinois. General W. T. Sherman was re-elected President; General A. Hickenlooper, Corresponding Secretary; Colonel L. M. Dayton, Recording Secretary; and General M. F. Force, Treasurer of the Society. At the grand dinner which concluded the meeting, the pleasant feature was introduced of inviting ladies, a custom which is hereafter to be continued by the Society.

* Mrs. Walworth's great-grandfather, Colonel John Hardin, was in the actions of September 19 and October 7.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

An unpublished Autograph Letter of Richard Varick

From the Collection of Hon. T. Romeyn Beek, M.D., of Albany, now in possession of Mrs. Pierre Van Cortlandt.

Poughkeepsie May 18. 1783.
Sunday 4 O Clock P. M.

My dear Sir

Last evening on my return from the New City in Orange County, where I have attended the Court of Common Pleas & from whence I paid my friends in Hackensack a 12 Hour visit & rep^d^ from thence to this place by the way of Head Quarters. I found in my Office your favor of the 14th addressed to me by Major Shirtliff & agreeable to the Wishes of Mr John Glen & yourself, I have this day waited on His Excellency Governior Clinton, & obtained from him the Passport you request which I with pleasure do myself the Honor of enclosing, thro' inadvertance I disfurnished it of one half the paper. I heartily wish you a very agreeable party of it, and a happy Sight of your Friends in Canada; and a safe return to your own County, Be pleased to make my Compliments to Jacob & to such other of my acquaintances in that quarter as may not deem the tender officious and impertinent,— As you hint a wish to be in Some Measure informed of the late Interview between their Excellencies Genl Washington, Sir Guy Carlton, the Govr & others, I will give you a short Detail of such particulars as do not interfere with the Duties of my Situation with the Commander in Chief & Govr Clinton, the last of whom I attended in Quality of an Aid-de Camp in the room of L^t^ Coll. Robt Benson.

On Saturday the 3^d.^ ins^t.^ His Excellency the Commander in chief & the Governor attended by John Morin Scott Esquire Lt Col^ns.^ Trumbull, Cobb, Humphreys & Varick went down in a barge from Head Quarters dined with M. Genl. Knox, command^r^ of West Point, lodged at Peekskill & arrived at Tappan Sloat on Sunday abt^t^ 10 o clock, where Major Fish had arrived with a command of four Companies of Light Infantry of the Line of the Army the night preceding, the Company after taking a small repast at the Sloat, which was there prepared by Mr Saml Francis (commonly called Black Sam) who came up from N. Y. to superintend the Entertainment on the part of the American Commander in Chief, the Genl Govr & Co proceeded to Orange Town where a Dinner was prepared, Sir Guy embarked on Board of the Perseverance Frigate a 36 Gun Ship one of the new construction &

best in the B. Navy on Sunday the 11th, at 12 o'clock, but did not arrive till Monday evening, he having previously dispatched Major Beckwith his Aid de Camp to announce his approach who came in at Orange town abt 5 o'clock, from whence Lt Coll. Humphrys attended him on Board the Perseverance to be informed by Sir Guy when he would wish to land. Sir Guy having stipulated the Time of Landing; His Excellency the Commander in chief attended by two aides de Camp only (Humphrys & Cobb) went down to Onderdonck's in Tappan Bay & recd Sir Guy at landing & after the Ceremonies of Landing & shaking Hands were over received Sir Guy in his four Horse Carriage & came up to Orange Town attended by Lt Govr Andw Elliot & Ch. Justice Wm Smith (who chose to walk it up abt 3 miles) & Mr Secretary Morgan, Majors Beckwith & Upham, aide de Camp, Captn Lutwyche of the Perseverance & young Mr John White a midshipman of the Quebec Frigate, son of Henry White, Esquire of New-York. They were received and saluted at Tappan by Major Fish's Detachment with drums beating and Colours flying & afterwards in the same manner by Captn Hamtrancks' Company of the 2nd N. York Light Infantry which was on duty at the Commander and Chief's Quarters. They were introduced by Genl Washington to Govr Genl Scott and the other gentlemen & soon after they retired to a Room to open the Business of the Interview which was opened by the Commander in Chief in a masterly Manner & then replied to by Sir Guy after which much General Conversation took place on the Subject of the Treaty and the Transactions incident thereto and alread executed & yet to take place a short detail of which as far as respects the Govr (whom I attended, not conceiving myself at liberty from my relation in public Duty with the Commr in chief to go further) I will subjoin About three hours after (abt 4 o'clock) a most Sumptuous Dinner was prepared by Mr Francis & abt 30 of us (being then joined by Messrs Duer Parker, Lt Coll Wm S Smith Commg of Prest Major Fish and some of his officers and some others) sat down & eat and drank *in Peace* and good fellowship, without drinking any *Toasts*, and abt 6. Sir Guy and his associates retired. In the Evening, letters were written by the Genl & Govr on the subject of the days Interview, to Sir Guy which were dispatched the next morning on Board the Perseverance & Answers expected in the next day, But Sir Guy's Illness of an Ague which he caught before he embarked or on Board Ship, prevented answers till lately. On Wednesday the Commander in chief, the Govr, Genl Scott Lt Coll Humphrys, Cobb, Trumbull, Smith & Varick & Major Fish & Messrs Duer & Parker went to dine on Board Ship, then lying off our post at Dobb's ferry, on our coming on Board, the Marines were paraded & saluted & soon after 17, 24 pounders fired and then detached conferences took place. Sir Guy was confined to his Bed till after Dinner. An Elegant Dinner (tho' not equal to the American) was prepared & we sat down in perfect Harmony & conviviality. When Sir Guy's fit went off, he came up & returned to his Cabin attended by our Commr in Chief & after a Conference of a short Duration between the two Genls we prepared for our return & were saluted in the

same Manner & with 17 pieces. Thus ended that great formal Business & the next morning (the 8th) Sir Guy went to Town and we up the Hudson.—— Sir Guy proposed giving up Westchester County to the State which took place by withdrawing his Troops from Morrisania on the 14th. All the rest of the posts will be given up early as possibly they can. The first division of Cornwallis', Army have already arrived in New York last week & the others are coming in rapidly to comply with our part of the provisional Treaty—I hope to see you soon in our Capital.— Our friend Fish had a very honorary Command of 300 as good & well dressed Light Infantry men under 32 Years of Age as ever graced a field of Battle and his Conduct on this & all Other Occasions of a military Nature do him equal Honor, I must now beg my respects to Mrs H Glen & her family—Also to your Br, his Lady and daughter and wish you to be assured that I shall ever esteem myself happy in rendering either any Service in my Power.

Accept my best wishes, excuse my Hasty Scrawl & believe me sincerely

Your friend & Hmble Servnt
Richd Varick

P. S. Let not this scroll go beyond
your small circle & Wm Van Ingen
to whom I beg my *best* respects.

Henry Glen Esquire

NOTES

A CIRCUS HORSE UNDER FIRE—During the Battle of the Wilderness, Colonel Charles Marshall, of General Lee's staff, was riding a parti-colored horse that he had lately purchased in a country town. He happened to be riding through an old field, that had a new growth of scrubby pines and some large stumps in it. When the firing began, Marshall found his horse capering about in a queer fashion and espying a large stump, he placed thereon his fore-feet, and began moving around as if waltzing. The hotter the fire the more he would waltz. The colonel had no desire to keep the thing up, it was getting monotonous; but all at once there was a lull in the conflict, and then the well-trained *circus horse*—for such he was—was as easily guided as the colonel wished; but he never rode him under fire again.—*In Camp and Battle, by Owen.*

HISTORICAL TREES—The tree under which William Penn made his treaty with the Indians. The tree on Boston Common where, tradition says, seven Tories were hung. Elm tree on Cambridge Common under which General Washington first drew his sword as Commander-in-chief of the Continental Army. Pine tree, near Fort Edward, New York, where Jane McCrea was murdered by the Indians. The thirteen trees planted by General Alexander Hamilton on his estate near New York, representing the original thirteen States. The oak tree at Franklin, New Hampshire, on which Daniel Webster, when a boy, hung his scythe, and said to his father, "Now the scythe hangs to suit me." The apple tree at Appomattox under which General Grant received the surrender of General Lee.

R. W. JUDSON

OGDENSBURG, NEW YORK

ANNALS OF A TRIBE OF GUATEMALA INDIANS—Dr. D. G. Brinton, of Philadelphia, has now in press the sixth volume of his *Library of Aboriginal American Literature.* It is the *Annals of the Cakchiquels*, written by a native about 1560, and never heretofore printed. The Cakchiquels were a semi-civilized tribe in Guatemala, and were reported by the first Spanish explorers to have annals reaching back eight hundred years before the conquest. The work will be printed from the unique original MS. in the peculiar alphabet of that tongue.

ESTABROOK FAMILY—A genealogy of the Estabrook family is now being prepared by Mr. W. B. Estabrook, of Ithaca, New York, who has already gathered some two hundred names, including seven or eight branches. The two ancestors of the Estabrooks in America, Rev. Joseph and Thomas, came from England to Concord, Massachusetts, in 1660. The author of the work descends from Rev. Joseph as follows: Rev. Samuel[2]—Rev. Hobart[3]—Hobart[4]—Hobart[5]—Herman[6]—William B.[7] Facts in regard to any branch of the family are solicited.

W. B. E.

QUERIES

CORN—When did the word *corn* cease to mean wheat in the speech of British colonists of the United States?

J. D. BUTLER

MADISON, WIS.

JACK DATCHETT—I picked up at an old book-stall a novel with the following title, "*Jack Datchett, The Clerk: An Old Man's Tale. . . . Baltimore. H. Colburn*, 1846." Not finding it in any of the library or book catalogues within my reach, I venture to solicit some of your readers of the *Magazine* to furnish the name of the author.

COLLECTOR

REPLIES

THE GALLANT SEVENTH REGIMENT UNDER FIRE [xiv. 324. 415]—*Editor Magazine of American History*—In answer to the oft-repeated inquiry, made by "Regular Army," in your September number, as to whether the Seventh Regiment was ever under fire during the Civil War, the reply is that they were not; but I am sure that the unprecedented promptness with which they offered their services to the National Government in 1861, after the firing upon Fort Sumter, should effectually and forever stop all accusations of cowardice upon this splendid corps.

I am sure that the generous response which individual members made to their country's call proved them both brave and loyal. Members were eagerly accepted as officers in the regular and volunteer army and navy. The regiment furnished 606 officers, who served through the war with distinction. Among the number were three major-generals, nineteen brigadier-generals, twenty-nine colonels, and forty-six lieutenant-colonels. Fifty-eight members gave their lives in defense of the Union, of which the monument in Central Park fitly testifies.

The regiment enlisted for a second time in 1863, being stationed on garrison duty at Fort Federal Hill, near Baltimore. In both terms of their enlistment into the United States service they did any and everything required of them, and fully expected to have been ordered into battle, and were prepared to go, and would have done noble service if they had. Not to my knowledge did the West Point Cadet Corps, as a body, go into action during the war, but the cadet corps of the Virginia Military Institute (then called the West Point of the South), at Lexington, Virginia, did gallant service on the Confederate side at the battle of New Market, Virginia, May 15, 1864; yet we would hardly detract from West Point, and award the palm to the Virginia Military Institute on that account.

As far as active service of the Seventh Regiment is concerned, it can point with pride to the list of local riots which it has taken a leading hand in suppressing, the most notable of which was probably the Astor Place Riot upon May 10, 1849, in which, of 211 officers and men assembling at one hour's notice, 150 were wounded, 70 being carried to their homes. The rioters did not by any means escape uninjured, 20 being killed and about 60 wounded. Other riots

which they participated in were the Arsenal Riots, 1834; Abolition Riots, 1834; Stevedore Riots, 1836–52; Croton Works, 1840; Sixth Ward, 1857; Quarantine, 1859; and the Draft Riots, 1863.

This regiment is, and always has been, pre-eminently the finest volunteer regiment in this or any other country, and has well been termed the "West Point" of the National Guard, furnishing as it did so many eminent officers during the Civil War, several even now being attached in active service to the regular army, and to the militia of the several States. "NATIONAL GUARD"

NEW YORK CITY.

THE FIRST EDITIONS OF BURNS [xiv. 103]—In the month of July, 1786, there was printed for the author, by John Wilson of Kilmarnock, the first edition of the poems of Robert Burns. It is a small, thin 8vo, of 240 pages, entitled, *Poems chiefly in the Scottish Dialect, by Robert Burns*, with a preface, but no portrait or dedication, and has the following lines, generally believed to be the poet's own, on the title-page:

> "The simple Bard, unbroke by rules of art,
> Here pours the wild effusions of the heart;
> And if inspir'd, 'tis Nature's powers inspire:
> Hers all the melting thrill, and hers the kindling fire."

The edition of 612 copies cost the poet £35 17*s*., and as they were sold for 3*s*., all but fifteen having been disposed of at that price in less than a month, Burns should have realized upwards of £54 as profit. He, however, speaks of making but £20 by the speculation. Of these 612 copies, it is supposed that less than two score have survived the century, and of this number nearly one-half are now in the United States. Several are owned in this city. A very fair copy may be seen in the Lenox Library. Copies have been sold in New York for sums varying from $106, for the Allan copy, to $250, according to their condition. The tallest Kilmarnock I ever saw was offered to me in London, in 1883, for sixty guineas, or about $300. It was a fine, clean, and perfect copy, in the original binding, measuring almost 8 inches by 4¾ inches. Since that time, several bogus copies of the first edition have been offered for sale in England at very low prices, so that intending purchasers should beware of counterfeits, issued, it is supposed, in London, by a "regular gang of literary coiners," who may possibly put forth other fraudulent first editions, such as the Shakespeare folio of 1623, and the first edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost*. A fac-simile reprint of the original Kilmarnock edition was published a few years ago (1867), and can be purchased at Scribner's and elsewhere, at small cost.

The second edition of Burns, containing a portrait and additional poems, was published in Edinburgh in 1787. Fifteen hundred persons subscribed for 2,800 copies at 6*s*. each. From this issue of his poetical writings, the author realized the handsome sum of £700.

Two American reprints of the Edinburgh edition appeared in Philadelphia and New York during the year 1788. The former was first advertised July 7th, and is believed to be the earliest. They are both exceedingly rare, my own per-

fect copy of the Philadelphia edition being the only one that I ever saw. Of the New York reprint of 1788, I know of but two copies; $175 has been offered for one.

In this connection it may be added that the Kilmarnock Burns Museum has within a month purchased the original MS. of "Tam O' Shanter," for the sum of £235. It is in an excellent state of preservation, and its authenticity is established beyond a doubt.

JAS. GRANT WILSON

NEW YORK, 29 *September*, 1885.

CAPITOL [ix. 70; ix. 216; ix. 294]—In answer to my inquiry how early a State house was called a capitol, one of your correspondents cited such a use of the word in Virginia in 1699, and another referred me to Livy's account of the word as originating with Rome itself. Thankful for thus much, I seek something more, namely, how the Latin word passed on through the mediæval period, but especially for some specimens of the word in America before 1699. It was then so used as to show that the word was already well known. JAMES D. BUTLER

MADISON, WIS.

DIXIE [xiv. 323. 415]—In *Putnam's Record of the Rebellion*, Vol. I, page 113 of Poetry, may be found the following:

"I wish I was in Dixie"—"So common has become the error that this is a Southern song, and relates to Southern institutions, that I must be pardoned if I break the enchantment, and relate the facts about it. I see, also, that Mr. Albert Pike, of Arkansas, has written a song recently, in which he suggests that we

"'Advance the flag of Dixie;
Hurrah! Hurrah!
For Dixie's land we'll take our stand,
And live and die for Dixie!' &c.

"Now I do not wish to spoil a pretty illusion, but the real truth is, that Dixie is an indigenous Northern negro refrain, as common to the writer hereof as the lamp-posts in New York city, seventy or seventy-five years ago. It was one of the every-day allusions of boys, at that time, in all of their out-door sports. And no one ever heard of Dixie's Land being other than Manhattan Island until recently, when it has been erroneously supposed to refer to the South, from its connection with pathetic negro allegory.

"When slavery existed in New York, one 'Dixie' owned a large tract of land on Manhattan Island, and a large number of slaves. The increase of the slaves and the increase of the abolition sentiment caused an emigration of the slaves to more thorough and secure slave sections, and the negroes who were thus sent off (many being born there) naturally looked back to their old homes, where they had lived in clover, with feelings of regret, as they could not imagine any place like Dixie's. Hence it became synonymous with an ideal locality combining ease, comfort, and material happiness of every description. In those days negro singing and minstrelsy were in their infancy, and any subject that could be wrought into a ballad was eagerly picked up; this was the case with 'Dixie.' It originated in New York, and assumed the proportions of a song there. In its travels it has been enlarged, and has 'gathered more;' it has picked up a note here and there; a 'chorus' has been

added to it, and from an indistinct 'chant' of two or three notes, it has become an elaborate melody ; but the fact that it is not a Southern song cannot be rubbed out ; the fallacy is so popular to contrary, that I have thus been at pains to state the real origin of it. "P."

—*Charleston Courier*, June 11.

Yours truly,

FERGUSON HAINES

BIDDEFORD, MAINE.

MARTHA WASHINGTON [xiv. 415]—1. Martha Washington was a daughter of John Dandridge ; her first husband was Daniel Parke Custis. She was three months younger than George Washington, who was born February 11, 1732.

2. Washington and Martha Custis were married January 17, 1759, at the "White House," the residence of the bride, in New Kent County, not far from Williamsburgh.

3. She died of bilious fever May 22, 1802. W. H. N.

PORT JERVIS, N. Y.

MARTHA WASHINGTON [xiv. 415]—1. Martha Dandridge was born in New Kent County, Virginia, in May 1732.

2. Her marriage to Washington occurred on the 17th of January, 1759, at the "White House," the residence of the bride, near Williamsburgh, New Kent County. They were married by the Rev. David Mossom, the rector of the parish of St. Peter's.

3. She died of a bilious fever, on the 22d of May, 1802, at Mount Vernon.

I. C.

ALLEGHANY, PA.

MARTHA WASHINGTON [xiv. 415]—*Editor Magazine of American History*—The following item may interest not only General Judson, whose query appears in your publication, but other of your readers : Martha Dandridge, who became Mrs. Washington, was born in New Kent County, Virginia, in May, 1732. In 1749 she married Daniel Parke Custis, who, dying, left her his large estate on the Pamunkey, known then, and afterwards famous as "the Whitehouse." The local tradition is, that when Washington was on his way to the house of Burgesses, at Williamsburgh, he stopped at Mr. Hill's, a short distance up the river from "Whitehouse," to spend the night, and there first met the amiable widow. They were married in January, 1759. Some authorities say on the 6th, while the *American Encyclopædia* says the 17th. Thayer's *Life of Washington* says they were married at the "Whitehouse," but there is a local tradition, again, that they were married at St. Peter's Church, New Kent, not far from Whitehouse. Certain it is that they spent several months of their first married life at the Whitehouse before removing to Mount Vernon.

When the Union army occupied Whitehouse Landing, in May, 1862, the house was found abandoned by every one but the overseer and slaves, and the writer saw pinned upon the door a paper written by Mrs. W. F. H. Lee, reading as follows :

"Northern soldiers who protess to reverence Washington, forbear to desecrate the home of his first married life, the property of his wife, and now owned by his descendants.

(Signed.) "A granddaughter of Mrs. Washington."

Underneath was written :

"Lady. A Northern officer has protected your property in the face of the enemy, at the request of your overseer."

The house was a comfortable one, well furnished, and stocked with fine library and pictures.

A guard was kept over it during the whole period of our occupation, and the contents kept intact until the place was abandoned, June 28, 1862, when it was burned by some soldiers who were angry at the idea of being required to guard a rebel officer's property. The flames were discovered after the troops had embarked, and General Casey sent a detachment to try to save it, but it was too late, and the historic house shared the same fate as the millions of Government property stored there—was reduced to ashes. It will be remembered that the Landing was abandoned in haste by reason of the movement of the army to the James River. Telegraphic communication was kept up till late in the afternoon, and the story told at the time was that the last message received at Whitehouse made the operator's hair stand out so that he could not put on his cap as he rushed out to communicate it.

It read something like this—"Go to —— you —— Yank, we'll be there in twenty minutes." Our forces were all gone, and the rebel operator had taken the last message at Tunstall's Station.

I cannot vouch for the truth of the story, but it was told with a good deal of glee at the time.

R. S. ROBERTSON
FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

YELLOW BREECHES [xiv. 324, 415]—Petersfield asks: "What part of Pennsylvania was known by this extraordinary name?" I. C. replies that "the Yellow Breeches empties into the Susquehanna on the west side, a little below Harrisburg. The Indian name of it is *Gallapasscinker*." Respecting its aboriginal name and its uncouth English one, Trego (1840) says: "The Indian name should be restored : this seems, however, now to be lost ; for after the most diligent research and inquiry we have been unable to discover it." Its present name dates back as early as 1734. It is the dividing line between York and Cumberland counties ; most of its course is through a very charming and romantic region, rich in soil and minerals. The story goes that the surveyor of the olden time, a Swede, came to its banks just at the subsidence of a fall flood, when the willows and rushes were yellow coated, and he wrote upon his notes *Yellow Bushes*. The Indian name is lost ; the Indian one above is more barbarous than the present ; and I believe that the Yellow Breeches will pour its limpid waters into the Susquehanna, under that name, until this generation and others are gathered to their fathers. H.

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The Society held its first autumn meeting October 6, when Wilmot G. De Saussure, Charleston, S. C., Clifford Stanley Sims, Mount Holly, N. J., and Dr. Daniel G. Brinton, Philadelphia, were elected corresponding members, and Dr. William Coolidge Stone, Frederic M. Burr, and Clarence Winthrop Bowen, resident members. A long list of additions to the library was reported by the librarian. Rev. Dr. Charles E. Lindsley, of New Rochelle, in an interesting paper, presented the result of his researches concerning the romantic and somewhat uncertain career in America of the English regicides, Goffe, Whalley and Dixwell. The meeting being the first since the death of General Grant, who was an honorary member of the Society, resolutions were passed, eulogistic of his character and services, and the Society then adjourned.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its quarterly meeting October 6, President Gammell in the chair. The reports of the Secretary and Librarian were of unusual interest. Eighty-nine books, three hundred and ninety-two pamphlets, and ninety-two articles of historic interest had been added to the library since the last meeting. No special paper was read, but remarks were made by the President, General Rogers, and others. The following resolutions were passed unanimously :

"*Resolved*, That the Society learns with satisfaction that its respected member, Mr. John Osborne Austin, is preparing a genealogical dictionary, embracing sketches of the first three or four generations of families that settled within the present limits of Rhode Island before 1690 ; and

"*Resolved*, That having confidence in Mr. Austin's ability to produce a work creditable to himself and useful to genealogical students, this Society commends his enterprise to the favorable consideration of the public."

THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its first autumn meeting September 28, on which occasion Dr. Henry A. Holmes, of the State Library, read a valuable and most acceptable paper on "D. D. Tompkins, the War Governor of 1812, and his manuscript correspondence just published by the State." Nowhere else can be found so complete a record of the part New York bore in the War of 1812, as in these manuscripts. Governor Tompkins was impoverished in the gigantic effort he made to save this country from falling into the hands of the enemy.

THE NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY held its seventeenth anniversary October 9, in the hall of the New York Academy of Medicine, the President, Mr. Henry T. Drowne, in the chair. Hon. Thomas C. Amory, of Boston, delivered an able and interesting address on "Sir Isaac Coffin, R.N., and his American Progenitors." Remarks followed by Colonel T. Bailey Myers, General James Grant Wilson, and others.

CONTRIBUTION TO A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

IV

ILLINOIS, *Continued.*

Historical Society of Joliet.

FORTY YEARS AGO. A contribution to the early history of Joliet and Will counties. Two lectures before the Society. By G. H. Woodruff, December 17, 1873, and March 24, 1874. Joliet, 1874. (4) 108 pp. 8vo.

INDIANA.

Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis.

LECTURE BEFORE THE SOCIETY, on the early history of Indianapolis, etc. By Nathaniel Bolton. Indianapolis, 1853. 8vo.

PROCEEDINGS OF A MEETING, DECEMBER 11, 1830. With constitution, Act of Incorporation, and a circular from the corresponding secretary, January, 1831. 2 pp. Indianapolis, 1831. 8vo.

Historical Society of the County of Vigo.

ANNIVERSARY LECTURE PRONOUNCED BEFORE THE SOCIETY, 14th March, 1844. By R. B. Croes. Cincinnati, 1845. 23 pp. 8vo.

Vincennes Historical and Antiquarian Society.

ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE SOCIETY, February 22, 1839. By Judge Law. Louisville, Kentucky, 1839. 48 pp. 8vo.

THE COLONIAL HISTORY OF VINCENNES, from its first settlement to the territorial administration of W. H. Harrison. Address by Judge Law before the Vincennes Historical and Antiquarian Society, February 22, 1839. With additional notes and illustrations. Vincennes, 1858. viii. 156 (1) pp. 8vo.

IOWA.

Hawk Eye Pioneer Association of Des Moines County.

CONSTITUTION. With a full report of the proceedings of its first annual festival, June 2, 1858. Burlington, 1858. 54 pp. 8vo.

Louisa County, Iowa, Pioneer Settlers' Association.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS. Iowa City, 1860.

PROCEEDINGS AT THIRD ANNUAL FESTIVAL. Iowa City.

State Historical Society of Iowa.

ANNALS OF IOWA, published quarterly by the State Historical Society of Iowa. Vol. 1-12. 1863-74. Iowa City, etc., 1863-74. 12 v. Portraits. 8vo. In 1882, the publication of the Annals of Iowa was resumed by S. S. Howe, independently of the Society. The Iowa Historical Record, begun January, 1885, is published by the Society, and is practically a continuation of the Annals.

FIRST ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1857. Des Moines, 1857. 8vo.

SECOND TO THE FIFTEENTH BIENNIAL RE-

PORTS. Des Moines, 1860–83. 8vo. The 1st annual report and the 2d-4th biennial reports are reprinted in the same pamphlet with the 13th biennial report for 1881.

IOWA HISTORICAL RECORD. Continuation of Annals of Iowa. Published quarterly by the Society. Jan.-Apr., 1885. Iowa City, 1885. 8vo.

KANSAS.

Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE SOCIETY AT ITS ANNUAL MEETING, January 18, 1881. By ex-Governor Robinson. Cutting from *The Daily Journal*, Topeka, January 26, 1881.

ANNUAL MEETING AT THE SENATE CHAMBER. Minutes of the 4th annual meeting, Jan. 20, 1880. Topeka, 1880. 4 pp. 8vo.

FIRST BIENNIAL REPORT. Submitted Jan. 21, 1879. Topeka, 1879. 63 pp. 8vo.

THIRD BIENNIAL REPORT. Presented Jan. 16, 1883. Topeka, 1883. 98 pp. 8vo.

LIST BY COUNTIES, of Newspapers and Periodicals published in Kansas, March 1, 1884. Compiled by F. G. Adams. Topeka, 1884. 23 pp. 8vo.

A LIST OF THE COLLECTIONS OF THE SOCIETY. With account of the organization, and an explanation of its objects. Topeka, 1875. 18 pp. 8vo.

OBJECTS OF COLLECTIONS DESIRED BY THE SOCIETY. Circular.

TRANSACTIONS. First and second biennial reports, with a statement of the collections of the Society from its organization in 1875, to January, 1881. Vols. 1 and 2. Topeka, 1881. 328 pp. Illus. 8vo.

Marshall County Pioneer Association.

PRIMITIVE NORTHERN KANSAS. Address before the Association, September 11, 1880. By F. G. Adams. Atchison, 1880. 8vo.

KENTUCKY.

Filson Club, Louisville, Kentucky.

JOHN FILSON, the First Historian of Kentucky. An account of his life and writings, principally from original sources, prepared for the Filson Club, and read at its meeting, June 26, 1884. By R. T. Durrett. Cincinnati, 1884. 132 pp. Portrait; map. 4to. This is the first of a series of publications to be made by the Filson Club, an association organized for the purpose of collecting and preserving historical matter relating to the early history of the Central West, and especially to Kentucky.

Kentucky Historical Society.

ACT OF INCORPORATION, AND CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS. Organized March, 1838, at Louisville. Louisville, 1838. 12 pp. 12mo.

MEMORIAL FROM THE SOCIETY, in relation to a Geological survey of Kentucky. No title-page. [1847.] 13 pp. 8vo.

ORATION DELIVERED ON THE OCCASION OF THE CENTENNIAL COMMEMORATION OF THE BATTLE OF THE BLUE LICKS, 19th August, 1882. By J. M. Brown. Published under the auspices of the society. Frankfort, 1882. 55 pp. 8vo.

PROCEEDINGS AT DEDICATION OF THE HALL OF THE SOCIETY. Frankfort, 1881. 8vo.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE SOCIETY. By E. Jarvis. (In *American Quarterly Register*, vol. 15, pp. 72–77.)

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY. Appleton P. C. Griffin

(*To be continued.*)

BOOK NOTICES

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THE GRADUATES OF YALE COLLEGE, with Annals of the College History. October, 1701–May, 1745. By FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, M.A. 8vo, pp. 788. New York, 1885: Henry Holt and Company.

For the production of a book of this character no scholar probably in America is better equipped than Professor Dexter. The work is what its name implies, "Biographical Sketches" of Yale graduates, the annals of the College being deftly introduced to illustrate the biographies. The sketches are short, and information on many points admirably condensed, and yet presented clearly; every page bears evidence of the literary skill and good taste of the author. The volume opens with the year 1701, when the first practical movement was made toward the founding of Yale College. A charter having been obtained, the trustees held their first meeting in Saybrook, and elected Rev. Abraham Pierson, rector, and Nathaniel Lynde, treasurer. The question of the permanent home of the school was for some time unsettled. It was established, however, in Saybrook for the time, and the pioneer pupil was Jacob Heminway. The biographical sketches of Professor Dexter commence with the class of 1702, his first subject being Nathaniel Chauncey. In the early part of that year the infant institution received from Major James Fitch the gift-deed of a tract of land, "wilderness land," near Woodstock, containing some six hundred and thirty-seven acres.

John Hart, of the class of 1703, was the first actual student in the College who was advanced to the honor of a Bachelor's degree; he was afterward a tutor. Phineas Fiske, of the class of 1704, became a tutor in the institution, and subsequently an eminent preacher. John Russell, also of the class of 1704, was the grandson of Rev John Russell, of Hadley, Massachusetts, known in New England history as the protector of the regicides. He married Sarah Trowbridge in 1707, and one of his daughters married Ezekiel Hayes, of New Haven, and became the great-grandmother of President Hayes. Of the class of 1705 was Azariah Mather, the first cousin of Cotton Mather; also Samuel Whittelsey, who became a clergyman, and the leader of the "Old Light" party in the struggles which succeeded the "Great Awakening" of 1740. In September, 1717, the college having been removed to New Haven, the first commencement was held in that city, and four students received their first degree. Professor Dexter says: "An interesting relic of this first commencement at New Haven is the salutatory oration in Latin of George Griswold, in manuscript, the earliest relic of the kind known to be extant; it is printed, in part, in the *Magazine of American History*, xi. 144–6."

The class of 1744 is the last mentioned in this volume. William Samuel Johnson, afterward President of Columbia College, was one of the number; also Timothy Dwight, the father of President Dwight, and grandfather of President Woolsey; of the total number of graduates during the period under consideration, about one-half entered the ministry.

NEW ENGLAND'S VINDICATION. The Gorges Society. I. By HENRY GARDINER. Edited, with Notes, by CHARLES EDWARD BANKS, M.D. GEORGE CLEEVE, OF CASCO BAY, 1630–1667, with Collateral Documents. The Gorges Society. II. By JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, A.M. Square 8vo, pamphlets, pp. 83 ad 339. Portland, Maine, 1885.

These two first publications of the Gorges Society are particularly interesting to students of early American history. The initial volume is a reprint of one of the political pamphlets in circulation at the time of the Restoration, and gives expression to the temper of the party about to reassume the reins of government. The author, Henry Gardiner, mentions that his father was one of the first adventurers into New England, and it is supposed that he was associated with Captain John Mason, Sir Ferdinando Gorges and others, in a patent of lands at Piscataqua, granted by the Council for New England in 1621. The pedigree of the Gardiners of Hertfordshire is given in the Appendix, under the supposition that the author was of that family.

The second volume treats of the founder of Portland. George Cleeve crossed the Atlantic ocean in 1630, with his wife and daughter, and established himself at Casco Bay. His English neighbors were not of the most attractive character, and his life was one of many privations and adventures. The quarrels of these early settlers partake of a certain belligerent spirit and vigor little known in later times, and it is impossible not to admire the nerve with which many of them embarked in schemes of great magnitude. The author says: "My subject was simply an ambitious man, seeking a home, money and power, in the New World, hence the study of his character is more difficult and the results less satisfactory than that of a man like Winthrop, who was dominated by an idea which he kept ever in view, and which inspired all his acts. But George Cleeve occupied a large place

in the history of our State (Maine), and especially of the city of Portland." The sketch is admirably written, and the Collateral Documents, which form one hundred or more pages of the volume, are of much value. The work contains a map of the early grants of the Province of Maine, never before published, and other illustrations; also a list of the members of the Gorges Society. The scope of the society's publications is the history of the Maine coast in the seventeenth century.

COLOR STUDIES. By THOMAS A. JANVIER. 16mo, pp. 227. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1885.

To a select literary circle it has long been known that "Ivory Black" was the pen name of Mr. Thomas Janvier, but to the general public, the charming stories which have appeared over this signature have stood on their own merits. The author hit upon the happy device of drawing upon the artist's color-box for the names of his *dramatis personæ*. Rose Madder, Jaune d'Antimoine, the Count Sicatif de Harlem, and so on, are all taken bodily from the labels of the little color-tubes which fill to overflowing every artist's box. Not unnaturally this odd selection of names lends a charm to the stories for those who are more or less familiar with the technical nomenclature, but it is not upon this alone that they depend for their success. They are pervaded with an altogether charming Bohemian atmosphere, and present phases of New York life which are wholly unfamiliar to most readers. All this is done with a graceful and fastidious touch which causes each of the stories to linger as a pleasant memory in the mind. Between the different tales there is a certain slender connection which lends them a semblance of continuity, though each is independent of the others so far as intrinsic interest is concerned.

CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN. Vol. VI. (Fourth Supplement.) Prepared by DANIEL S. DURRIE, Librarian, and ISABEL DURRIE, Assistant. 8vo, pp. 820. Madison, Wisconsin, 1885.

This volume comprises the titles, with cross references, of books and pamphlets received since the publication of the third supplement in 1881, at which time the total number in the library was about ninety-four thousand. Since that date the number has been increased to one hundred and five thousand. This voluminous library is also very strong in newspapers. Its specialty, however, is in the history of the Northwest, and its collections in that direction are from every possible source.

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN. By HARRIET BEECHER STOWE. New edition, with an introductory account of the work by the author. 12mo, pp. 500. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1885.

Persons who wonder why new editions of this famous novel are brought out every three or four years, may find their answers on the advertising spaces of fences and bill-boards all over the land. As each theatrical season opens, the country is placarded with huge posters announcing some dramatic version of Mrs. Stowe's famous story, with ever-new stage settings, bloodhounds which increase in size and ferocity with each succeeding year, slave-drivers of the most approved type, and so through the whole familiar list of the Uncle Tom characters. In other words, the story is immortal, and the public in its successive generations never tires of seeing it reproduced. Of course, the same reasons that renew its youth for theater-goers, influence the larger world of letters. Generations are continually coming forward whose parents read Uncle Tom during or before the war, when it was comparatively a new book, and dealt with living themes. The children must read what the parents remember with such favor, and as the old volumes were long since worn out, a new edition must be purchased. How long this will be kept up, only time can show. The present edition is a wonderfully good one at the price. Clear type, good paper, and of a general appearance that does not in the remotest degree suggest the cheap novel as it usually appears. Indeed, the imprint of the Riverside Press may of itself almost preclude the possibility of cheapness in any derogatory sense.

TWO YEARS IN THE JUNGLE. The Experience of a Hunter and Naturalist in India, Ceylon, the Malay Peninsula, and Borneo. By WILLIAM T. HORNADAY. 8vo, pp. 512. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1885.

It does not often fall to the lot of American naturalists to be sent on such an attractive expedition as is indicated by the title-page of this handsome volume. There is no institution in the country that can afford to meet the necessary expenses, and if individuals are disposed to indulge in such explorations, it is usually in their own persons as sportsmen, rather than as naturalists. It is excusable, therefore, to explain that Mr. Hornaday's good luck befell him through the liberality of Prof. Henry A. Ward, of Rochester, New York, who, as a purveyor of various scientific museums, found himself called upon for specimens which could only be obtained through the services of a special collector competent to

procure and preserve the desired varieties in their native habitat.

The general direction of the author's travels is sufficiently indicated by the countries named in the title-page. For the details the reader must be referred to the pages of the volume itself. The active hunting work began among the crocodiles of the Jumna River in Upper India, and the skill, courage and perseverance necessary to secure specimens in a condition fit for preservation is somewhat discouraging to amateurs. The average sportsman is well content if he merely bags his game, but the professional naturalist must be a good enough shot to insure death under circumstances which will guarantee capture in a comparatively perfect condition. What is true of the crocodiles is true also of tigers, elephants, and all the wonderful East Indian tribes of wild creatures. Mr. Hornaday killed eight crocodiles by firing across the river at long range, and hitting the spinal column with a bullet from his Maynard rifle, certainly a sportsmanlike way of dealing with these reptiles, which almost every one considers himself authorized to kill on the general ground of unjustifiable ugliness.

The killing of his quarry was, however, only the beginning of our author's duties. When the regular measurements had been made, the specimen must be prepared, after the most approved scientific methods, for preservation and ultimate setting up in the museum. This work was necessarily tedious, and involved a degree of skill only to be acquired by a long apprenticeship in the dissecting-room. He is, therefore, absolved in advance from the charge of gratuitous slaughter, which may too often be brought against the sportsman who kills only for the pleasure and excitement of the chase.

In Borneo Mr. Hornaday successfully hunted the mias or great anthropoid ape of that island, whose existence has from time to time given rise to the legend of a human species hardly to be distinguished from the brute. His experiences with these creatures are interesting in the extreme, and his notes add much to our information concerning wild life among the Dyaks, and concerning the wild creatures which inhabit the almost impenetrable jungles of the vast island.

The volume is copiously illustrated with drawings from the author's sketches, from photographs, and from the preserved specimens. It will be read with interest by all who value perfectly trustworthy records of personal adventure, while the scientific tenor of the work lends it a permanent value, which must secure for it a permanent place in the naturalist's library.

PRYTANEUM BOSTONIENSE. NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE OLD STATE HOUSE, formerly known as THE TOWN HOUSE IN BOSTON—THE COURT HOUSE IN BOSTON—THE PROVINCE COURT HOUSE—THE STATE HOUSE—AND THE CITY HALL. By GEORGE H. MOORE, LL.D. Paper read before the Bostonian Society, May 12, 1885 Pamphlet, 8vo, pp. 31. Boston, 1855: Cupples, Upham & Co.

"The memories and associations of the Old Town House in Boston were, from an early date, as they continue to be, full of significance," says Dr. Moore, in this charmingly entertaining little brochure—in which he recalls and presents much varied information concerning the site and walls of the old building. Its destruction by fire and subsequent re-erection are briefly traced, with the controversies between Boston and the country places near by as to where the new house for the General Court should be located. When the vote was taken the House was equally divided. and the Speaker, Thomas Hutchinson, gave his casting voice in favor of Boston. The architecture of the structure—completed in 1749—was characterized by simplicity, both outside and inside. The earliest decoration of which the author gives any certain data was a "brass branch of candlesticks," presented by Isaac Royal, of Charlestown, and placed directly over the table of the Speaker and Clerk in the Representatives' Chamber. In 1750, the Ancient Arms of the Colony, gilded and painted, were put up "over the door" of the House. The appearance of "the historic codfish" as a decoration was probably about the same time. Dr. Moore quotes the following from the notes of a visitor in 1769, "In the middle of the ceiling hangs *a carved wooden codfish*, emblem of the staple of commodities of the Province," and he expresses considerable surprise that among the recent restorations this homely image of the codfish should have been omitted. He says: "There never was a greater mistake than the assignment of the codfish as the badge of a spurious aristocracy. If there now is, or ever was, a creature inhabiting earth, air, or water more thoroughly genuine and entirely valuable than this unpretending denizen of the sea, I am yet to learn his name and condition. The cod has been a more important factor in the progress of geographical discovery and human civilization than most, if not all, of the Imperial and Royal Families of Western Europe since the Christian era. If Massachusetts really has a codfish aristocracy, she ought to cherish and be proud of it."

HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CHESHIRE, Berkshire County, Massachusetts. By Mrs. ELLEN M. RAYNOR and Mrs. EMMA L. PETITCLERC, with an Introductory Chapter

by JUDGE JAMES M. BARKER. 8vo, pp. 214. Clark W. Bryan & Co., Holyoke, Mass. 1885.

The picturesque town of Cheshire was incorporated in 1793, although its first settlers came to the region about 1768. They were chiefly from Rhode Island, and they built their houses upon the hill-tops, as customary in that early period in New England, the highest hill being reserved for the meeting-house. The authors of this work have studied into the manner of life of these pioneers of civilization with most gratifying results. We can almost hear the wolves howl with the going down of the sun, and see the supper-table of the pioneer spread with Johnny-cake and mush, as we turn from page to page. For many years the dishes and plates used were of pewter and wood, and drinking-cups were made of gourds. Every family tanned its own leather, and made its own sugar from the maple-tree. In the fall, if the sugar cask ran low, pumpkins were boiled down, and a sweet substance obtained, which answered for sugar Stoves had not yet appeared ; matches were unknown ; and baking powder or soda had never been heard of. The farmer raised his own flax and sheep, and the women spun their own linen and woolen fabrics. The description of the little country church of the period is unique. "The pews were square, with sides so high that a child could neither see nor be seen when seated within the inclosure." The pew-door was closed and fastened with a wooden button on the inside. The book is admirably written—one of the best town histories we have met with. The growth of Cheshire is traced from its first cheerless beginnings to the year 1884, and its present condition shown with much skill and good taste.

THE LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF ULYSSES SIMPSON GRANT, General of the United States Army, and twice President of the United States. By JAMES GRANT WILSON. 8vo, pp. 168. De Witt, publisher, New York, 1885.

This story of General Grant's life was originally written as a campaign *brochure*, to aid his election when first a candidate for the Presidency, and has recently been enlarged with several fresh chapters, and brought down to the close of the great soldier's illustrious career. It is an exceptionally valuable record, the author having written many of the more important portions of it from personal observation and intimate knowledge of the facts described. The reminiscences of Grant's presidential life are particularly acceptable. His closing years, the circumstances of his illness and death, snatches of conversation at his bedside, and incidents illustrative of his character, complete the thirteenth chapter of the volume. The author says: "I called with a little birthday gift, and spent half an hour or more with General Grant, who met me at the door of his library, and invited me to his chamber, where we sat down in front of the fire-place, with Harrison, his faithful colored servant, seated out of sight behind us. The general walked with the aid of a cane, and wore a cap of some colored and curly material. His looks conveyed but little idea of his sickness and suffering, and he still weighed over one hundred and forty pounds, those veracious chroniclers, the newspapers, to the contrary, notwithstanding. 'What was your weight when in perfect health?' asked the writer. 'I do not think I weighed more than one hundred and sixty pounds during the war,' replied the general. He spoke of the pleasure (at another visit) it afforded him when on Decoration Day many of his old comrades of the Grand Army of the Republic and the Seventh Regiment passed his house, and also on the previous Saturday (June 6), when the New England Society procession marched past on its way to the unveiling of the Statue of the Pilgrim in Central Park." The book is admirably well written, and the subject of it is of such universal interest that it will naturally find a place in every library. It can be opened at any page, in any idle hour, and found at once informing and absorbing.

HISTORICAL CATALOGUE OF THE FIRST CHURCH IN HARTFORD. 1633-1885. 12mo, pamphlet, pp. 294. Published by the Church, 1885.

This is the last of the series of publications growing out of the recent celebration by the church of its two hundred and fiftieth anniversary, and completes the history of the church and its people from the earliest times. It contains lists of the members of the church, also of births and baptisms, marriages and deaths, from the earliest existing records, together with historical notes and other matters of special value. It has been prepared with the utmost care by the committee, Charles T. Welles, George Leon Walker, and Charles T. Wells, and every effort made to justify the statements concerning the death or removal of members, especially of the present century.

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XIV DECEMBER, 1885 No. 6

THE CONVENTION OF MASSACHUSETTS

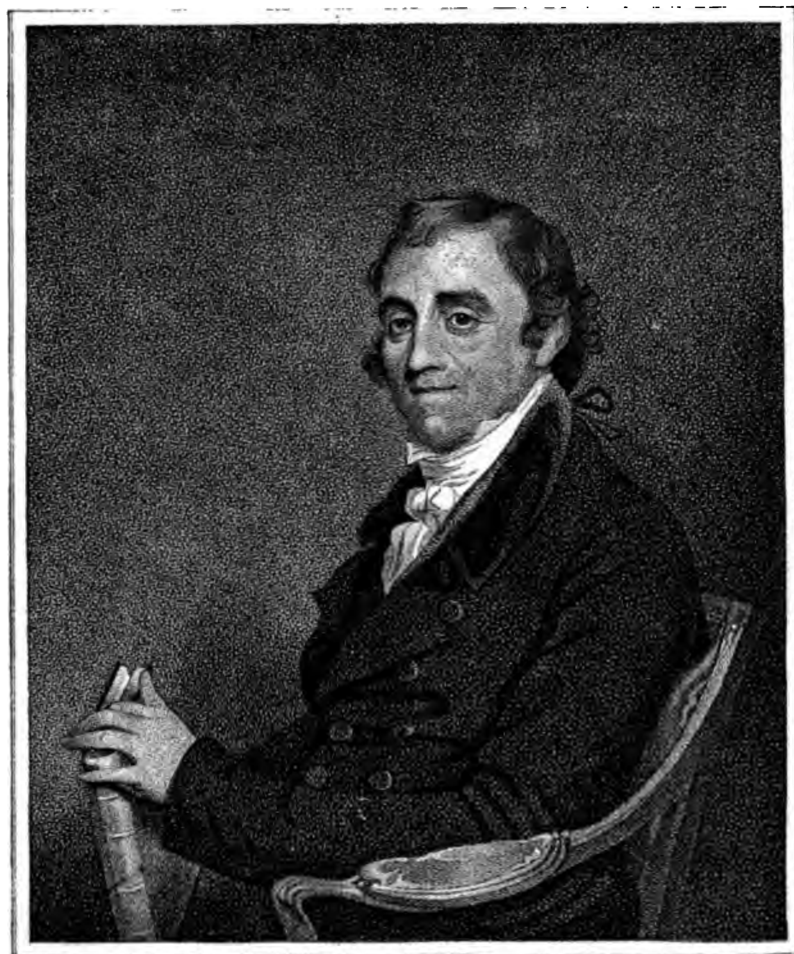
SIXTY-FIVE delegates had been appointed to the Federal Convention, of whom ten had not appeared, having declined the duty, or resigned the office. Thirty-nine attested that the Constitution had been adopted by the unanimous vote of the States present. Had Yates and Lansing been at their posts, the unanimous consent would not have heralded its consideration; sixteen declined to give even such a limited sanction. Their motives were various. Some held that the Convention had exceeded its powers, and that they had no right to assent to more than their delegation of power warranted; others, that there were defects in the plan, and that acceptance or rejection in the least degree, belonged exclusively to their constituents; others, that signing would bind them in honor, to an advocacy which duty forbade. The form of attestation had been devised by Gouverneur Morris, to disarm the scruples known to exist, and Dr. Franklin was selected to move its adoption; which he did, in some happy phrases, marked by that sense of relative values which had distinguished his life, public and private.

"There are some parts of the Constitution which I do not, at present, approve, but I am not sure that I shall never approve them. The older I grow, the more apt I am to doubt my own judgment and to respect the judgment of others. I sign this Constitution with all its faults, if there are such, because I think a general government necessary for us, and because there is no form of government but what may be a blessing to the people, if well administered. I believe further, that this government is likely to be well administered for a course of years, and can only end in despotism, as other forms have done before it, when the people shall become so corrupted as to need despotic government, being incapable of any other. I doubt if any other convention may be able to make a better Constitution; for, when you assemble a number of men to have the advantage of their joint wisdom, you inevitably assemble with those men, all their prejudices, their passions, their errors of opinion, their local interests, and their selfish views. It therefore astonishes me to find this system approaching so near perfection as it does; and I think it will astonish our enemies,

who are waiting to hear that our councils are confounded, and that our States are on the point of separation, only to meet hereafter for the purpose of cutting one another's throats. I consent to this Constitution, because I expect no better, and because I am not sure that it is not the best. The opinion I have of its errors I sacrifice to the public good. I have never whispered a syllable of them abroad. Within these walls they were born, here they shall die. If every one of us, in returning to his constituents, were to report the objections he has to it, and endeavor to gain partisans in support of them, we might prevent its being generally received, and thereby lose all the salutary effects and great advantages resulting naturally in our favor among foreign nations, as well as among ourselves, from a real or apparent unanimity. Much of the strength and efficiency of any government depends on opinion; on the general opinion of the goodness of the government, as well as of the wisdom and integrity of the governors."

Had the Constitution gone into effect upon its adoption by the Convention, the reasoning of Franklin would have been incontrovertible,* and a sense of any defect would have been properly confined to subsequent efforts for amendments in the mode it permitted; but if it was to be judged by others, whether they were not entitled to all the information they could get, was a very different question, and a very nice and difficult question of political ethics. If a man commissions another to buy him a horse, the balancing in the mind of the agent of the merits and demerits of the animal need not be communicated; but if he asks that a purchase be recommended, he expects that defects will be disclosed, as well as qualities extolled. But is the rule which would govern in such a case of private trust, applicable in its full extent to a public trust? Is there not an element in one which cannot exist in the other—the *salus populi?* Upon this point of political morality a long and acrimonious debate occurred in the Convention of New York between Hamilton and Lansing. Unfortunately it is not reported, for any conclusions of a mind so fertile as that of Hamilton would be of inestimable value. The charge of Lansing was: "You think this Constitution very defective; so do I. I state my objections; you conceal yours, and only utter praise. You are insincere to those who favor, and unjust to those who oppose this instrument." This answer of

* In the month of January, 1788, the Convention of Massachusetts assembled and entered upon a careful examination and discussion of the Constitution, paragraph by paragraph. Among its members were Fisher Ames, John Hancock, Samuel Adams, Rufus King, Governor Bowdoin, Dr. Jarvis, and others of eminence. The rank which this State had always enjoyed in the Union caused its action to be watched with extreme solicitude; it was believed that the course of Massachusetts would greatly influence New Hampshire and the other States.—EDITOR.]



FISHER AMES.

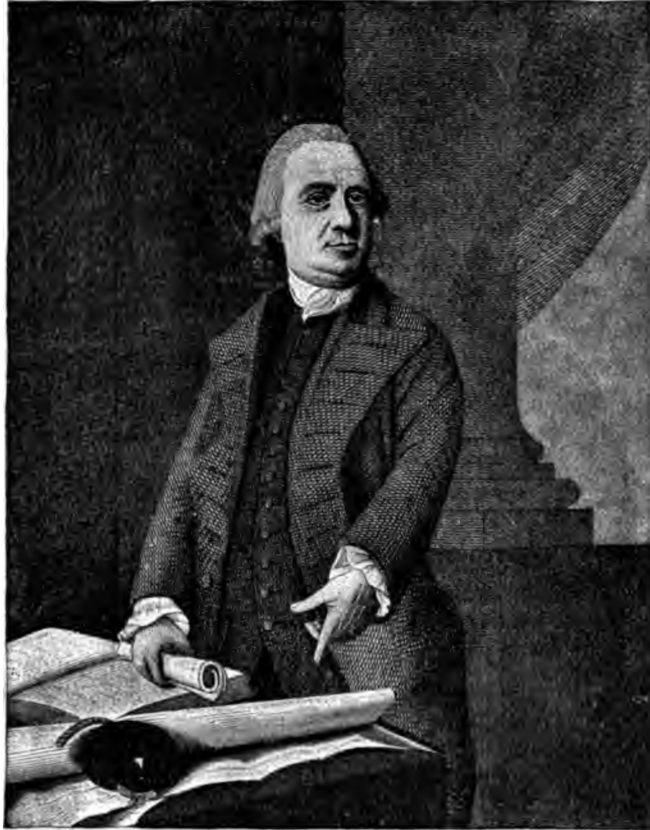
Hamilton probably embraced the entire range of political duty and morality, and if so, left certainly no point untouched. He must have discriminated with the nicest skill, between differing duties under differing circumstances, and asserted the right of judgment upon probabilities. If, from what he could gather, he had become satisfied that nine States would ratify, that conviction would dictate one course; if he had not, another line of action might be proper, and the geographical position and relative importance of probable ratifying and non-ratifying States must be an ele-

ment of consideration and judgment; or, if the choice lay, not between what he thought good, but what he thought possible, the possible should be commended exclusively; finally, if there was only an option between bad and worse, good sense would forbid him to inveigh against the bad. Whatever his reasoning, it convinced the body he addressed. A similar attack was made in the Virginia Convention upon Randolph, who, refusing to sign, urged and voted for ratification. His answer was frank and full: "I refused to sign because I saw grave defects in the Constitution. I felt that it was my duty then; I still think it was. My opinion as to the existence of those defects has not changed. But eight States have ratified. A Union must be formed. It is better for Virginia to be in that Union, in spite of defects in the Constitution, than to be out of it in consequence of them. For every other act of my life I appeal to the mercy of God; for this, I am content to rely on his justice." Debates in the conventions of five States are reported, how fully or fairly it is impossible now to say. If Johnson reporting Parliament took care "that the Whig dogs should not have the best of it," lesser men, if they had prejudices (and who is without them?), cannot be hoped to have been perfectly impartial. In his notes of the debate in the Federal Convention, in spite of his claim to complete accuracy, it is certain that the hearing of Madison was more acute for what he wished said, than for what he wished unsaid, and if contemporaneous documents may be trusted, he did not quite hear all that was said. Enough (perhaps all that is necessary) is preserved, to display the general sense of men upon some points, and their differences upon others, and to testify to the intelligence of the delegates to those conventions, and of the constituencies which appointed them. Nothing can convey a better idea of the political interest and activity, than a remark of a delegate in the Convention of Massachusetts. That body was very large, there being on the average a representative for each thousand souls: "When this Constitution was published, my town met to examine it; we studied it for seven hours; then we all agreed that it would not do." Massachusetts was the pivotal State. If she had not ratified, it is certain that Virginia and New York would have followed her example. New Hampshire most probably would not have ratified; North Carolina did not, and Rhode Island could not be counted on. Then a second Convention must have met, under less happy auspices perhaps, or the States might have separated, some gravitating to Massachusetts, some to Virginia, and some to Pennsylvania. Therefore the debate in her Convention is of primary importance. It is marked by moderation in tone, calmness even in pertinacity, and respect for opposition. The first question mooted, was the biennial representation to the House.

John Hancock

Habit has great power. The delegates to the Congress of the Confederation were elected for one year, were subject to recall, and compelled to rotation. A change in that respect not unnaturally excited suspicion, and demanded justification. Fisher Ames sought to disarm the one, and supply the other. "I consider frequent elections one of the first

securities of popular liberty, in which its essence may be supposed to reside. How shall we make the best use of this instrument? A delegation of power for a single day would defeat the design of representation; an election for a term of years would be repugnant to it. The period must be so long that the representative may understand the interest of the people; yet so limited that his fidelity may be secured by a dependence on their approbation. Because annual elections are safe, it does not follow that biennial are dangerous. Both may be good. Besides the term being fixed by the Constitution, is not subject to repeal. We are sure it is the worst of the case. Upon its own merits, however, it meets my entire approbation. First, from the extent of territory to be governed, as large as that of Rome in the zenith of its power; next, from the objects of legislation, if few, national; two years will be necessary to enable a man to judge of the trade and interest of the State he never saw; lastly for the more perfect security of our liberty, for faction and enthusiasm are the instruments by which popular governments have been destroyed. The people always mean right, and if time is allowed for reflection and information always do right. Biennial elections are a security for the sober second thought. A member chosen for two years may feel some independence. The factions of the day will expire before his term." The astuteness of the "plain men," who questioned the propriety of the change, is not less noticeable than that of the more educated class. If the territory is so extensive, and the interests so complicated, a member can only be competent, from thorough previous study. We shall elect men who know, not men who have to learn. If the objects of legislation are few, little time will be necessary; if they are national, a common feeling will make them easy. As for faction, that is as probable of a second as of a first year. The arguments of Ames and others prevailed, and experience has justified their conclusions, but not for the reasons they gave. A member who has served one term, is worth, as a public man, twice as much as a successor of equal ability. By that time, he has begun to know the House, and the House to know him. The clause which gives to the Congress the power to regulate the time, place, and manner of elections was vigorously attacked and not very vigorously defended. The defense was twofold. That a State might neglect, or refuse to make the necessary regulations and thus no representatives being elected, the general government would be dissolved; that it would operate as a check upon the Federal senate, and its constituents, the State legislatures, and in case of the invasion of a State, act, when its legislature might be powerless. Secondly, the improbability that the power would be abused. To the former, the rejoinder



Samuel Adams

was, why not add, "If a State shall neglect or refuse," that will prevent prevarication. To the latter, which had been warmly urged by a clergyman, you preach human depravity in the pulpit, and human infallibility on this floor. That clause passed in the Federal Convention with little discussion and no dissent, but in the State conventions was viewed by many as a source of probable injustice, and possible collision. An exclusive Federal regulation would have been consistent with the scope of a scheme, which aimed to separate as distinctly as possible, the functions of the general, and State governments. Against that, no argument could be urged, which could not be urged against any other delegation of power, but if it was de-

sirable that a State originally should exercise it, a subsequent intervention would necessarily be partisan. There may be good reasons for the clause, but the fanciful ones asserted in the convention, and the equally fanciful idea of Madison, that there would be a continuous inherent hostility between the Federal and the State legislatures, have little weight. In all constitutional governments, and pre-eminently in a Federal Republic, discretion as to rights ought to be excluded to the very limits of possibility, for liberty consists less in what a man has, than in what none can take from him. To the objection, that slaves were made an element of representation, King answered, "The principle of this Constitution is that taxation and representation go hand in hand. The apportionment was the language of all America." He, with others, contended, that in the bargain, the advantage in that respect was with the Northern States. Upon slavery itself, the opposition insisted that the Constitution pledged them to it, and to the slave trade besides; for under the Confederation, as all admitted, the connection was between States, not between the people of the States; whereas under the plan submitted, there would be not only a constitutional government, but a constitutional people, and if the people of Massachusetts became a part of that people, they would be as fully guarantors of property in slaves, as of any other species of property. General Heath answered, "I apprehend it is not in our power to do anything for, or against, those who are in slavery in the Southern States. I detest the idea of slavery. It is generally detested by the people of this commonwealth, and I ardently hope that the time will soon come when our Southern brethren will view it as we do, and put a stop to it, but we have no right to compel them. Two questions naturally arise, if we ratify the Constitution. Shall we do anything by our acts to hold the blacks in slavery. Shall we be partakers in other men's sins. Surely not, for in nothing do we voluntarily encourage the slavery of our fellow men." Others dilated upon the fact that a power over the slave trade, not before possessed, was acquired. It is impossible to suppose that the convention did not know of the bargain by which the carrying States without giving up anything they had, got a great deal they had not, a limitable slave trade being one of its conditions. The next ground of attack was the tenure of the Senate, which Ames thus vindicated: "It is necessary to premise that no arugment against the new plan has made a deeper impression than that it will produce a consolidation of the States. This is an effect all good men will deprecate. The State governments are essential parts of this system, and the defense of this article is drawn from its tendency to their preservation. The senators represent the sovereignty of the States;

in the other House individuals are represented. The Senate may not originate bills. It need not be said that they are principally to direct the affairs of war and treaties. They are in the quality of ambassadors of the States, and it will not be denied that some permanency in office is necessary to the discharge of their duties. If they were chosen yearly, how could they perform their trust. If they were brought by that means more immediately under the influence of the people, they will represent the State legislature less, and become the representatives of the people. The absurdity of this, and its repugnancy to the federal principle of the Constitution, will appear more fully, by supposing that senators are to be chosen by the people at large, which, if there is any force in the objection to this article, would be proper. But whom in that case would they represent, not the legislatures of the States, but the people? This would totally obliterate the federal feature of the Constitution. What would become of the State governments, and on whom would devolve the duty of defending them from the encroachments of the Federal government? A consolidation of the States would ensue, which, it is conceded, would subvert the new Constitution, and against which, this article, so much condemned, is our best security. Too much provision cannot be made against a consolidation. The State governments represent the wishes, the feelings, and local interests of the people. They are the safeguard and ornament of the Constitution, they will protract the period of our liberties, they will afford a shelter against the abuse of power, and will be the natural avengers of our violated rights. This article secures the excellence of the Constitution, and affords just ground to believe that it will be in practice, what it is in theory, a Federal Republic." The argument of Ames must have compelled general conviction, for that objection was never again seriously pressed. So far, the opposing forces had skirmished; battle was joined upon the taxation and judiciary clauses. The former, it was objected, is "a very good and valid conveyance of all the property in the United States, to certain uses indeed, but those, capable of any construction the trustees may think proper to make, and they are not amenable to any tribunal." The general answer was: Government must have all necessary power, the quantum cannot be fixed, it must depend upon the exigency which calls for its exercise. It may be abused, that possibility is inseparable from all government. Somebody must be trusted. Parsons added, that there was a perfect remedy against misgovernment within the Constitution. "The people have it in their power effectually to resist usurpation without being driven to an appeal to arms. An act of usurpation is not obligatory, it is not law, and any man may be justified in his resistance. Let him be considered a

criminal by the general government, yet only his fellow citizens can convict him; they are his jury, and if they pronounce him innocent, not all the power of Congress can hurt him, and innocent they certainly will pronounce him, if the supposed law he resisted was an act of usurpation." It is curious to see the claim of Calhoun forty years later, anticipated by one of the greatest judicial minds Massachusetts ever produced. The rejoinders were: "Faction is the vehicle of all transactions in public life. This truth all know, and also that the prevalent faction is the body. Is it contended that the prevalent body must always be right, and that the true patriots will always outnumber the base and the selfish. Then it must follow that no public measure ever was wrong, for it must have been passed by a majority, and no power therefore ever was, or ever can be abused. But if we know that power can be, and has been abused, why should we expect more from Congress than from the myriads of public bodies which have preceded it and have abused power. A sovereign power within a sovereign power is not conceivable by the mind. Congress sought to have sovereign power over all matters within its jurisdiction, but that jurisdiction ought to be so distinctly bounded, that every one may know the utmost limits of it. Where is the Bill of Rights which shall say to Congress, thus far shalt thou go and no farther?" To the judiciary clause the objections, and the answers to those objections, can hardly be presented very succinctly. "It is universally admitted that the safety of the subject consists in having a right to a trial, as free and impartial as the lot of humanity will admit. Does the Constitution make provision for such a trial? I think not, for in a criminal process, a person shall not have a right to insist on a trial in the vicinity where the fact was committed, where a jury of the peers would from their local situation have an opportunity to form a judgment of the character of the person charged with the crime, and also to judge of the credibility of the witnesses. Then a person must be tried by a jury of strangers, a jury who may be interested in his conviction, and where he may by reason of the distance from his place of residence, of the place of trial, be incapable of making such a defense as he is in justice entitled to, and which he could avail himself of, if his trial was in the same county where the crime is said to have been committed. There is no provision to prevent the attorney general from filing an information against any person, whether he is indicted by the grand jury or not, in consequence of which, the most innocent person may be taken by virtue of a warrant issued upon such information, dragged from his home, his friends, his acquaintances, and confined in prison, until the next session of the court which has jurisdiction of the crime with which he is charged, and how frequent these

sessions are to be we are not yet told, and after long, tedious and painful imprisonment, though acquitted on trial, may have no possibility to obtain any kind of satisfaction for the loss of liberty, the loss of time, great expenses, and perhaps cruel sufferings. It is still more alarming that no mode of criminal process is to be pointed out by Congress, that there is no Constitutional check, except that trial is to be by jury; but who this jury is to be, how qualified, where to live, how appointed, or by what rules to regulate their procedure, we are ignorant, whether a criminal is to be allowed the benefit of counsel, to meet his accuser face to face, to confront the witnesses, to have the privilege of appearing before the court or jury which is to try him, we are not told, and for these there is no Constitutional security. In addition, as Congress has to ascertain, determine, point out the punishments for persons convicted of crimes, there is nothing to restrain them from cruelty, nor from passing laws to compel the accused or suspected to furnish evidence against himself, or from ordering a court to take a charge as true, unless innocence is proved. There is no pretense that Congress will do these things, but it may do them, and if it does not, it will be because men are good, not the Constitution."

Gore replied that the uniform course of the opposition was to determine that in every case where it was possible that wrong could be done, that it would be done, although it was demonstrable that such wrong would be against honor and interest, and productive of no personal advantage. On this principle alone they have determined that trial by jury would be taken away in civil cases, when it had been clearly shown that no words could be adopted apt to the situation and customs of each State in that particular. Jurors are differently chosen in different States; in the point of qualifications, the laws of the several States are diverse, and not less so in the causes and disputes which are entitled to trial by jury. What will be the result? That the laws of Congress may and will be conformable to the local laws in this particular, although the Constitution could not make a universal rule equally applying to the customs and statutes of the different States. Very few governments, certainly not this, can be interested in depriving the people of trial by jury, in questions of *meum* and *tuum*. In criminal cases alone, are they interested to have the trial under their own control, and in such cases a trial by jury is stipulated. It is said that for safety it is indispensable that the trial for crime shall be in the vicinity, and vicinity is construed county. This is incorrect, as may be seen by referring to the different local divisions and districts of the several States. So far from a jury coming from a neighborhood, being a circumstance promotive of justice, it is the reverse. If a jury could be perfectly ignorant

of the person on trial, a just decision would be more probable. The constitution does not, indeed, expressly provide for an indictment by a grand jury, and therefore it is argued that some officer may file informations, and that grand juries will be disused. Neither does the Constitution of Massachusetts, yet no difficulty nor danger has arisen from what is termed a defect. Dawes added that neither by technical nor by popular construction does the word "court" exclude the connection with it of a jury, and that the reason why the Constitution is not as explicit in securing a jury in civil as in criminal cases is, that it was not in the power of the Convention; such a provision as exists in our Bill of Rights would have been absurd. As the contest drew to a close, Ames called on those who stood forth in 1775, to stand forth now, to throw aside all interested, and party views, and have one purse, one heart for the whole, and to consider that as it was necessary then, so it is necessary now, to unite—or die we must. The appeal brought to the floor one "who would not have troubled the Convention, if they who were on the stage in 1775 had not been called on. I was one of them, a member of the court all the time; if any body had proposed such a Constitution as this, it would have been thrown away; it would not have been looked at. We did not contend with Great Britain for a threepenny duty on tea, but upon a right to tax us, and bind us in all cases whatsoever. Does not this Constitution do the same?"

Debate exhausted, and a decisive vote imminent, it was apparent that the Constitution would be rejected. But there had been a great deal of neighborly outside discussion between the delegates, and they were possessed of each other's reasonings and feelings as we could not be, if the report was as full, as it is meager. Both sides earnestly desired one thing. One side was so eager for it, as not to stickle at any price; the other side would only pay so much. Those who favored ratification could not lose by paying less for what they wanted, and if they pledged themselves to amendments embodying the views and obviating the objections of the others, must not all be satisfied. Hancock was selected to offer the compromise, which he did with equal skill and courtesy. "My situation has not permitted me to enter into the debates of the Convention. It appears to me, from what has been advanced in them, that it is necessary to adopt the form of government proposed, but observing a diversity of sentiment among the gentlemen of the Convention, I have frequently conversed with them on the subject, and from those conversations I am induced to inquire whether the introduction of some amendments would not be attended with the happiest consequences. I am unable, if my abilities would permit, to

go more largely into the subject, and I rely on the candor of the Convention to bear me witness that my wishes for a good Constitution are sincere. I submit a proposition to your consideration, with the desire and hope that it may tend to promote a spirit of union." The proposed amendments read, Samuel Adams moved that they be taken into consideration. "I have had my doubts of this Constitution. I could not digest every part of it as easily as some gentlemen. This is my misfortune, not my fault; other gentlemen have had their doubts. I have observed the sentiments of men as far as Virginia, and from the newspapers, and in the conventions, I find the same doubts, but in my opinion, the proposition submitted will have a tendency to remove such doubts and to conciliate the minds of the Convention, and of the people out-of-doors." Bowdoin, one of the strongest advocates of ratification, expressed his "hearty approbation of the propositions of his excellency, as they would have a tendency to relieve the fears, and quiet the apprehensions of some very worthy and respectable people." A motion for a committee of two from each county, to consider the amendments proposed, and any others that might be suggested, and report thereon, was carried unanimously. The amendments reported, met universal favor. Adams admitted that the first article was "a summary of a Bill of Rights, and consonant with the second of the Articles of Confederation." Dr. Jarvis, a zealous and most powerful supporter of ratification, termed it a "positive security of what is not expressly delegated, leaving nothing to the uncertainty of conjecture, or the refinements of implication, an express reservation of what is nearest and most agreeable to the people." The end, however, was not yet reached. Upon the point whether ratification should be conditional upon the acceptance of the amendments, or absolute with a recommendation of them, the unanimity was dissolved, the contest was renewed, and the issue was again doubtful. The opposition claimed that the power of the Convention only extended to ratification or rejection. Conditional ratification was legitimate, but the mere proposal of amendments was not contemplated in their appointment, nor embraced in their duties. Dr. Jarvis answered: "Under what authority are we acting, from Congress, from the Federal Convention, from the State Legislature? From neither, from the people of Massachusetts as their immediate representatives to execute the most important trust it is possible to receive. Are not the people of Massachusetts, assembled by their delegates, at liberty to resolve in what form that trust shall be executed? To what tribunal are we amenable? Only to God and our own consciences. It appears to me that a conditional ratification is equivalent to a total rejection. As so many other States have received the Constitution as it is, how can it

be made to appear that they will not adhere to their resolution, and should they be as warmly and pertinaciously attached to their opinions, as we might be to ours, a long and painful interval might elapse before we should have the benefit of a Federal Constitution. Will the States which have recently adopted, consent to call a new convention at the request of this State. If nine should ratify, are we going to expose this Commonwealth to the disagreeable alternative of being forced into compliance, or of remaining in opposition. Why these amendments should not be adopted I cannot conceive. They are general, not local, not calculated for the particular interest of this State, but with indiscriminate justice, comprehend the circumstances of the man on the banks the Savannah, and on the margin of the Kennebec. The remaining seven States will have our example before them. There is a high probability that they, at least some of them, will take our conduct as a precedent, perhaps they will assume the same mode of procedure." Ames summed up with his usual ability. "Almost every one who has appeared against the Constitution, has declared that he approves it with the amendments. One, distinguished for his zealous opposition, would hold up both hands for it, if they could be adopted. I admire this candid way of discussing the subject, and shall endeavor to treat it with equal care and fairness. The nature of the debate is totally shifted. The inquiry now is, as to the degree of probability, that the amendments will be incorporated in the Constitution. What, in any future thing, do we devise more than the probable? What more is another Constitution? All agree that we must have one. If we ratify, and a union is formed, nine States only have to agree; if we do not, and a union is not formed, thirteen States have to be satisfied. Either in a union, the amendments will be accepted, or they will not. If we believe that they will, we ought to be unanimous for ratification; if we believe that they will not command the assent of enough States, this State ought to submit, for one-eighth or one-tenth of the people ought not to dictate to the whole." The mass of opponents were not convinced, and were angry. They felt that a little of the Pia Fraus had been used, that the offer of amendments, not of the possibility, or probability of amendments, averted a vote of rejection. Their mood is discernible in the report, though discreetly veiled, but their bitterness at those who, over the narrow bridge of probability, were about to pass from one camp to the other, is less dimly seen. When all who wished to be heard, had been gratified: Hancock rose to put the question. He prefaced it with a short address, of which the close is perfect in temper and pertinency. "Let the question be decided as it may, there can be

no cause for triumph on one side, or chagrin on the other. Should there be a great division, every good man, every man who loves his country, so far from exhibiting extraordinary marks of joy, will sincerely lament the want of unanimity, and strenuously endeavor to cultivate a spirit of conciliation both in the Convention and at home. The people of this Commonwealth are a people of great light, of great intelligence in public business. They know that we have none of us an interest separate from theirs, that it must be our happiness to conduce to theirs, and that we must all rise, or fall together. They will therefore never forsake the first principle of society, that of being governed by the voice of the majority. Should the proposed form of government be rejected, they will zealously attempt another. Should it, by the vote now to be taken, be ratified, they will quietly acquiesce, and where they see a want of perfection in it, endeavor in a Constitutional way to have it amended." The Report upon which the vote was to be taken cannot be omitted.

"Commonwealth of Massachusetts in Convention of the Delegates of the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1788.

The Convention having impartially discussed, and fully considered the Constitution for the United States of America, reported to Congress by the Convention of Delegates from the United States of America, and submitted to us by a resolution of the General Court of the said Commonwealth, passed the twenty-fifth day of October last past, and acknowledging with grateful hearts the goodness of the Supreme Ruler of the Universe in affording the people of the United States an opportunity deliberately and peacefully, without fraud, or surprise, of entering into an explicit and solemn compact with each other, by assenting to and ratifying a new Constitution, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity, do, in the name and behalf of the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, assent to and ratify the said Constitution for the United States. And, as it is the opinion of this Convention that certain amendments and alterations in the said Constitution would remove the fears and quiet the apprehensions of many of the good people of the Commonwealth, and more effectually guard against an undue administration of the Federal Government, the Convention do recommend that the following alterations and provisions be introduced into the said Constitution.

First. That it be explicitly declared that all powers not expressly delegated by the aforesaid Constitution are reserved to the several States to be by them exercised.

Secondly. That there shall be one representative to every thirty thousand, according to the census mentioned in the Constitution, until the whole number of representatives amounts to two hundred.

Thirdly. That Congress do not exercise the powers vested in them by the 4th Section of the 1st Article, but in cases where a State shall neglect or refuse to make the regulations therein mentioned, or shall make regulations subversive of the rights of the people to a free and equal representation in Congress agreeably to the Constitution.

Fourthly. That Congress do not lay direct taxes, but when the moneys arising from the impost and excise are insufficient for the public exigencies, nor then, until Congress shall have first made a requisition upon the States to assess, levy, and pay their respective proportions of such requisitions agreeably to the census fixed by the Constitution, in such way and manner as the legislatures of the States may think best; and, in such case, if any State shall neglect or refuse to pay its proportion pursuant to such requisition, then Congress may assess and levy such State's proportion together with interest thereon, at the rate of six per cent. per annum, from the time of payment prescribed in such requisitions.

Fifthly. That Congress create no company with exclusive advantages of commerce.

Sixthly. That no person shall be tried for any crime by which he may incur an infamous punishment or loss of life, until he be first indicted by a grand jury, except in such cases as may arise in the government, and the regulation of the land and naval forces.

Seventhly. The Supreme Judicial Federal Court shall have no jurisdiction of causes between the citizens of different States, unless the matter in dispute—whether it concern the realty or the personalty—be of the value of three thousand dollars at the least, nor shall the federal judicial powers extend to any action between citizens of different States, when the matter in dispute—whether it concern the realty or the personalty—is not of the value of fifteen hundred dollars at the least.

Eighthly. In civil actions between citizens of different States, every issue of fact arising in actions at common law shall be tried by a jury if the parties or either of them request it.

Ninthly. Congress shall at no time consent that any person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall accept of a title of nobility or any other title and office from any king, prince, or foreign state.

And the Convention do in the name and in the behalf of the people of this Commonwealth enjoin it upon their representatives in Congress, at all

times, until the alterations and provisions aforesaid have been considered agreeably to the 5th Article of the said Constitution, to exert all their influence and use all reasonable and legal methods to obtain a ratification of the said alterations and provisions in such manner as is provided in this said article."

The count showed 187 yeas, 168 nays. The shifting of ten votes had been sufficient. The statistics of the votes are curious, interesting, and perhaps instructive. The delegates from some counties voted almost unanimously yea; from others with the same unanimity, nay. The officers of the late war, by about three to two, voted nay. The clergy, by about five to one, voted yea. The Bench, the bar, and the trading and commercial classes almost to a man, voted yea. The yeomanry as a class voted nay. Why the yeomanry were so determined in opposition is a question easily answered. They had suffered and fought for seven years to establish a fact, and a political principle. The fact, that Massachusetts was a community, and as such, entitled to say what were her rights and maintain them; the principle that the obligation of governor and governed is reciprocal and the right of judgment equal; those things they had looked for in the Constitution, and had not found them, if they were there. The first amendment they thought supplied the deficiency; but they would not trust to any contingency. The reiterated assurances of a set of checks and balances, within the system did not impose upon them for a moment. They knew that the electors, not the elected (whether State legislature, Congress, or a President), were the real depositories of power. That power was what they wanted defined and bounded. They knew that unless there was a check upon that, "Constitutional government is but solemn trifling, all trust in a Constitution being grounded on the assurance not that the depositories of power will not, but that they cannot, misemploy their power." They understood liberty to be, as Fisher Ames defined it, "due restraint upon the liberties of others." In every other Convention, men of trained abilities were pitted against each other; in that of Massachusetts, all her trained intellect, familiarity with debate, the habit of public speaking, and high social position were on one side; but whoever appreciates political insight must see from the record, that her yeomanry were indeed "a people of great light."

A. W. Clason

HISTORIC HOMES

THE BROOKLYN HOUSE OF PHILIP LIVINGSTON, THE SIGNER

More truthfully than any other existing relics the antique mansions of the colonial period reflect the life and history of the times. They also illustrate the practical adaptation of principles of domestic architecture, culled from all ages and many countries, to the requirements of a young and progressive people. Philip Livingston, the signer, an eminent merchant and "one of the solid men" of New York for more than a quarter of a century prior to the Revolution, owned a farm of forty acres on Brooklyn Heights, which he had brought under a high state of cultivation, with a frontage on the Bay of six hundred feet. His garden covered more than two acres, and his fruit trees were the finest in the country. His house stood on the highest point of his property, a large, commodious and conspicuous edifice, a combination of lofty ceilings, small windows, narrow doors, and wide entrance halls and staircases. It was elegantly finished and furnished—after the most approved fashions of the period. It was so fine a house, indeed, that when it came into the market, not many decades since, Mr. Henry E. Pierrepont competed for the purchase of its beautiful and costly Italian marble mantels, exquisitely carved, and finally secured them. But the mansion was destroyed by fire before they could be removed, thus these historic treasures were lost.

The situation, one of the most charming on this continent, commanded an uninterrupted prospect of harbor, river, island, city, and distant hills, with an immediate view of lawns, shrubbery, and beautiful grounds extending to the water's edge, just beyond which might be inspected the shipping of the world. The site of the dwelling was in what is now Hicks Street, a little to the south of Joralemon. It was seventy-five feet front, and forty feet deep, with broad verandas on both front and rear. The stables and outhouses were of proportional dimensions, and negro slaves dotted the premises like huckleberries in a pudding.

This interesting colonial mansion was rendered historic in the early part of the Revolution by an event of the first moment. Under its roof assembled the Council of War (late in the afternoon of that stormy August day in 1776) following the battle of Long Island, which voted unanimously for the retreat of the army to New York. There were present on the occasion Washington, weary and anxious; Major-general Putman, in full possession

of all the elements of character except caution needed to engage an enemy; Major-general Spencer, a Connecticut officer of sixty-two, with experience in the French war; Brigadier-general Mifflin, age thirty-four, full of activity and apparently of fire, but too much of a bustler, harassing his soldiers unnecessarily; Brigadier-general McDougall, a master spirit among the Sons of Liberty, and a man of forty-five; Brigadier-general Parsons, the Lyme lawyer, not yet forty, but with unmistakable military genius; Brigadier-general Wadsworth, who divided with Parsons the honor of commanding the flower of the Connecticut soldiery; Brigadier-general John Fel-

THE BROOKLYN HOUSE OF PHILIP LIVINGSTON, THE SIGNER.

[*From a pencil sketch from memory by Mr. Henry E. Pierrepont.*]

lows, an officer who had seen service in the French War, and Brigadier-general John Morin Scott, who commanded an effective brigade of New Yorkers, and more valorous than discreet was intent upon defending the capital to the last drop of his blood. In the official report of this Council of War, afterward transmitted to Congress, were given in full eight separate reasons why it was esteemed sound military policy to retreat. General Scott wrote to John Jay, at White Plains, under date of September 6, 1776: "I was summoned to a Council of War at Mr. Philip Livingston's house, on Thursday (August) 29th, never having had reason to expect a proposition for retreat, till it was mentioned. As it was suddenly proposed *I as sud-*

denly objected to it, from an aversion to giving the enemy a single inch of ground; but *was soon convinced by the unanswerable reasons for it.*"

Livingston was absent at this crisis, a member of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia. After the famous retreat of the Americans from Long Island, one of the most remarkable military events in history, the British took possession of the old mansion-house and turned it into a naval hospital. The surgeons and physicians made themselves comfortable in its well-appointed apartments, and built sheds and huts in the grounds for the sick. The handsome garden soon went to decay, and when the war ended but little remained of it. Mr. Livingston owned a brewery at the foot of what is now Joralemon Street, which the British used to good advantage in the manufacture of spruce beer. Dr. Henry R. Stiles, the historian of Brooklyn, says the hospitals consumed at the rate of twenty barrels a day for their sick, and that tradition said "it was the best beer ever tasted."

During Philip Livingston's occupancy of his attractive Brooklyn home he was not only attending to large and prosperous mercantile interests in New York, but was constantly in active public service which required his presence in the city nearly every day. He kept open and some of his family were nearly always to be found at his substantial town house, built of stone, on Duke Street. Daniel McCormick, the notable New York merchant (born in 1740, died in 1834), who bought Livingston's "distillery property" in 1785, related many anecdotes of the venerable signer. He said Philip Livingston had a ferry to New York of his own, and was in the habit of swimming his horses daily across the channel from the rear of his little ferryboat. On one occasion (and a well-known and eminent Brooklyn gentleman remembers having heard McCormick tell the story), a pair of beautiful black horses, accustomed to the trip, strayed away from the coachman and swam the whole distance alone, very demurely finding their way through the streets to the town stable after reaching the landing at Manhattan. The accompanying map illustrates the relative distances, and will furnish the reader with a tolerably correct view of the size of the metropolis in 1788.

Philip Livingston was sixty years of age when he signed the Declaration of Independence. Born in 1716, the fourth son of Philip Livingston, second proprietor of Livingston Manor, he was a fine specimen of the native New Yorker of that period. His grandfather, Robert Livingston, was an Englishman, but his grandmother, Alida Schuyler, and his mother, Catharine Van Brugh, were Dutch. He married a Dutch lady, Christina, daughter of Mayor Ten Broeck, of Albany, and he had nine children, five sons and four daughters. He was seven years the senior of his brother William, the

NEW YORK IN 1778; MAP MADE FOR THE LONDON MAGAZINE IN 1778.

famous war governor of New Jersey, but younger than either of the three brothers—Robert, who inherited the manor property; Peter Van Brugh, President of the New York Congress, whose wife was Mary Alexander, sister of Lord Stirling; and John, who married Catharine, daughter of Treasurer Abraham De Peyster. They were all educated men. Peter Van Brugh Livingston was graduated from Yale in 1731, John Livingston in 1733, Philip (the signer) in 1737, and William in 1741. Their three sisters

Dr Sir:

I wrote the Biography of Philip Livingston in the 3d volume of the Biography of the Signers of Independence which Mr Sanderson has [illegible] by the annexed advertisement in a Philadelphia Paper published. He was of course to send me one. Will you procure & forward it?

Yours
DWC.

28 July
1822

[*Fac-simile of original letter from De Witt Clinton, in possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.*]

were brilliant and accomplished women; Sarah was the wife of Lord Stirling; Alida married Henry Hawson, and after his death Martin Hoffman; and Catharine married John L. Lawrence. These numerous families were all wealthy, and all residents of the city.

Philip Livingston began his public career as an alderman in 1754, holding the position some eight years. He was about the same time one of the founders of the New York Society Library, and aided materially in the establishment of Columbia College. He was one of the founders and incorporators of the Chamber of Commerce in 1770, and one of the first governors of the New York Hospital. In 1759 he was elected to the New

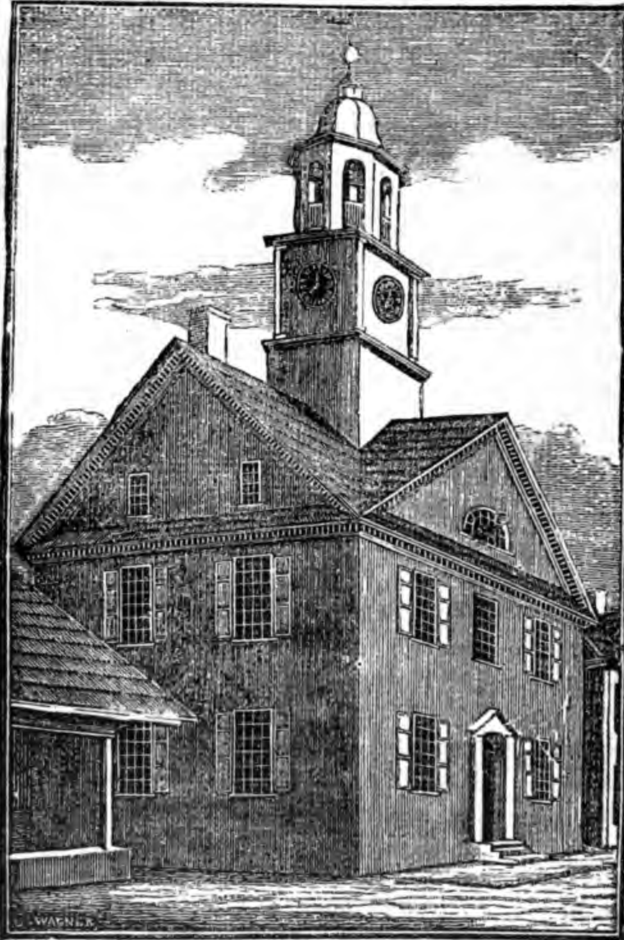
York Assembly, and held the post by successive re-elections until 1769. Governor Sir Charles Hardy said of him: "Among the considerable merchants in this city, no one is more esteemed for energy, promptness, honesty and public spirit than Philip Livingston." His wholesome influence was particularly marked during the agitations that preceded the passage of the Stamp Act. In September, 1764, he drafted a remarkably spirited address to Lieutenant-Governor Colden, in which he made use of the boldest language in expressing the hopes of the colonists for freedom from taxation. He was one of the committee to correspond with Edmund Burke, the agent of the colony in England, and no man could write more forcibly on the vexed subjects of the hour.

His beautiful daughter Catharine married the youthful Albany patroon, Stephen van Rensselaer, in 1763. She did not remove from New York, however, as the great manor-house was in process of erection, until after the birth of her son Stephen (the following year, 1764), who became the fifth patroon in the direct line, and was known as the general. His education was obtained in the midst of the commotions of the Revolutionary War. Philip Livingston was very fond of this grandson, and looked after his welfare with the closest scrutiny, changing his schools and instructors as the fortunes of war drove people from one point to another. It is an interesting fact that this same grandson erected the handsome monument in the York Cemetery to the memory of Philip Livingston, which the reader will find illustrated on another page.

Philip Livingston was one of the prominent New York delegates to the Stamp Act Congress, which met in the old City Hall in Wall Street, in 1765, and organized itself with measured precision, in the very face of the king's officers, and deliberated for three successive weeks, unmolested, on affairs of the utmost consequence to the future of the whole continent. This Congress was an institution then unknown to the laws, was pronounced by the authorities of the province unconstitutional and treasonable, and was the first experiment in organized opposition to the established government. Its purpose was to demand the repeal of all parliamentary acts levying duties on trade, as well as the Stamp Act. Its results were three petitions, or memorials; one to the King, one to the House of Lords, and one to the House of Commons. That to the House of Lords was from the pen of Philip Livingston, and it conveyed an element of decision to the British mind that was as unexpected as startling. As speaker of the Assembly he signed, December, 31, 1768, another remarkable document, containing the following bold declaration: "This colony lawfully and constitutionally has, and enjoys an internal Legislature of its own,

in which the Crown and the people of this Colony are constitutionally represented, and the power and authority of the said Legislature cannot lawfully or constitutionally be suspended, abridged, abrogated, or annulled by any power, authority, or prerogative whatsoever; the prerogative of

COURT-HOUSE,
YORK, PA.



The Building in which the American Congress sat during the gloomiest period of the Revolution.

[*From a rare antique print.*]

the Crown ordinarily exercised for prorogations and dissolutions only excepted." It so offended the governor that he dissolved the assembly on the 2d of January, 1769. In the election that followed Philip Livingston was unseated by the Tory majority.

He was soon called into the higher councils as a representative to the first Centennial Congress, which met in Philadelphia in 1774. He was the leader of the New York delegation. John Adams mentioned him in his Diary as a man of great popularity, and said his manner of speech was "downright and straightforward." De Witt Clinton described him as possessing "in an extraordinary degree, an intuitive perception of character," but said "there was a dignity, with a mixture of austerity in his deportment, which rendered it difficult for strangers to approach him." He seems to have exercised much power in Congress, and took part in the most important committees. He was elected to the second Congress; and a few days after affixing his name to the immortal document was made a member of the Board of Treasury. A few months later he was placed upon the Marine Committee. In 1777 he served in the convention that assembled in Kingston to frame the constitution for the State of New York, and was one of those who, on the 22d of April, stood in front of the court-house while the secretary, Robert Benson, read the important document, standing upon a barrel, to the assembled multitude. He was chosen State senator, and on the 10th of September of the same year attended the initial meeting of the new Legislature, when our noble constitution received the first principles of life. He was also re-elected to Congress.

In the mean time he had sold a considerable portion of his private property to sustain the public credit of the country. He lived in a house near the Hudson, not far from Kingston, and his daughter Sarah, the wife of the celebrated divine, Rev. John Henry Livingston, D.D., was with her family making the same dwelling her present home. Another daughter, Margaret, married Dr. Thomas Jones of New York. Mr. Livingston was in feeble health, but in the spring of 1778, under a strong sense of duty, proceeded to York, Pennsylvania, where Congress had retired after the occupation of Philadelphia by the British, and took his seat on the 5th of May. The sessions were held in the "Old Town House," and the prospect for America's future was very dark. The war had seemed to demoralize all classes of society. Trade with the British soldiers was pushed on every side. While Washington's army were nearly starved, the farmers were supplying the markets of Philadelphia. In the midst of the general depression the attempt to displace Washington for Gates—the "Conway Cabal"—had intensified the anxiety of all true patriots. The records of the pro-

[*From a rare antique print.*]

ceedings of Congress throw no light upon the part taken by Mr. Livingston in this controversy, but tradition declares that his latest and most effective efforts were in behalf of Washington. Washington Irving relates that Judge William Jay once said to him: "Shortly before the death of John Adams, I was sitting alone with my father (Chief-Justice John Jay), conversing about the American Revolution. Suddenly he remarked, 'Ah, William! the history of that Revolution will never be known. Nobody now alive knows it, but John Adams and myself.' Surprised at such a declaration, I asked him to what he referred? He briefly replied, 'The proceedings of the old Congress.' Again I inquired, 'What proceedings?' He answered, 'Those against Washington; from first to last, there was a most bitter feeling against him.' As the old Congress held its sessions with closed doors, nothing but what that body saw fit to disclose was made public. We have no doubt that had it not been for this, the members of the Cabal would never have dared to venture upon any open attempt to injure Washington with the army and the people."

Livingston grew rapidly very ill, and died in York on the 12th of June, of dropsy in the chest. Congress attended his funeral in a body, at six o'clock on the evening of the 14th, each member wearing crape on his arm. The Rev. Mr. Duffield, the attending chaplain, officiated, and the interment took place in what is now "Prospect Hill Cemetery," where the monument was subsequently erected by his grandson, General Van Rensselaer.

In reply to an inquiry as to the present condition of this monument, a correspondent in York writes, under date of October 26, 1885: "I was in 'Prospect Hill Cemetery,' yesterday, and observed its condition. The grass in the inclosure and the box-wood and ornamental trees were in such good trim compared with some other lots in the cemetery, that I inquired of an employee of the cemetery company whether any one was paid for keeping it in order. Two of the signers of the Declaration of Independence are buried in York, and I never pass the places that mark these graves without a mental tribute of veneration and admiration. I paused before Livingston's tomb yesterday, and read the inscription, although I had read it more than a hundred times before. It struck me as a remarkable coincidence that on returning from the cemetery I found your letter of inquiry upon my table."

Martha J. Lamb

THANKSGIVING DAY, PAST AND PRESENT

Our American Thanksgiving has a history of its own. This may not lead directly back to ancestral halls rich in noble tradition, but it does lead back to a birthplace of which every true American may well be proud, a birthplace that savors of the soil of a new continent, and tells of the conditions which surrounded the infancy of a great people.

Entire originality in the matter of feast days, fast days and holidays is a thing of the past. Practically every day in the year was pre-empted for anniversary purposes long ago, and should a new nation spring into existence to-morrow and seek to mark the event by the establishment of a general public festival, some uneasy book-worm would rise up and prove by the production of a Chaldean or Assyrian or Aztec calendar, that a similar festival was annually observed by primeval man some ten thousand odd years more or less before the Christian era. Has it not been demonstrated that Christmas and New Year and Easter, and even the Jewish Sabbath and the Christian Sunday, are mere perpetuations of heathenish festivals that had already existed for centuries?

This however, is a very materialistic not to say "narrow" view of the subject. The true significance of a national festival lies in the idea which directly leads to its establishment, and it is not of the slightest consequence, save as a matter of curiosity, to trace back the analogies which can as a matter of course be found in the pages of history.

Considered in this liberal sense, Thanksgiving may fairly claim to be the oldest and the most distinctive of our few American festivals. It officially antedates the Fourth of July by more than a century and a half (1621-1776), and was the first recognized State holiday to attain a regular annual observance in the colonies. Originality of conception has never been authoritatively claimed for it. The Harvest Home of the Saxons and Celts, the Cerealia of the Romans, the Israelitish Feast of Tabernacles, and for all that we know to the contrary the post-harvest celebrations of preadamite man were its actual precursors. Even among the American Indians there was held an autumnal festival which might not unfairly claim precedence as the true aboriginal Thanksgiving of the Western World.

A distinguished divine, recently passed over to the majority,* has said —and his words will find an echo in the heart of every New Englander—

* The late Rev. Wm. Adams, D.D., of New York.

"The bare mention of the word, the Old Thanksgiving-day, what a power has it to revive the pleasantest reminiscences, and recall the brightest scenes of other days in many hearts! It transports them back to the home of their childhood. It takes them at once into the presence of the father and mother, who, it may be for many years, have been sleeping in the grave. . . . Every image of peace, contentment, competence, abundance, and joy, comes back spontaneously on each return of the grateful festival. . . . It has not been celebrated like Christmas by the imperial song of Milton, or the dove-like notes of Herbert, or the classic beauty of Keble. Simpler in its nature, humbler in its pretensions, better suited to a people of more recent origin, it is set apart to the exercise of those home-bred affections, those honest, fireside delights, which are greener than laurel or fir-tree, and which, from a national affinity, most closely harmonize with the sweet sanctities of our holy religion."

Modern observances of Thanksgiving are bitterly denounced in certain quarters as sadly at variance in all worthy aspects from the ideas of the Plymouth colonists during their first golden October on the coast of Cape Cod Bay. Indications are not altogether wanting, however, that the manner of celebrating the festival has mainly changed in what we may term a mechanical rather than a spiritual sense. Instead of devoting nearly a week to Thanksgiving feasts, as did Governor Bradford's constituents, and calling in the neighboring Indian tribes to help consume the viands, we of these later generations confine ourselves nominally to a single day. Instead of allowing each colony, or settlement, or as later on, each State, to choose its own date for giving thanks and celebrating the event, we recognize our centralized interests by having a national proclamation signed by the President and sent out by telegraph to all the land. Instead of roasting our turkeys before an open wood fire where the touch of the "sacred flame" imparts a subtile and never-to-be-forgotten delicacy of flavor, we cook them by steam. Instead of baking our chicken pies in an old-fashioned brick oven pregnant with fervent heat from spicy embers of seasoned hickory and oak, we shut them into a cast-iron box next door to a mass of incandescent, gaseous anthracite.

These, it is true are but petty details, and do not touch upon the higher significance of the festival. They are enumerated here only to emphasize the assertion that the mechanics at least of Thanksgiving have undérgone a change. In this sense, and in this only, they may be referred to again, but how is it as regards the spirit with which we now celebrate the day, as compared with that which prevailed in the Plymouth colony, when Governor Bradford issued his first proclamation?

It may be assumed that the day in all essential particulars will be observed this year as it was in 1884, and turning to the daily newspaper files of a year ago we find in the morning issues of Friday, November 28th, such head-lines as follow: "The Holiday of Gratitude," "How the Poor were Remembered," "Games at the Naval Academy," "Yale and Princeton at Football," "Wesleyan and Pennsylvania," "Stevens Institute and Lafayette," "Columbia Polytechnic," and sundry other colleges also at football, "A Tie Game of Baseball" (in Brooklyn), "Hog Guessing at 'Gabe' Case's," "La Crosse at the Polo Grounds," etc., etc. These are the principal events, and there are also condensed reports of sermons and Thanksgiving exercises in the various churches. Altogether the New York *Tribune* devotes about eight columns to such of the day's doings as may be regarded as pertaining more or less directly to the anniversary. Of this space about one and three-quarters columns are given to church services, a like space to charitable institutions and the dinners given to their inmates, one column to editorial comment, and the rest to games and detailed accounts thereof. This may serve not unfairly as a sample of the reports published in the metropolitan papers. The country papers of the same date are full of local matters similar in character but supplemented by shooting matches, squirrel hunts and the like, with of course ample reference to the appropriate religious exercises. All this proves very conclusively that the day is largely given over to merrymaking and athletic sports, and many children of the Puritans shake their heads sadly over the degeneracy of the times.

But let us turn back to the first Puritanical Thanksgiving, and learn from the meagre record how it was celebrated. Lest we be accused of misrepresentation, we quote first from Governor Bradford to show what they had to be grateful for.

They begane now to gather in ye small harvest they had, and to fitte up their houses and dwellings against winter, being all well recovered in health and strength, and had all things in good plenty; for as some were thus employed in affairs abroad, others were exercised in fishing about codd, and bass, and other fish of which yey took good store, of which every family had their portion. All ye Somer ther was no waste. And now began to come in store of foule, as winter approached, of which this place did abound when they came first (but afterwards decreased by degrees) and beside water foule ther was great store of wild Turkies of which they took many, beside venison &c. Beside they had about a peck of meal a weeke to a person, or now, since harvest, Indian corn to ye proportion.

Again Edward Winslow thus refers to the public commemoration of all this plenty:

"Our harvest being gotten in, our governor (William Bradford) sent four men on fowl-

ing; so that we might after a special manner rejoice together after we had gathered the fruit of our labors. They four in one day killed as much fowl as, with a little help beside, served the company almost a week. At which time, amongst other recreation we exercised our arms, many of the Indians coming amongst us, and among the rest their greatest King Massasoyt, with some ninety men, whom for three days we entertained and feasted; and they went out and killed five deer, which they brought to the plantation and bestowed on our governor, and upon the captain (Myles Standish) and others. And although it be not always so plentiful as it was at this time with us, yet by the goodness of God, we are so far from want that we often wish you partakers of our plenty."

Here, then, is our most authentic record of the first New England Thanksgiving. Ten lines in all, as contrasted with the eight columns of the *Tribune*, but perhaps the proportion is not so very far out of the way after all. The colony at that time consisted of fifty-five persons all told. We are fifty-five millions! They were the survivors of the "hundred souls and more" who landed from the *Mayflower*. Forty-six had died during ten terrible months, and yet these stern Puritans found it in their hearts, not only to rejoice together, but to welcome nearly double their number of friendly Massasoits, and entertain them to the best of their ability. Tradition hath it that Holland's gin bore some remote relation to merry-making in those days; but let us hope that this is a slander. At all events general good humor evidently prevailed. There was the preliminary hunt, the shooting at mark, and "other recreations," which certainly in a modest way may offset the intercollegiate football, and the lacrosse, and the horse-racing of to-day. Mr. Winslow, it will be noted, fails to give prominence to the religious exercises, which, however, we may fairly assume were duly observed, since they were never omitted; but upon the whole we are inclined to think that our eight columns of newspaper type give a picture that compares not altogether unfavorably with that presented by the ten lines that have come down to us in the contemporary narrative.

Later in the history of the festival it assumed in some respects, and in certain localities more than in others, a decidedly austere character; but there is no disputing the fact that the athletic middle class, horse-play loving Englishmen of Plymouth Colony had their fun, and plenty of it, as soon as they could be reasonably sure of enough to eat during the approaching winter and of houses which were proof at once against the weather and against the red-man's arrows.

The Massachusetts Bay Colony, as distinguished from that of Plymouth, had its own days of fasting and of thanksgiving as occasion required—July 8, 1630, for the safe arrival of ships; in the February following for the arrival of the provision ship *Ambrose*. These Thanksgivings were ordered for "all the plantations"—that is, for the little hamlets that were springing up around

Boston as a center. In 1632, a day of "publique Thanksgiving throughout the seuall plantacons" was appointed by the court in recognition of the " m'cy of God vouchsafed to the churches of God in Germany and the Pallatinate." And so the record goes on indicating Thanksgivings of various kinds and for divers purposes ordered by the local authorities in the different localities. The General Court of Massachusetts Bay appointed a day of Thanksgiving for a bountiful harvest on October, 16, 1633, and this is the earliest official record of the " establishment " that was destined to follow. Until 1646, however, we may assume that the harvests were so abundant that the people forgot to be thankful, but in that year, and in 1654 *et seq.*, the custom was somewhat irregularly observed. This continued until 1680, when the form of recommendation indicates that the autumnal Thanksgiving had gained recognition as an *annual* festival. That it to some extent supplanted the English Christmas is probably true, for whatever savored of Rome, or even of Episcopacy, was held in disfavor in New England until a comparatively recent date.

During the Revolution Thanksgiving became national, the Congress annually recommending a day to be set apart for this purpose, but after the general Thanksgiving for Peace in 1784, the custom was omitted until the adoption of the Federal Constitution in 1789, when Washington, at the suggestion of Congress, appointed Thursday the 26th day of November for national observance. This was given at New York, October 3, and although the proclamation was distinctly for political, rather than for agricultural blessings, it was fixed for the orthodox last Thursday in November, and may be taken as the pioneer of Presidential Thanksgiving proclamations. By this time the festival had attained regular official recognition throughout New England, and the governors of the different States sent out their proclamations which were duly read in the pulpits of the respective churches, usually on the Sunday after their receipt, as well as on the appointed day. In most of the New England States the Congregational was the "established church," but other denominations fell into line without marked opposition, and in this same year (1789) the Protestant Episcopal Prayer Book recognized the authority of the civil government in the matter. As the West was very generally settled from New England, the Thanksgiving custom was perpetuated in most of the new States, but it did not obtain recognition at the South until 1858, when eight Southern governors sent forth proclamations much after the New England model, and much to the distaste of some of the more violent opponents of "Yankee ideas."

In 1862-3, President Lincoln recommended special days of thanksgiv-

ing, and since the civil war the practice has assumed the regularity of official routine, and may be regarded as a national institution.

There are many New Englanders whom fate has led away from the scenes of their youth, who wonder if Thanksgiving still retains its significance among the hills and under the bleak November skies of their native land. Does the venerable pastor unfold as of yore in his pulpit the formidable official document with the big red gubernatorial seal? Do the boys in the gallery seats still nudge one another as they think of the coming feast, of the afternoon's sports, and the evening's junketings? In vain does advanced middle age strive to account for the possibilities of youthful digestion and almost simultaneous athletic exercises. They never hurt any one, those Thanksgiving dinners. That was proverbial. Perhaps the immunity was due to the long preliminary session in church, when for once in the year the minister freed his mind on politics, and tried to say enough and say it with sufficient emphasis to last for a twelvemonth.

It is difficult to persuade one who remembers the Thanksgivings of a generation ago to believe that such still exist. Some of the conditions which render them impossible now-a-days, have been hinted at in the earlier part of this paper. Modern methods of cookery, with coal, or kerosene, or gas, or steam, cannot achieve such culinary triumphs as did the New England housewife of former days, with her wood fires and the intelligent skill that ordered her domestic establishment. And here some critic will say—assuming that the writer numbers himself among those whose memory goes back to wood fires—"Where are your recollections of the religious services, of the spirit of Thanksgiving and praise which ought to pervade our festival? The dinner and the games manifestly dominate all else in your memories of the day. How can you expect the present generation to inaugurate a new and more sedate order of things?"

Nothing can be farther from the purpose of this paper. The Feast of Tabernacles itself is described as a divinely ordained season of gladness. So was its Egyptian prototype, and so were the harvest festivals of its pagan contemporaries. Human nature is such, that when religious services are contrasted with worldly enjoyments, the latter rise to the surface like foam upon the bosom of a stream. The analogy need not be pursued, but the comparison has a significance upon which Puritan or pagan may place his own construction. Thanksgiving is with us, and is destined to remain, subject to such changes as the inexorable progress of events may necessitate.

Chas. Ledyard Norton.

A CHAPTER OF THE MEXICAN WAR

Many years have passed away since the principal events to which this chapter relates became matters of record. The witnesses to such of the facts as have found no place in formal history are either dead or almost forgotten. Even the manuscript which I am about to transcribe is yellow with age, and suggests, what the reader may, perhaps, approve—that it were well to "let the dead past bury its dead." Possibly this suggestion springs from the recollection that when these lines were first written, and submitted to criticism, the friendly critic, while recognizing their truthful accuracy, advised their suppression, as likely to provoke hostility, or possibly wound the sensibilities of friends or patrons. Yet the purpose to contribute one short chapter to the history of the past, though delayed, was not abandoned; and delay has given opportunity for revision, in the light of those events by which conflicting interests and rival policies have been finally determined. Again, while the chief personage to whom this paper refers was living, there might be apparent indelicacy in assuming to herald his claims to honor; and now that others have passed away, one should not be unmindful of the words "*de mortuis nil nisi bonum.*" But, because justice to the wronged may seem to imply the reproach of others, should justice be withheld? Under such a rule, biography would be only another name for eulogy, and history impossible. What follows may not, perhaps, require further preface or apology. Whatever of interest it may possess is due to the writer's accidental knowledge of the motives and restraints of the chief actors in the historical drama of the Mexican war. It is but a reproduction of what was fully written out some twenty years ago from the notes and memoranda of an A. D. C.

It was my fortune, in early life, to become acquainted with General Scott. In the winter of 1846–7, I joined him at Brazos Santiago, and, for a time, made one of his military family. Much of his correspondence passed under my eyes; and what I write became known to me as the copyist of his letters, and the witness of whatever else is here recorded, beyond what has before been published.

I am not professing to write the history of our war with Mexico, nor to discuss the merits of its cause; but reference to both is necessary to the induction of matters pertaining to my subject.

About the year 1820, sundry adventurers, for the most part Americans,

changed their nationality to colonize the Mexican Territory of Texas. The Mexican government had desired the settlement of Texas as a safeguard against the incursions of hostile Indians, and the possible encroachments of her more powerful neighbors. To that end she had made liberal grants of land to American colonists professing the Catholic religion, as that was the only religion of both State and people; in fact, a condition of Mexican citizenship. Yet few of the American colonists, under these grants, were even nominal Catholics, unless the occupation of lands, under the conditions imposed, be accepted as their confession of faith. Remote from the central government of the country, and alien to its traditions, there was little, besides considerations of self-interest, to bind the colony of Texas to the States of Mexico.

It is well known that from the year 1820, when she revolted against Spain, down to a very recent period, the condition of Mexico was that of chronic revolution. Extraordinary exactions by successive revolutionary leaders became necessary for their success and support, but oppressive to the people compelled to endure them. From these and kindred causes the Texan colonists were led to declare their independence; and, aided by recruits unlawfully enlisted in the United States, they were able to confirm their declaration by force of arms. How far they were justified by the oppressive wrongs of their Mexican rulers is not here discussed. I only advert to the facts of their revolution, their recognition as an independent nation by the principal maritime powers of the world, and their subsequent annexation, by formal treaty, to the United States.

Texas claimed the Rio Grande as its western boundary; while Mexico declared that her territory extended eastward to the River Nueces, and attempted to enforce her sovereignty over the vast territory between these rivers. To repel a threatened invasion of this territory, the United States had, during the winter of 1845–6, assembled a considerable body of troops at Corpus Christi on the Texan coast. Early in the following spring, this force advanced to the Brazos Santiago, and established an intrenched camp at Point Isabel. Actual war began with the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, on the 8th and 9th of May, 1846. The close of that year found the American forces, under General Taylor, in possession of the Brazos and the line of the Rio Grande to Monterey and Saltillo. But, as far as conquering a peace was concerned, the battles, won with much credit to the bravery of the General and his little army, might as well have been fought upon the islands of the sea.

The Chief of the War Department, in all but the name, the head of the administration, became restive under fruitless victories. The *éclat* of

Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, and Monterey, served to silence opposition while the shouts of victory lasted; but, barren of results, could scarce survive their echo. Something more than victories must be gained to save the party from disgrace. Their ablest statesman was alive to this necessity, and his measures proved his shrewdness equal to its exigence. How they were taken, is what we have to tell.

Some years after the Mexican war ended, and its recriminations had become dead issues—long after the conquered peace was found to consist of California, New Mexico, and Democratic succession in the Presidency—I chanced to meet this astute statesman, in Florida, under circumstances of unrestraint. Knowing my quondam relations to General Scott, he seemed more than willing to discuss the recent war and its events. Since then, I have sometimes witnessed what soldiers call making history; but how the history-makers were managed from behind the scenes I might sometimes guess, but never had been told. After the lapse of years I will not pretend to recall precise words and phrases, though they seem stereotyped in memory; but my memoranda are so complete that I hazard no claim to accuracy in their reproduction. What may have been the motive for the revelation, beyond the pleasure which old soldiers take "to fight their battles o'er again," I now, as then, but guess.

"Scott," said he, "thought I opposed his going to command the army in Mexico; but, in fact, I sent him there. It required some management; but I was satisfied that while General Taylor was brave enough, and had been successful in fighting the Mexicans, he was not equal to directing the more extended operations which the war demanded. I told the President that some one of more ability must be sent to conduct the war in Mexico, or his administration would be disgraced. In short, that Scott must take command of the army in the field. The President opposed me: 'it would never do; it would end in making him President!' I replied that failure in prosecuting the war would ruin the administration and the party; for the country would be sure to ascribe our discomfiture to jealously of the General-in-Chief. If anything could make him President, that would unquestionably do it. 'But then, Benton would disapprove; and if he opposed us in the Senate we were almost powerless! No, it would never do.' After much discussion, the President yielded—but very reluctantly—and subject to the assent of Colonel Benton. On suggesting the matter to Benton, it was again met by the same objection—'it would destroy the party, and raise Scott to the Presidency.' 'Well,' said I, 'we have no other resource. We cannot set him aside for a younger man. Public opinion would condemn the injustice. But I think we need not have much

fear of the result which you apprehend. Let him go to Mexico and get affairs in train, and before the war is ended we can easily take the wind out of his sails—he is sure to give us the opportunity. We might send out a lieutenant-general to supersede him. *You* are a military man—how would you like to go yourself?' 'Oh,' he had 'no ambition in that direction.' But the bait was taken."

As the Secretary paused, I ventured to ask if he had not intended to make Colonel Benton a lieutenant-general.

To this he answered, "No!"

"But," I rejoined, "a bill to create the grade of lieutenant-general was introduced in Congress, and, as was supposed, with the purpose of appointing Colonel Benton."

"Oh, yes," said he, "we had to introduce the bill—but I took good care that it should never get through Congress!" How far this care would have been effective, unaided by the earnest protest of others, it is now impossible to know. The essential change in the provisions of the bill, before its passage, enabled the Administration to offer Colonel Benton only the rank of major-general, which would have placed him in subordination to General Scott. It was therefore declined, and the demolition of the political aspirations of the Commanding General was left to the chapter of subsequent events.

Between Scott and Benton, though of opposite parties, the political manager could find little ground of choice. Both, as partisans and politicians, were alike impracticable. In fact, the passage of the bill as first proposed would have been almost as great an embarrassment as the war itself. But the Secretary was an expert in the game of politics. He neither exaggerated nor ignored the powers of other men; but, knowing how to utilize them, he made their force his own. It was a happy conception to gain credit with the people, by increasing their territory—extending the area of freedom—and redressing the national wrongs, while getting rid of troublesome aspirants to popular favor. So Colonel Benton strengthened the administration in the Senate, awaiting what never came; and General Scott was ordered to assume command of the army in Mexico, to "*Conquer a peace.*"

The Commanding General reached the Brazos about the 1st of January, and awaited the arrival of troops and transports, ordnance and other material of war, which came so tardily as to provoke his impatience and distrust. He had started for the seat of war, in full assurance of prompt and vigorous support, only to find his measures thwarted by disappointments and delay. To those cognizant of the correspondence between the General and the War

Department, the lack of mutual confidence became but too apparent. While one party chafed under imposed restraints, the other was worried by conflicting fears. Protracted and unsuccessful war would entail disgrace, while rapid and brilliant conquests might dangerously exalt their author in popular esteem. Hence, while censuring the inaction of generals in the field, *Festina lente* seemed to be the chosen motto of the War Department. The government at Washington, as well as some of the military commanders in the field, seemed to regard the war as waged in the interests of the reigning party. In war, justified by the pretense of vindicating the national honor and redressing public wrongs, the South might think to gain a wider field for negro slavery. Adventurers, both North and South—all to whom any change was gain—were fain to believe that through California and New Mexico lay that easy road to fortune which is ever the dream of indolence and unthrift. Then, war once declared, to fight the enemy was patriotism; and they who made the war must needs be patriots! The charms of conquest would strengthen their hold of power. To gain it, and ignore the conqueror, was, then, the problem to be solved. It was a game of War and Politics, in which the stakes were patronage and the Presidency. To this extent all parties saw alike; but where the game ended—when the stakes were won—was quite another question, which the able manager at Washington proposed and answered before a move was made.

The right or wrong of playing with the selfish aspirations of political friend or foe, to attain a necessary or rightful end, I leave for others to decide. That the able statesman believed the war was just—demanded by the bad faith and aggressive acts of Mexico—is hardly to be doubted. That finding himself embarrassed, in the administration of the War Department, by the jealousies of political opponents and the rivalries of friends, he gave opportunity to accusations of bad faith, is well known; but it always seemed that, while loyal to his political party, he foresaw, rather than devised, the means of thwarting the ulterior designs of both. Still, there was abundant evidence that the administration intended, from the commencement of the campaign, that General Scott should not bring the war to a close. Some persons in the confidence of the President and the War Department were under the impression that the better organization of the army in the field, and the capture of Vera Cruz, would terminate the service of the Commanding General in Mexico. The extraordinary delay of transports for troops, and of vessels bringing surf-boats for landing them, and of other vessels bringing the necessary material for the reduction of Vera Cruz, threatened, indeed, to make the capture of that city and its fortress the end of the campaign. Though troops destined for the expedition were assembled

at the Brazos and Tampico by the last of January, it was not until the 15th of February that the General was enabled to set sail. Touching at Tampico, he reviewed the command of General Twiggs, and prepared a General Order, announcing the organization of his army, and directed to the preservation of its *morale* while in the enemy's country. Re-embarking on the steamship *Massachusetts*, he arrived at the anchorage off the island of Lobos, some sixty miles south of Tampico, on the 20th. General Worth's division sailed from Brazos on the 25th, and that of General Twiggs, from Tampico, on the 28th of February. On the 2d of March, General Worth, and most of the fleet of transports, having arrived at the rendezvous off the island of Lobos, the General Order prepared at Tampico was published to the army, and the whole fleet got under way for the anchorage off Point Anton Lizardo—thirteen miles south of Vera Cruz. On the 7th, the General, accompanied by the several division and brigade commanders, the principal officers of the staff, engineers, ordnance and artillery, Commodore Connor and other officers of the naval squadron, went on board the captured steamer *Petrita*, for the ostensible purpose of reconnoitering the coast north and south of Vera Cruz. The real purpose was to leave the Mexicans in doubt as to the place of landing, which the General had already determined should be made at a point opposite the island of Sacrificios, only three or four miles south of the city. This reconnaissance at one time threatened to prove disastrous. The course of the steamer lay inside of a line of coral reefs—Blanquillas—which brought her within range of the heavy guns of the castle of San Juan de Ulloa. As the boats and tenders of the naval squadron had repeatedly made the passage unmolested by the guns of San Juan, the naval commander supposed it beyond their reach. In this he was mistaken; and, for a few minutes, the commanders of both army and navy, and nearly the whole staff of the army, became a target to the heavy batteries of the castle. Some of their shot passed astern, some athwart the bow of our little steamer, and one or two just cleared the top of her wheel-house. Happily, we were just beyond reach of the Mexican guns, or the army might have been left without general or staff officers, and the naval squadron without a commodore or captain. The effect of such a disaster can hardly be estimated. To risk it was an act of gross rashness, because it was not necessary for attaining the end proposed by the reconnaissance. One fair hit, amidships of the *Petrita*, and the history of our great Civil War would not contain the names of Robert E. Lee, Joseph E. Johnston, Beauregard, Meade, and others of more or less note who served in the War of the Rebellion.

On the 9th of March, Worth's command was transferred to navy ves-

sels and steamers, and the British, French, and Spanish vessels of war vacated the anchorage between the island of Sacrificios and the main shore. The whole fleet—war vessels and transports—then moved to the anchorage, and the landing was effected without serious opposition. By the 12th, the troops were in position, and the engineers were busily engaged in examination of the environs of the city, and establishing batteries. The work was delayed by the occurrence of a violent gale—a "norther"—which not only prevented the landing of heavy ordnance, but beached and wrecked several of the transports which were anchored near the shore.

On the 22d, seven of the ten-inch mortars being in position, the surrender of the place was formally demanded. Captain Joseph E. Johnston, of the Topographical Engineers, was bearer of the summons. Preceded by a trumpeter displaying a white flag, and accompanied by an interpreter, the gallant soldier advanced toward the walls and sounded "the Parley." Our camp was behind the ridge of very high sand-hills south-west of the town, and curiosity, heightened by what seemed so like the *gesta* of the knights of old, led many of our comrades to climb to the summit of the hill to witness as much as possible of the novel spectacle of summoning the surrender of a walled city. The General could not restrain his impatience enough to await the return of his herald; but, accompanied by his aids, rode along the beach to intercept his return. Captain Johnston was told that the answer which he brought to the "American Commander," was "*the only one consistent with the honor of the garrison.*"

The General did not expect the place to surrender at his demand, but the prompt refusal, emphasized by a shot from the town, by way of defiance, seemed to arouse all the combativeness of his nature. Turning to one of his aids, he said: "Ride to the batteries as fast as possible, and tell them to commence firing! If they don't open within five minutes, I shall feel disgraced!" And so the ball was opened.

To the greater number of those engaged all this was like the realization of a dream. Vera Cruz was, perhaps, the only walled city they had ever seen. The curling smoke, the quick flash and booming sound from the cannon, the shriek of shot and shells, had all the interest of novelty, though it was hard to realize that what was passing was different from the artillery and mortar practice so often witnessed on the banks of the Hudson; and the casualties were so few that they seemed more like the results of accident than of hostility. On the fifth day of the bombardment a memorial was received from the English, French, Spanish, and Prussian Consuls, asking a partial truce to enable them and the women and children of Vera

Cruz to retire from the city. Due notice of the investment, and of the impending bombardment, had been given, and the blockade had been left open to consuls and other neutrals, to whom safe-conducts were offered up to the 22d of the month. It was manifest that the consuls and neutrals, advised of the slender means at hand for prosecuting the siege, had chosen to remain and give the Mexicans the moral support of their presence in the beleaguered city. But the experience of a few days awakened "sentiments of humanity" that before were dormant. Now, "they supposed that General Scott did not wish to make war upon neutrals, or on women and children!" "By no means!" the General replied; "but all that was duly considered. Opportunity and safeguards to neutrals leaving the city were tendered. You chose to remain. You now want to go out, to enable our enemies to prolong a hopeless defense, and augment our casualties. We, too, have women and children who, by the prolonged resistance which your presence has encouraged, are liable to be made widows and orphans. You shall remain where you are, and I will receive no proposals from the town unless made with a view to its immediate surrender."

Meantime, General Landero had succeeded General Morales in the command of Vera Cruz. On the morning of the 26th the new commander made proposals for its surrender. Generals Worth and Pillow, Colonel Totten, the Chief of Engineers, and, later, one of the navy captains were appointed commissioners, on the part of General Scott, to discuss and draw up the conditions of capitulation. They met the Mexican commissioners near an old limekiln somewhere between our lines and the town. The conference lasted until nightfall, when the commissioners returned, and, led by General Worth, came to head-quarters to make their report. Nothing had been concluded. "Well, General," said Worth, "they are only trying to gain time—they don't mean to surrender; they evidently expect forces from the interior to come to their aid and compel us to raise the siege, or else to keep us dilly-dallying until the yellow fever does it for them. You will have to assault the town, and I am ready to do it with my division," "But," replied the Commanding General, "what did they say? Did they make no proposition?" "Oh," said Worth, "they had drawn up some propositions which I declined to receive. I told them it was quite useless to propose terms—they would not be entertained. I did, however, consent to receive, informally, the proposals which they desired to lay before you. It is understood that if nothing is received from you in the mean time, the fire will be renewed at six o'clock to-morrow morning. Here is the paper; but you will find it only a ruse to gain time."

"Well, gentlemen," said General Scott, "we can do no more to-night; we must have sleep. Good-night!" And the commissioners retired.

I had been directed to remain "within hearing distance," when the return of the commissioners was announced, and so was seated near the General's tent as Worth came out. I rose as he approached, when, stopping for a moment, he said: "Well, Mr.——, it is just as I expected; we have the game in our hands, but I am afraid it will end in *a muss*. The Mexicans are only trying to gain time; they do not mean to surrender. We ought to assault the place to-morrow morning. I am ready to make the assault with my own division, as I have just told General Scott, but I am afraid it will be deferred until it is too late. I wash my hands of it." And so he passed on. He was hardly out of hearing when the General's head appeared at the opening of his tent. "Is General Worth gone? Call Mr. ——, and ——; I want you all." *All* included the acting adjutant-general, Henry L. Scott, three aids-de-camp, and the Spanish secretary, Mr. Cox. The General handed the rejected proposals to Mr. Cox, saying: "Now let us hear the English of what these Mexican generals have to say." Their proposals were expressed under six heads, the substance of which was that the City of Vera Cruz, its two forts of Santiago and Concepcion, and the Castle or Fortress of San Juan de Ulloa should be evacuated by the Mexican army. That they should be allowed to march out with drums beating and colors flying, salute their flag, and retire by the road to Jalapa. That protection should be given to the persons and property of private citizens and foreign neutrals, and that churches, religious houses, and the exercises of religion, should be protected against insult or injury.

On hearing this paper read, the General was both surprised and annoyed. He at once declared it quite evident that the Mexicans were only trying to save appearances while submitting to the inevitable. "The commissioners," he added, "ought to have so understood it. And now I am compelled to override their action, or be answerable for the lives of two or three thousand men, which would inevitably be sacrificed in an assault of the town. How could they help seeing that these Mexican generals were only seeking an excuse for doing to-day what they knew they must do to-morrow?" He then dictated a brief reply to the propositions so informally received. The terms now offered differed from those of his original demand only in accepting the surrender of the Castle of San Juan de Ulloa with that of the city and its forts. The garrisons were permitted to march out and stack their arms and colors. They were then formally surrendered as prisoners of war and paroled. As to other matters embraced in the six propositions, what was asked would have been

accorded without stipulation. The form of convention was granted to the pride of the garrison, while, virtually, it was a surrender "*at discretion.*"

The articles of capitulation were signed and exchanged on the evening of the 27th.

Upwards of four thousand prisoners, six thousand stand of arms, eight hundred pieces of artillery, and possession of the only valuable port on the Gulf coast of Mexico, with its great Fortress of San Juan de Ulloa—the key to the country and its capital—were the first-fruits of the capture of "Vera Cruz the Heroic." Considering the duration of the bombardment, and the enormous expenditure of shot and shells by both besiegers and besieged, the actual loss of life was almost inconsiderable.

Naturally there were more casualties in the town, upon which the fire of our batteries converged, and where every bursting shell did the work of destruction—sometimes of death—than in the camps and batteries of the besiegers.

On the morning of the 29th our army entered the city. Its march was along the beach, in full view of the British, French, and Spanish war vessels, as well as the ships of the American squadron, whose guns thundered forth a grand salute. As the General came abreast the American flag-ship, the yards were manned, and cheer after cheer was given in his honor.

Propriety demanded that no demonstrations of sympathy or rejoicing should be made by the neutral vessels. But as we came opposite to the British flag-ship, the sailors sprang to the hammock-nettings and lower rigging, and, to the apparent annoyance of their officers, gave three rousing hurrahs, in proof that "blood is thicker than water," and will sometimes overpower the proprieties.

Only a part of the army actually entered the town. The General was met at the gate through which the entry was made by the Alcalde, who went through the form of presenting the keys of the city, and Vera Cruz was ours. It had seemed almost incredible that so strong a place had so soon yielded to the attack of our little army of about ten thousand effective men. But as we entered on the side most exposed to the fire of our batteries, all wonder ceased. What had been dwellings and shops of substantial masonry were now mere heaps of rubbish, with here and there some fragment of wall rising above them to mark where a house had stood before the destruction came. But the Castle or Fortress of San Juan presented quite another appearance: it was almost uninjured, and stood as a witness to the sound judgment which directed the mode of attack. The fortress had once been captured by a French fleet, whose

success was due, in part, to the accidental explosion of a magazine, and in part to the apathy or disaffection of the garrison. Its gray walls showed here and there a slight dent or abrasion, but neither the French nor the American guns had seriously injured them. But when the city with its two forts, Santiago and Concepcion, had succumbed, the ultimate reduction of the castle was a certainty, and further resistance, without hope of succor, was only to assure the destruc ion of the city and its defenses. General Scott was so confident of this, that, wishing to spare the town, his first demand was limited to its surrender; and was coupled with a promise not to construct new batteries within its limits, nor to employ those already existing in the reduction of the castle. But the Mexican general understood the situation in this regard; and when the surrender of the town became a necessity, gave up the fortress as untenable.

There was some apprehension of a display of irreverence or rudeness in churches, or elsewhere, to religious monuments or symbols, either through the prejudices or the ignorance of some of our soldiers. One of our Catholic officers took an opportunity to give an intimation of this to the General, adding the remark that such conduct on our part could not fail to provoke the resentment of every Mexican: even of those most indifferent to the precepts of their religion. "Well thought of," said the General; "I put all the churches and convents under your charge. You may post sentinels over every one of them, and I will hold you responsible for their protection from insult and injury." No wanton sacrilege was committed by our soldiery in Vera Cruz.

A few days after the capitulation a small vessel, partly laden with ice, arrived at the port. Possibly this was suggestive, certainly it was in this connection, in point of time, that the General invited the division and brigade commanders, and the chiefs of staff and staff corps, to what Mr. Oldbuck would have called a *symposion* at head-quarters. Being the only "junior officer" present, I had opportunity to practice the part of respectful listener. The conversation naturally turned from recent incidents to past experiences. Several of the officers present had been companions in arms in what was yet commonly called "the last war," in 1812–14.

By direct questions, as well as casual references to its principal events, the General was led to describe the battles of Queenstown Heights and Chippewa; and to rehearse several interesting occurrences of the campaign in Canada. There was no boasting in the language or manner of description, nor a display of that more offensive form of pride which apes humility. A general could not well describe events conceived and executed by himself, or under his immediate direction, as if he had little or no part

in them. All present knew that he had been solicited to describe certain incidents of what had long been part of history; yet I well remember the glances exchanged between three or four of the higher officers present, that told their object in leading the conversation to the Canadian frontier. It seemed to me that I could already hear their derisive laugh, and the accusations of egotism and vanity, in return for an unaffected, truthful narration, frankly given at their own request. When the company had left, the General began his habitual forward-and-back walk across the room. Possibly he had noticed some indications of nervousness on my part, and it annoyed him. However this may have been, he suddenly halted in his walk, and, turning to me, said, "Young gentleman! I hope, I sincerely hope, that you do not think me too great a fool to know that I sometimes say silly things." It was an awkward moment for me, but I replied by saying: "General, you have said nothing silly; nothing that could have been left unsaid without ungraciousness or affectation." "What is the matter, then?—what annoys you?" "I was annoyed," I answered, "because I knew that the subject of your discourse was introduced for a purpose by those who are not your friends." "Stop, sir!" said the General, "you shall not make use of your position to prejudice me against others!" "I certainly do not wish to," I answered; "but I remember to have heard you say that an aid-de-camp ought to be eyes and ears, as well as mouthpiece, to his general, and I have told you the truth." But he was slow to believe that pretended friends were false, until the mask was thrown aside and the false friends became the open enemy. In this case the revelation was not long deferred.

The vexatious delays complained of at Brazos were now re-enacted at Vera Cruz. Every effort was made to obtain draught animals for the army, for the *Vomito* was not likely to await our departure. Animals belonging to sutlers and private parties were seized through "military necessity," until the indispensable amount of transportation was secured. Then the order of march in the direction of the capital was issued, giving the advance to the division of General Twiggs. A few hours after the publication of the order, General Worth was announced at head-quarters. He entered with an air of constraint that told the nature of his errand before a word was uttered. Declining the invitation to be seated, he said: "I have come, General, to ask a question, if you will give me permission." Assent being given, he continued: "It is to ask why I am to be disgraced." In a tone of quiet deliberation and self-control, Scott replied: "I will not affect ignorance of your meaning. You refer to the order for the advance. But, General Worth, I have been too long your friend to be suspected of a

desire to do you an injustice! Nor will I be unjust to others. It would be unjust to the rest of this army to allow your command always to have the advance. Others should have it in turn; and I will not do an injustice to please my best friend." Worth could make no reply, but said that he, and his officers as well, felt that they had been degraded. To this General Scott answered: "But you have no right to hold such feelings. You and your officers know, or ought to know, that what you claim, almost as a right, would be a gross injustice to the rest of this army." Silenced, but dissatisfied, Worth withdrew, vexed that he could not always have the post of honor, and angry at knowing himself to be wholly in the wrong. He never forgave it. It is easier for some natures to forgive a wrong received than the occasion of their own wrong-doing. How far other influences than selfish greed of military distinction were then at work in the mind of Worth I do not know; but it is certain that, consciously or unconsciously, he thenceforth became a factor in carrying out the programme of the Administration (?). The time had come for beginning the work of vanquishing the victor, and one leader of the army of conquest was in position. A second was always ready—a kind of free-lance in the service of General Pillow, and a favorite and *protégé* of President Polk—it was Pillow himself.

Perhaps no calling or profession affords a better field for the study of human nature, in its selfish aspect, than that of arms. The politician, whether he wears the toga or the sword, may afford, like Cæsar, to refuse a regal crown, that seeming modesty may insure its final possession. But the true soldier glories in his greed for honors. It arouses his mental powers and gives strength to his arm. Without it he is too tame for the eager strife of war. The world has had but one Washington—one great soldier-patriot—and of him a poet has dared to write:

> "Nature designed thee for a hero's mold,
> But ere she cast thee, let the stuff grow cold."

We applaud the soldier who perils his life for honor; but it must be honor allied to loyalty and right: a stern sense of honor must go with him to the battle, or he is only a selfish trickster or hired assassin.

I remember meeting General Pillow, after some question relating to rank or precedence had been decided in his favor by the Commander-in-Chief, when the *protégé* of President Polk seemed quite overcome with admiration of General Scott. Whether it was displayed for transmission I cannot say, but I remember the effusion with which he said. "I will be his friend as long as I live." Only a few months later it became certain that he was so thoroughly hostile, as well as false, to his commander, that

nothing but his utter insignificance could relieve the weight of infamy due to his intrigues and pretensions. He, too, could correspond with the government, quite unofficially, without the *visé* of the Commanding General, and thus assist in "taking the wind out of his sails."

I do not hesitate to name these two generals, because their combined enmity became matter of record; and their determined and bitter hostility was only commensurate with the professions of grateful friendship they so loudly proclaimed, until hostility promised larger rewards. Both knew that the government was not politically friendly to General Scott, and they trusted to its protecting ægis when selfish interests might conflict with duty.

In a large army small cabals of dissatisfied grumblers, are sure to exist, and may have little weight; but in small commands, where the chiefs are few in number and have almost hourly communication with each other, such cliques assume proportions almost of mutiny. And when both the head of the state and his minister, eager to find some pretext to rob a commander of his laurels, lend willing ears to the clamors of discontented selfishness, the temporary success of intrigues and slanders is assured.

Such was the condition of the Commanding General, in reference to his subordinate commanders on the one hand and to the War Department on the other, when the army began its march from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico. It is not strange that, irritated by repeated failures of promised support from home, harassed by the intrigues of his lieutenants and their satellites, and soured by the ingratitude of those who owed so much—even their power to injure him—to his friendship, his naturally quick temper was not always under wise control. From these various sources came the elements of that opportunity which the Secretary had foreseen—opportunity not to strip him of the laurels so nobly earned, but to entwine the wreath with loathsome nettles.

The histories of all countries and of every age give examples of like rewards for great and successful service. Columbus earned poverty and imprisonment by the discovery of the New World. Warren Hastings was subjected to years of trial, loaded with insult, and robbed of wealth, for giving an empire to the British Crown. And a grateful country gave a Court of Inquiry in lieu of a triumph to the Conqueror of Mexico. And so the world witnessed one more of those examples of ingratitude which almost make one doubt if men should choose their rulers. A life devoted to a nation's service, great deeds, so tempered by discretion that one may well question whether the victories of the battle-field were equal in merit to the less glittering conquests of peace, unsullied fame—all, weighed in the

balance of popular esteem against clownish jests and tricks of party management, were held as "trifles light as air." In spite of long and brilliant service which never met defeat; in spite of his great abilities in the conduct of great affairs, it became the cue of his enemies and the fashion with the mob to see in his noblest actions the proofs of vanity and self-conceit. I entered his military family with some apprehensions of tyrannous control and a demand for profound respect for something not worthy of it. For the few months that I remained there his convenience required that I should eat at his table and sleep within sound of his voice. I generally wrote at the same table, and literally lived with him for at least twenty of the twenty-four hours of every day. To say that I saw no weakness, no evidence of vanity or self-conceit, would be to say that he was not human, or that I was more stupid than I am willing to admit. But I did see a man, not free from defects of temper, but trying to be just—a man absolutely intolerant of wrong where the wrong was clearly seen—as free from personal vanity as any man of the world I have ever met, but so singularly frank and confiding to those whom he trusted that the absence of that reticence of suspicion—which we so generally see—gave occasion to charges of vanity and conceit. Again, he had certain peculiarities of language and manner which served as butts to the shafts of ill-natured ridicule of which his enemies were unsparing. Even when bent with age, and yielding to the sure approach of death, he indicated what he conceived to be the only mode of suppressing the great rebellion, his words were held up to derision as the senseless drivel of senility. Yet the great General who so worthily fills his place did, after all, but crush the monster born of treason and fanaticism in the folds of that "Anaconda," whose name was made in derision a synonym for the folly of imbecile old age. It was eminently proper that the conceptions of Scott, *in his dotage*, should be approved and executed by the "*insanity*" of Sherman.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1861–1862 IN KENTUCKY

UNFOLDED THROUGH THE CORRESPONDENCE OF ITS LEADERS

THIRD PAPER

Grant to Halleck, February 3: "Will be off up the Tennessee at three o'clock. Command, twenty-three regiments." Buell to Thomas, February 2 (desirous to make the most out of Halleck's move), asks: "What now is the condition of the roads? How soon could you march, and how long do you suppose it would take you to reach Knoxville? . . . Please answer at once." Buell to Halleck, same day: "The destruction of the bridges on the Tennessee and Cumberland by gunboats, I believe to be feasible. . . . This accomplished, the taking and holding of Forts Henry and Dover (Donelson) would be comparatively easy. Without that I should fear the force you name could not hold both points. *It will not do to be driven away.* . . . In fact, 10,000 men, under Buckner and Floyd, left Bowling Green on the 22d, to go it was said to Paris, though they stopped at Russelville. That may have been because your force went back. I do not hear of the Virginia reinforcements having started yet.* . . ." February 4, Buell orders McCook to "try and ascertain whether the Confederates have made any preparation for defense this side of Bowling Green, by throwing up works or felling trees. . . ."

Halleck to McClellan, February 5: ". . . *Bombardment of Fort Henry now going on.* Our troops have landed three miles below." Foote to Halleck: "I have the honor to report that on the *6th inst.*, at 12.30 o'clock P.M., I made an attack on Fort Henry on the Tennessee River. . . . The firing continued . . . until the rebel flag was hauled down after a severe and closely contested action of one hour and fifteen minutes. . . ."

Grant to Halleck, February 6, "Fort Henry is ours. The gunboats silenced the batteries before the investment was completed. I think the garrison must have commenced the retreat last night.† . . . I shall take and destroy Fort Donelson on the 8th, and return to Fort Henry." Grant was mistaken; for the infantry did not begin the retreat on Fort Donelson, till just before the flag was hauled down; and, thanks to the demonstration of

* These were nevertheless the reinforcements on which Halleck said he had based his movement.

† See Tilghman's report on the surrender of Fort Henry. Vol. vii., Record, etc.

Halleck, ordered January 6, Fort Donelson was not taken on the 8th, and so far as human judgment can decide would not have been taken on the 16th but for mental vagaries on the part of the Confederate leaders which may be classed as *Providential.* February 1, Halleck scorns co-operation after Buell had informed him that it would take him several days of preparation before he could seriously engage the enemy, and on the 5th, the day before Fort Henry was attacked, he telegraphs Buell, "Our advancing column is moving up the Tennessee—twenty-three regiments. More will soon follow. Can't you make a diversion in our favor by threatening Bowling Green?" To which Buell responded on the same day: "My position does not admit of diversion. My moves must be real ones, and I shall move at once, unless I am restrained by orders concerning other plans. Progress must be slow for me. Must repair the railroad as we advance. It must probably be twelve days before we can be in front of Bowling Green." Let us suppose now that Halleck had not made the demonstration ordered on the 6th of January, and that when he had made up his mind to make the serious movement, say on the 24th of January, the day on which he called on C. F. Smith for a report on the country, condition of the roads, etc., between the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers, he had frankly informed the General-in-chief of his ability to move, Buell on February 7 would have had his twelve days, and it would follow that the 8,000 men ordered from Bowling Green to Clarksville would still be at Bowling Green, and that Buell would have been in front of that place and on its flanks, and that the forts on the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers would have easily been carried, and the force at Bowling Green captured or routed. Halleck to McClellan, February 5: "It is reported that 10,000 men have left Bowling Green by railroad to reinforce Fort Henry.* Can't you send me some infantry regiments from Ohio? Answer." We have seen when and why 8,000 men left Bowling Green for Clarksville. McClellan to Buell, February 5, 7 P.M.: "Halleck telegraphs that report says 10,000 men left Bowling Green by railroad to reinforce Fort Henry, and asks for regiments from Ohio. If report true, can you not assist by a demonstration in direction of Bowling Green? Communicate with Halleck and assist him if possible. Please reply." McClellan to Halleck, February 5, 7 P.M.: "Have telegraphed Buell to communicate with you, and suggested demonstration on Bowling Green. . . . Cannot well spare more" (troops) "thence from Buell unless it be absolutely necessary. Please communicate fully with Buell and with me." Buell to McClellan, February 5, 11 P.M.: "I am communicating with him (Halleck). Bowling Green is secure from any

* See Buell's telegram of the 3d, and see how it has grown in the transmission.

immediate apprehension of attack by being strongly fortified behind a river, by obstructions on the roads for nearly the whole distance between us (40 miles) and by the condition of the roads themselves. Can only be threatened with heavy artillery. No demonstration, therefore, is practicable. I will send him a brigade." Buell to Halleck, February 5: "I will reinforce your column by a brigade from Green River, if you absolutely require it; otherwise, I have use for it. Do I understand you are moving up the Tennessee River only? *You must not fail.*" Buell to McClellan, February 5: "The delay caused by the want of transportation, and when that shall be remedied, the insuperable obstacles to the advance of a *suitable* column into east Tennessee in the present condition of the roads, impel me to proceed *at once against Bowling Green,* leaving the other to be resumed when it is possible. I am unwilling to swerve from the execution of your plan without advising you of the meaning of it and knowing that you will acquiesce in the necessity for it. *Since I commenced this dispatch,* General Halleck telegraphs me: 'Our advance column is moving upon the enemy. Can't you make a diversion in our favor by threatening Bowling Green?' My position does not admit of diversion; my moves must be in earnest and I propose to move at once. Our progress will not be rapid, for the railroad has to be repaired as we go, but we will try to make it sure. *I hope General Halleck has weighed his work well.*" General Halleck had weighed his work well. He knew that when his movement was begun, the whole power of the government must be thrown in to prevent it from being a failure, and that even Buell, treated with contumely as he had been, could not in very selfishness be a laggard in his aid. Buell's letters show that swallowing his just resentment, he came forward, like a true soldier, and still higher like a man who put the "cause" foremost, to do his best in Halleck's aid! Buell to Halleck, February 5: "My plan of operations was sketched in the letter I wrote you. You have, I learn from your letter and dispatches, entered upon what would have concerned it on *your side,* and that is a very important part of it. I regret that we could not have consulted upon it earlier, because my work must first be slow. Besides, since I wrote you those plans have been changed, or at least suspended in consequence of the diversion of a large part of my efficient force for other objects, which the General-in-chief urged as of primary importance, namely, our advance into east Tennessee. I have, however, in consequence of the want of transportation, and more than all, the impassable condition of the roads, urged him to allow me to resume my original plan, and if I am not restricted shall enter upon its execution at once. My troops have, how-

ever, been thrown somewhat out of position, and it will take some days to get them into place. My progress too, must be slow, for we are dependent upon the railroad for supplies, and that we must repair as we go, the enemy having very much damaged it between Green River and Bowling Green, forty miles. That will take ten or twelve days, . . . and the condition of roads will, I fear, effectually bar any plan of attack which will depend on celerity of movement. I think it is quite plain that the center of the enemy's line—that which you are now moving against—is the decisive point of his whole front, as it is also the most vulnerable. If it is held, or even the bridges on the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers destroyed, and your force maintains itself near those points, Bowling Green will speedily fall, and Columbus will soon follow. The work which you have undertaken is therefore of the very highest importance, without reference to the injurious effects of a failure. *There is not in the whole field of operations a point at which every man you can raise can be employed with more effect—or with the prospect of as important result.*"

McClellan, who did not seem to duly estimate the way in which his orders and wishes had been disregarded, and Buell's plans, which he had formally adopted, broken up by Halleck, wrote to Halleck, February 6: "You may rely on it that you have the confidence of all here: I will not repeat to you that you have mine. The roads being impassable between Buell and his opponents, it now becomes a question whether we cannot throw all our available force by the two rivers upon Nashville. Can we move them now in that manner? I will try to-night to write you my views more fully." McClellan had forgotten that many letters expressing his views had been utterly disregarded, but his memory might have reached back to his letter of January 29. Halleck to McClellan, February 6, 6.30 P.M.: "Fort Henry is largely reinforced, both from Bowling Green and Columbus. They intend to make a stand there.* Unless I get more forces I may fail to take it; but the attack must help General Buell to move forward. . . . *I was not ready to move, but deemed best to anticipate the arrival of Beauregard's forces.*" † Here the major-general commanding the department of Missouri gravely tells the General-in-chief, that though not ready to move, he has, without consultation with the General-in-chief,‡ begun a campaign of great importance, which he knew *should* involve concert of action by Buell, and solely on the flimsy story of a deserter. This

* Halleck had made a movement against interior lines.

† See telegram of McClellan to Halleck and Buell, dated January 29, 1862.

‡ The movement, as it was ordered, was in opposition to the expressed plans of the President and General-in-chief.

story had moreover come from army headquarters, and if the General-in-chief had attached any importance to it, it would have been accompanied by some order or advice. In Halleck's letter of instructions to Grant of January 30, he said: "A telegram from Washington states that Beauregard *left Manassas four days ago* with fifteen regiments for the line of Columbus and Bowling Green," a very decided change from the comparatively unimportant story of the deserter. McClellan to Buell, February 6: "Halleck telegraphs that Fort Henry is largely reinforced from Columbus and Bowling Green. If road so bad in your front had we not better throw all available force on Forts Henry and Donelson? What think you of making that the main line of operations? Answer quick." McClellan to Buell, February 6: "If it becomes necessary to detach largely from your command to support Grant, ought you not to go in person? Reply, and if yes, I will inform Halleck . . ."

If from the beginning of military movements during the rebellion, there ever was a time for an order from the General-in-chief, taking into account the utter impossibility of any movement in Buell's front, except at a snail-like pace, and the gravity of the situation as understood by McClellan and Buell, it was on that day, although now we know that at the time when the dispatches from Halleck and McClellan were written, Fort Henry with its garrison of 80 men had fallen. We know also that it was not reinforced. McClellan's idea of the true line of main operations, as given in the first of the above dispatches, was indisputable. Why had he not carried out his ideas before? Halleck to McClellan, February 6, received 10 P.M.: "If you can give me, in addition to what I have in this department, 10,000 men, I will take Fort Henry, cut the enemy's line and paralyze Columbus. Give me 25,000 men and I will *threaten* Nashville and cut off railroad communication so as to force the enemy to abandon Bowling Green without a battle." The man who had taken it upon himself to teach the President the art of war should have known that the occupation of Clarksville would have compelled the evacuation of Bowling Green and Columbus, and we must give to Halleck the credit for that much of sagacity, and charge the telegram to another account. McClellan to Halleck, February 6, 7 P.M.: "Buell telegraphs roads are impassable to Bowling Green. Has sent you a brigade. I have placed nine additional regiments *at his* disposal to send to the Tennessee River, or use himself if he can advance on Bowling Green. Buell will assist you. Is a sudden dash on Columbus practicable if Buell can send troops?"

Buell to McClellan, February 6, 12 P.M.: "The whole move is right in its strategical bearing, but commenced by Halleck without appreciation—

preparation or concert—now become of vast magnitude. I was myself thinking of a change of the line to support it when I received your dispatch. It will have to be made in the face of 50,000 if not 60,000 men, and is hazardous. I will answer definitely in the morning." The mistake of Buell's life was that, overestimating the strength of the enemy, he did not accept the idea of the General-in-chief and go with his troops to take the supreme command on the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers. Halleck to Buell, February 6, in answer to the dispatch from Buell of the 5th, before he knows of the surrender of Fort Henry: "The enemy is concentrating his forces on Fort Henry by railroad. It is said that Beauregard arrived there last night, but without his troops. The bombardment is now going on. The boats are in the Tennessee and the troops between that and the Cumberland. From what part of Green River can you advance a brigade to co-operate? If necessary *I can throw a column across the Cumberland to facilitate the movement.*"

This dispatch is very wild—it was impossible for any credible report, as to the reinforcements for Fort Henry, to reach Halleck, and if he believed the story he could hardly promise to throw a column across the Cumberland. Buell to Halleck, February 6: "I propose to send the brigade by water from the mouth of the Green River to form a junction with you"—also at 6.30 P.M., of same day: "I can send you two regiments from Indiana and six from Ohio. Telegraph the Governor of Ohio the point at which you will have his regiments. Those from Indiana I have directed to Cairo, hearing that you want them there. Please let me know what you do. . . . Do you require light batteries?" Halleck to Buell, February 6: "Send the brigade up the Cumberland, and I will have a gunboat at Smithland to protect the transports. They can land *near Dover*, and operate on either side as may be required. If we can reduce Fort Henry, the gunboats will proceed up the river to destroy all bridges. I am satisfied that the enemy intend to make a desperate stand at that place and will reinforce it from Bowling Green and Fort Columbus." Halleck here speaks of having the brigade land near Dover (Fort Donelson), and operating *on either side of the river*. Dover is several miles away from Grant's force, and the sending of an isolated brigade there would hardly be in accordance with the simplest rules of warfare, and taking into account that he has asked for aid *because* Fort Henry *has been* largely reinforced, and that he would on that account want all his forces in one body, the dispatch is incomprehensible. Halleck also, in opposition to his former dispatches, which announced that Fort Henry is largely reinforced, now says the enemy *will* reinforce it from Bowling Green and Columbus. The dispatch

is easily understood, if it is assumed that at the time when it was sent Halleck had received notice of the *fall of Fort Henry*. Unfortunately, the dispatches have not the hours of delivery upon them. The fort surrendered at 1.45 P.M. A fast steamer could have been at Paducah at 4.30 P.M., and by 5 P.M. Halleck *could* have been in possession of the information. What time Grant's dispatch of the 6th, reporting the fall of Fort Henry, was sent off, the papers do not record.

In the military history of Grant, it is stated that "Grant's advance arrived in the rear of the place about half an hour after the surrender," and further on that "Grant *at once telegraphed to* Halleck" the fall of the fort. Buell, however, does not intend to have a brigade of his "picked up" by the enemy, and telegraphs on the 6th to Halleck: "Do you say send the brigade up the Cumberland River to land near Dover? Is not the enemy in possession of the route across from Dover? Please describe Grant's position and the enemy's." Buell, to render all possible assistance, orders Thomas back with all speed from Somerset to the railroad at Lebanon, and Crittenden's division from South Carrolton to Calhoun, a point on Green River from which it could go by boat to the Cumberland or Tennessee River. On the 6th, also, Grant reports to Halleck: "Fort Henry is ours. . . . I shall take and destroy Fort Donelson on the 8th and return to Fort Henry." The idea of choosing either Fort Henry or Fort Donelson as a base is not understood and is nowhere explained by General Grant so far as I can learn. Halleck to McClellan, February 7: "Fort Henry is ours. The flag of the Union is re-established on the soil of Tennessee. It will never be removed:" McClellan's assistant adjutant-general to Halleck, February 7: "General McClellan congratulates you on the success of the expedition and *desires that Fort Henry should be held at all hazards. Will give further instructions* to-day about further movements." Halleck to McClellan, February 7: "Fort Henry will be held at all hazards. . . . It is said that the enemy is concentrating troops by railroad to recover his lost advantage." Halleck had the day before reported that "the enemy *is concentrating his forces on Fort Henry by railroad*."

In continuation of the dispatch of the 7th: "If General Buell cannot either attack or threaten Bowling Green on account of the roads, I think every man not required to defend Green River should be sent to the Tennessee River or Cumberland River. We can hold our ground and advance up these rivers. The enemy must abandon Bowling Green. If he does not he is paralyzed" (he should have said captured). "He will concentrate at Dover, Clarksville, or Paris, or fall back on Nashville."

Grant had announced his intention of taking Dover on the 8th, to which Halleck seems to have made no reply. Concentration at Paris was an absurdity, and Clarksville could not be held for more than three days after the evacuation of Bowling Green. Nashville was a place for concentration perhaps, although Johnston in his report to the Secretary of War, dated February 25, says: "The fall of Fort Donelson compelled me to withdraw the remaining forces under my command from the north bank of the Cumberland and to abandon the defense of Nashville, which but for that disaster it was my intention to protect to the utmost. Not more than 11,000 effective men were left under my command to oppose a column of Buell's of not less than 40,000 troops, moving by Bowling Green, while another superior force under Thomas outflanked me to the east, and the army from Fort Donelson, with the gunboats and transports, had it in their power to ascend the Cumberland, now swollen by recent flood, so as to intercept all communication with the South. The situation left me no alternative but to evacuate Nashville or sacrifice the army."

Continuation of dispatch from Halleck to McClellan of February 7: "In either case, Bowling Green will be of little importance. He ought to concentrate at Dover and attempt to retake Fort Henry. . . . It is the only way he can restore an equilibrium. We should be prepared for this. If you agree with me, send me everything you can spare from Buell's command, or elsewhere. . . ."* Bowling Green was impossible to hold after the victory of Thomas. It became only a question of the state of the roads, and not even that with the Cumberland River swollen to navigable proportions. The fall of Fort Henry hastened the evacuation of Bowling Green, for Johnston says in his report to the Secretary of War, February 8: "The slight resistance at Fort Henry indicates that the best open earthworks are not reliable to meet successfully a vigorous attack of iron-clad gunboats, and although now supported by a considerable force, *I think the gunboats of the enemy will probably take Fort Donelson without the necessity of employing their land force in co-operation, as seems to have been done at Fort Henry*. . . . (This opinion of Johnston's seems to account for his failure to move against Grant with all his force). . . . Should Fort Donelson be taken it will open the route to the enemy to Nashville. . . . The occurrence of the misfortune of losing the fort will cut off the communication of the force here under General Hardee from the south bank of the Cumberland. To avoid the disastrous consequences of such an event, I ordered General Hardee *yesterday* to make, as promptly as it could be done, preparations to fall back to Nashville and cross the river. The movements of

* Always from Buell, it must be noticed, and not from the Department of the Missouri.

the enemy on my right flank" (Thomas) "would have made a retrograde in that direction to confront the enemy indispensable in a short time. Generals Beauregard and Hardee are equally with myself impressed with the necessity of withdrawing our force from this line at once."

McClellan to Halleck, February 7, 7.15 P.M.: "I congratulate you upon the result of your operations. . . . (To help out his plan as to Buell's taking command on the river route, McClellan in continuation says): "Either Buell or yourself should soon go to the scene of operations. Why not have Buell take the line of the Tennessee and operate on Nashville while your troops turn Columbus?" Halleck to McClellan, Febuary 7: ". . . I think the enemy is collecting forces at Paris. . . . Fort Donelson will probably be taken to-morrow. . . ." Halleck to Buell, February 7: "The enemy is retreating on Paris pursued by our cavalry. If troops are sent up the Cumberland they will be preceded by gunboats." Halleck to Buell, February 7: ". . . If from the condition of the roads you can neither threaten nor attack Bowling Green nor follow him to the Cumberland, I advise the sending of every man not necessary to sustain your line on Green River down the Ohio to operate up the Cumberland or Tennessee. . . . If you can help me still further I know you will do so." Halleck to Buell, February 7: ". . . You say you regret that we could not have consulted on this move earlier" (see letter of February 5, quoted from above). "So do I most sincerely. *I had no idea of commencing the movement before the 15th or the 20th inst. till I received General McClellan's telegram about the reinforcement sent to Tennessee or Kentucky with Beauregard. Although not ready, I deemed it important to move instantly. I believe I was right.*" (Had Halleck made up his mind that he could move on the 15th or 20th, why, considering the letters of the President, the General-in-chief and Buell to him, was he not bound as a soldier and a subaltern to inform them of his hope to do so, at or about that time?) "Fort Henry must be held at all hazards. I am sending there every man I can get hold of, without regard to consequences of abandoning posts in this State. If the rebels rise I will put them down afterward." (How long is it since Halleck silenced the President and General-in-chief by shaking in their faces the loss of the State of Missouri to the Union cause?) "Grant's force is small—only 15,000." (Buell is pouring in reinforcements.) "Eight thousand men are on the way to reinforce him. If we can sustain ourselves and advance up the Cumberland *or* Tennessee, Bowling Green must be abandoned." (We have seen that Foote's success at Fort Henry really precipitated the movement from Bowling Green.) "I suppose the mud there, as it is here, is too deep for movements outside of railroads

and rivers." (He has been informed of that, and knew it perfectly before he began this movement.) "The enemy has the railroads and we must use the rivers for the present. Unfortunately our gunboats are badly disabled. They will be repaired as soon as possible. In the meantime we must push on with the infantry and artillery on transports. I have no train, and most of the regiments are without means of transportation on land. I hope you will help us all you can. *I deem the holding of Fort Henry of vital importance to both of us.*" It must be borne in mind that this part of the operation against the Confederate front had always been deemed of great importance by Buell, and that Halleck, when the move began, wanted no co-operation, and expressed himself as anxious to give a helping hand to Buell.

McClellan to Buell, February 7, 7.15 P.M.: "Why not take the line of the Tennessee with your command, and operate on Nashville while Halleck turns Union City and Columbus?" Buell to McClellan, February 7, 9 P.M.: "I cannot, on reflection, think a change of my line would be advisable. I shall want eighteen rifled siege guns and four companies of experienced gunners to man them. I hope General Grant will not require further reinforcements. I will go if *necessary.*" It would seem a pity that Buell did not see that Bowling Green had virtually fallen, and that he did not resolve in his own interest to make the best of things by throwing all his force on to the Cumberland and asking McClellan, by reason of former promises, to give him the supreme command. Buell to Halleck, February 8: "Your position in Tennessee involves two questions in which I am concerned. First, a new plan of campaign; second, *the rescue of your column* if it should come to that. The first I have had in my mind and may depend very much on your further success. The second will leave me no option but to use every man not necessary for defense here to effect the object if possible. If General Grant should be beleaguered so as to be in danger, you will of course inform me of it." "Copy to McClellan, February 9, 1862, 9 A.M." A model dispatch. Halleck to the Secretary of War, February 8: "Brigadiers-General Sherman, Pope, Grant, Curtis, Hurlbut, Sigel, Prentiss and McClernand, all in this department, are of same date, and each unwilling to serve under the other. If Brigadier-General E. A. Hitchcock could be made major-general of volunteers and assigned to this department it would satisfy all and reconcile all differences. If it can be done there should be no delay, as an experienced officer of high rank is wanted immediately on the Tennessee line." McClernand was at that time serving under Grant, and Sigel under Curtis, without protest. Most of the officers of the regular army who served, like Grant, in Mexico, would have

been most reluctant to serve under Hitchcock, but where is Grant under this new proposition? Halleck to McClellan, February 8, 12 M.: ". . . With the enemy in force at Columbus and Bowling Green on my flanks, I cannot advance on Nashville without more troops."

Halleck has already said that if he could hold Fort Henry, Bowling Green would be evacuated, and that he had only proposed to *threaten* Nashville if McClellan would give him 25,000 more men. General McClellan, on the 7th February suggested to Halleck that it might be well to send Buell to operate up the Cumberland, to which Halleck responded, on the 8th, by saying: "Sherman ranks Buell and must have a command," though it would seem to be the first time it had occurred to him. Halleck, while on that subjeet, said that though he was far from wanting his responsibilities increased, he would suggest the formation of various departments, *all to be put under him, to lighten the labors of the General-in-chief.* To which the General-in-Chief responded, February 14, that the proposition had "one fatal obstacle"—that Hunter would rank Halleck. "If you do not go in person to the Tennessee and Cumberland, I shall probably write Buell to take the line of the Tennessee as far as Nashville is concerned, in which case he is entitled to the command." Halleck to Cullum, February 9: ". . . General McClellan gives hopes of adopting my plan entire by sending a part of Buell's army to the Cumberland. If so, look out for lively times. . . ." Not yet. Halleck to McClellan, February 15, 11 A.M.: "I have no definite plan beyond the taking of Fort Donelson and Clarksville. . . ." Same to same, on same day, 3 P.M.: "Garrison of Fort Donelson is 30.000. Enemy has completely evacuated Bowling Green, and is concentrating on the Cumberland. I must have more troops. It is a military necessity." Not a man has been added to the garrison except those who moved by reason of Halleck's demonstration of a month before, and we have seen that Johnston did not expect Donelson to hold out, but could not have expected the troops there would be penned in and captured, as he telegraphed to Floyd, February 14: "If you lose the fort, bring your troops to Nashville if possible."

McClellan to Halleck, February 15, 8 P.M.: "Have telegraphed to Buell to help you by advancing beyond Bowling Green on Nashville; or if that be too slow viâ Cumberland." Halleck to McClellan, February 15, 8 P.M.: "Buell telegraphs that he proposes to move from Bowling Green on Nashville. This is bad strategy. . . . His forces should come and help me to take Fort Donelson and Clarksville, and move on Florence, cutting the railroad at Decatur. Nashville would then be abandoned as Bowling Green has been, without a blow. With troops in mass on the right points, the enemy must retire, and Tennessee will be freed as Kentucky has been; but

I have not forces enough to make this new strategic move, and the same time observe Columbus. Give me the forces required and I will insure complete success." At eleven o'clock that morning, Halleck had stated that he had no definite plan beyond the taking of Fort Donelson and Clarksville, and yet between that hour and 8 P.M., he had had time to mature a new campaign and assert that he could carry it through.

McClellan to Halleck, February 15, 10 P.M.: "Buell will move in force on Nashville as rapidly as circumstances will permit. If Grant's position renders it absolutely necessary, Buell will reinforce him with three brigades and three batteries to-morrow, but I think them better employed on the direct advance upon Nashville." McClellan to Halleck, same day, 11 P.M.: "Yours of 8 P.M. received. *Your idea is in some respects good.* . . . I do not see that Buell's movement is bad strategy, for it will relieve the pressure upon Grant and lead to results of the first importance. . . . Enable Grant to hold his own, and I will see that Buell relieves him. I am arranging to talk with Buell and yourself over the wires to-morrow morning . . . and we can come to a full understanding." The General-in-chief is getting tired of being instructed at every turn, and Halleck will not realize the hope he expressed in his dispatch to Cullum. Buell to Halleck, February 15: ". . . The only question now is as to General Grant's safety. If he can hold his position for a few days, the main force of the enemy must fall back from there to protect Nashville. Can he do that? What sort of a position has he and what force? What officers are with him? Are there gunboats on both rivers to protect him? Please answer immediately." Buell, after this telegraphs to McClellan, same day at midnight: ". . . I expect my demonstration at an advance to weaken their hold on Clarksville and Donelson, unless they can drive Halleck out absolutely, *and if they can do it at all they can do it without any great delay*." That is before Buell could help him in any way. "I cannot get as definite information from him as I would like. He must have at least 30,000 men. The division I am sending, which will be there Wednesday" (the 19th), "will add 10,000. Is it possible that will be sufficient? If not, what will be? . . ." Halleck replied to Buell on the same day: "The forces from Bowling Green are concentrating at Clarksville." (We know that that was not so, and if the forces from Bowling Green had gone in that direction, to be of any service they would of course have gone to Donelson, as at Clarksville they were of no possible use.) "The garrison of Fort Donelson is estimated at 30,000. Unless I can have more assistance the attack may fail. The place is completely invested" (it never was), "and four sorties have been repulsed." (Only one was made.) "If possible, send me more aid. No more troops can be sent

from Cairo without danger from Columbus. The gunboats are all at Fort Donelson. . . ." To this, Buell, loyal to the last, replied on same day: "One division (twelve regiments and three batteries) under General Nelson embark for the Cumberland to-morrow. I should have embarked myself, at the same time with two divisions to make the Cumberland a line of operations, but the evacuation of Bowling Green by the enemy, and our own occupation of it yesterday, make it proper to direct my whole force through that point." Halleck to Buell, same date: "Your telegram about division, relieves me greatly. To move from Bowling Green on Nashville is not good strategy. . . ."

To understand entirely these dispatches it must be borne in mind that on the 1st of January, Halleck had over 91,000 troops present for duty—that the only organized force against which he was operating (that of Price), he had ordered Curtis to attack *with about* 12,000 *men*, telling him that *he had a force superior to that of Price.* The dispatches can only be interpreted under a supposition of one idea in Halleck's mind, which has been showing itself in every action, and in every line from him since January 7, and that is, that he would break up the independent movement of Buell, and get the whole force under himself. All these dispatches from Halleck become intelligible under that supposition, and are so under no other. Buell, who has very positive ideas, yields to what he supposes to be the necessities of the case, and furnishes reinforcements without stint, but still does not abandon his own plan of campaign.

The President to Halleck, February 16: "You have Fort Donelson safe unless Grant shall be overwhelmed from outside; to prevent which latter will I think require all the vigilance, energy and skill of yourself and Buell *acting in full co-operation. Columbus will not get at Grant* (perfectly sound reasoning), but the force from Bowling Green will. They hold the railroad to within a few miles of Fort Donelson with the bridge at Clarksville undisturbed. . . . Our success or failure at Fort Donelson is vastly important, and I beg you to put your soul in the effort. I send a copy of this to Buell." Halleck to McClellan, February 16: "I am perfectly confident that if Buell moves from Bowling Green on Nashville *we* shall regret it." Halleck to McClellan, February 16: ". . . Hard fighting at Fort Donelson on Thursday, Friday and Saturday." (Not correct as to Thursday and Friday.) "At 5 P.M., yesterday, we carried the upper fort, where the Union flag was flying last night." ". . . I am still decidedly of the opinion that Buell should not advance on Nashville, but come to the Cumberland. . . . Have had no communication from Grant for three days, and cannot give the number of troops that have joined him. . . ." (However,

such information was easily obtainable.) "The mass of the force from Bowling Green are at Fort Donelson" (taken there by reason of Halleck's demonstration in January), "and threatening us from Clarksville." (Utterly without foundation.) "I am also guarding Danville to prevent reinforcements from Columbus." (Incorrect, see dispatches of February 6.) "Have constructed a battery above Fort Donelson on the river to cut off communication with Clarksville and Nashville." (Halleck was entirely incorrect in that statement.) "Unless we can take Fort Donelson very soon we shall have the whole force of the enemy on us. . . ."

Buell to McClellan, February 16: ". . . I have repeatedly inquired of Halleck for the very information you ask for" (as to the position of enemy), "but with little or no success;" and so has the General-in-chief, and Halleck, while reporting operations in detail about Fort Donelson, says, in answer to the question about the strength of Grant's force, that he has not heard from Grant for three days. Grant to Halleck, February 16: "We have taken Fort Donelson and from 12,000 to 15,000 prisoners . . ." Halleck to McClellan, February 17, 10 A.M.: "It is said that Beauregard is preparing to move from Columbus either on Paducah or Fort Henry. Do send me more troops. It is the crisis of the war in the West. Have you fully considered the advantage which the Cumberland River affords to the enemy at Nashville? An immense number of boats have been collected and the whole Bowling Green force (apparently now at Nashville, the day before he placed them at Fort Donelson) can come down in a day, attack Grant in the rear and return to Nashville before Buell can get half way there. . . . We are certainly in peril . . ." It must not be forgotten that this was an independent campaign begun by Halleck supposedly after due consideration as to the force he would meet, and that necessary to overcome it, and such a campaign should not have been begun, unless he had within his own command the force for all contingencies. Any other plan would be scouted by the authorities Halleck quotes.

Halleck to McClellan, February 17, 7 P.M.: "Make Buell, Grant and Pope major-generals of volunteers and give me command in the West. I ask this in return for Forts Henry and Donelson . . ." We can see the propriety of asking for promotion for Grant. McClellan should have decided the question of Buell's promotion and not Halleck. As for Pope, his services in this campaign have not as yet been visible. Buell to Halleck, February 17: "We had best consult about further operations, as well for the great object as to determine the disposition to be made of the reinforcements, which, if they have not gone beyond reach, I have thought advisable to stop until we understand each other. Let me have your views."

Buell does not intend to lose the control of his own force and be obliged to take up a campaign which does not meet his approval. Halleck to Buell, February 18: "... We ought to be nearer together, so that we can assist each other. . . ." Buell to Halleck, February 18: "... I agree with you as to the importance of our getting nearer to each other. . . . What do you think, if I can get away, of our meeting at Smithland personally, and going up to Grant to study the ground?" Halleck to Buell, February 18: "To remove all questions as to rank, I have asked the President to make you a major-general. Come down to the Cumberland, and take command. The battle of the West is to be fought in that vicinity." (Not long since it was to be near Florence, in Alabama.) "You should be in it as the ranking general in immediate command. Don't hesitate. Help me and I will help you. Hunter has acted nobly, generously, bravely; without his aid I should have failed before Fort Donelson. Honor to him. We came within an ace of being defeated. If the fragments which I sent down had not reached there on Saturday, we should have gone in. Help me, I beg of you. Throw all your troops in the direction of the Cumberland. There will be no battle at Nashville." Halleck to Hunter, February 19: "To you more than to any one other man out of this department are we indebted for our success at Fort Donelson. In my strait for troops to reinforce General Grant, I appealed to you. You responded nobly and generously, placing your forces at my disposition. They enabled us to win the victory."* On the 19th Halleck cries "wolf" again to McClellan and Buell, by asserting that a fleet of steamers are fired up at Columbus for a movement against him. At Bowling Green, February 7, at a Confederate council of war, present Johnston, Beauregard, and Hardee, it was decided that "a sufficient number of transports must be kept near that place" (Columbus) "for the removal of the garrison therefrom, when no longer tenable in the opinion of the commanding officer." Polk's dispatches have shown throughout his fears of an attack, and he would naturally keep steam up on the transports. The evacuation was ordered on the 19th, this very day, and Benjamin adds, "A fleet of boats should promptly be sent from Memphis or other ports to aid the movement." Memphis is by water about 180 miles below Columbus, which place could certainly have been reached in less

* I have carefully compared the return of troops in the Department of Kansas for January, 1862, with the regiments that were under Grant at Fort Donelson, as given vol. vii., page 167, *et seq.*, "War of the Rebellion," and find that Grant had one regiment from the Department of Kansas, viz., the 14th Iowa—*and no more.* It has been seen that one brigade from Buell under Colonel Cruft arrived at Fort Donelson on the 13th of February, and in addition to that there were turned over to Halleck two regiments from Indiana and six regiments from Ohio, unbrigaded, which I cannot follow, as no numbers are given.

than 24 hours. Halleck to McClellan, dated February 20, 8 P.M.: "I must have command of the armies in the West. Hesitation and delay are losing us the golden opportunity. Lay this before the President and the Secretary of War. May I assume the command? Answer quickly." The answer was dated February 21, 12:30 A.M.: "Buell at Bowling Green knows more of the state of affairs than you at St. Louis. Until I hear from him, I cannot see the necessity of giving you entire command. . . . I do not yet see that Buell cannot control his own line. I shall not lay your request before the Secretary until I hear definitely from Buell."

Halleck, not content with McClellan's answer, telegraphed to Stanton over the head of his superior, as follows:

Halleck to Secretary of war, February 21, 1862: "One whole week has been lost by hesitation and delay. There was, and I think there still is a golden opportunity to strike a fatal blow, but I can't do it, unless I can control Buell's army. *I am perfectly willing to act as General McClellan dictates* and to take any amount of responsibility. . . . Give me authority and I will be responsible for results." Four days before he had been calling lustily for troops to aid in resisting a powerful demonstration from Columbus, headed by Beauregard; five days before (February 16), he had received from McClellan the following order, viz.: ". . . Should Donelson fall, *you will move on Nashville* by either route which may at the time be the quickest," to which not the slightest attention was paid; yet at this time (February 21), Columbus was being evacuated, Clarksville had no garrison, and there was nothing to impede his forward movement up the Cumberland or Tennessee so far as "hesitation and delay" on the part of the General-in-chief and Buell affected any movement. To the unsoldierlike dispatch of Halleck, the Secretary returned the following answer, February 22: "The President, after full consideration of the subject, does not think any change in the organization of the army or military departments at present advisable. He desires and expects you and General Buell to co-operate fully and zealously with each other, and *would be glad to know whether there has been any failure of co-operation in any particular.*" In addition to the order of McClellan, as given above, McClellan had telegraphed to Halleck to co-operate with Buell to *the full extent of his power* to secure Nashville beyond a doubt. On the 26th of February, Buell telegraphed to Halleck: "I entered Nashville yesterday with a small force. It is insufficient, the enemy being only 30 miles distant in greatly superior numbers. . . . I have sent steamers to bring up the troops at Clarksville, *deeming it of vital importance* that we should be reinforced at an earlier day than my own troops can arrive." Halleck to Cullum, March 1: "Who

sent Smith's division" (the division that went to reinforce Buell) "to Nashville? I ordered them across to the Tennessee, where they are wanted immediately. Order them back. What is the reason that no one down there can obey my orders?" Buell to Halleck, March 1: "I am now in sufficient force to feel secure, and this morning sent General Smith back to Clarksville. Thank you for your readiness to assist me. . . ." And now that Buell is secure in Nashville, the campaign ends.

In reviewing the situation and campaign in Kentucky, from September 1861 to March 1862, it may be said fairly and positively from the quotations given, that from the beginning to the end of the occupation of Kentucky by the Confederate forces, there was no time when the line from Bowling Green to Columbus could not have been turned or pierced by the Union troops then at hand in that region. The first mistake made in this campaign was one common to all the Union commanders at the outset, and was in over-estimating the power of the South to put *armed men* into the field. At the beginning of the war, the archives of the War Department could have furnished information as to the number of muskets in the South, and how many of these were fitted with percussion locks. We ought to have known how many guns were there and their caliber, and the precise capacity of each gun foundry for turning out work. We knew the time necessary to get up plants for turning out cannon and small arms, and those figures should have had a proper effect on each commander's mind in estimating the *strength* of the force in front of him during the first year of the war. As for muzzle-loading shot-guns and hunting rifles, from the short range of one and the length of time and deliberation necessary for loading the other, they were of no use, except behind breastworks.

This excess of caution and disposition to over-estimate the *strength* of the enemy in front, retarded the opening of the campaign for months, and began with the first military administration in Kentucky. The second mistake in Kentucky was one apparently trivial at the beginning, but of which the consequences ran through the entire campaign, leading to blunders, which, taking into account their origin, were really criminal—might have led to serious disaster, and did affect the general result, which though great, should have been far greater. This was the dividing of Kentucky between two independent Military Departments. In referring to the campaign as planned, we must remember that the Administration and the General-in-chief had attached the utmost importance to a movement into east Tennessee from Kentucky, and had, in fact, pressed it upon Buell as the most important move for him to make. The situation was peculiar, for a move into east Tennessee detached from his army a force not necessarily large,

but which would require a large force to protect it and its base and line of communication from a hostile counter advance possible from Bowling Green. Buell was also desirous of doing what as a purely military question was first in order, to drive the Confederates from Kentucky by breaking the line from Columbus to Bowling Green. He proposed three plans: 1st, to make and protect the movement into east Tennessee; 2d, to make a move on Nashville, postponing the move into east Tennessee, which was a far simpler military operation; 3d, to move on east Tennessee and Nashville at the same time. Each of these moves, however, required strong *co-operation* in front of Columbus and up both the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers. The last plan would of necessity require more troops, and this was seemingly the plan approved by the General-in-chief, who promised every aid in the way of co-operation, gunboats and reinforcements. It was this plan that Buell was preparing to carry out, until McClellan, unable to force co-operation by Halleck, and equally unable from some cause to keep his promises to Buell about the gunboats and troops at Paducah, directed Buell to make the move on east Tennessee for which Buell was preparing when the campaign, as executed, was begun by Halleck. As for the campaign as executed, it is absurd to give the credit of the selection of the point of attack to any one individual. As a mere military question, the importance of the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers could not have escaped the notice of any intelligent student of military operations, and the military man who did not see it was certainly unfitted by want of capacity or knowledge for any independent command. It has been seen that Buell noticed it at the first (November 27), elaborated his plans for the attack by that route, and strove from the beginning to have the proper action with reference to it taken by the General-in-chief. There is no reasonable doubt but that when the General-in-chief called Halleck's attention to the co-operation necessary from his command, he (Halleck) determined that the main point of attack should be under his control and that the co-operation should come from Buell. It was in his mind when he objected on the 6th of December to any operations from him outside the state of Missouri, and, also, when he wrote to Pope on the 28th of December. He protested against the required movement to the President and General-in-chief, asserted that it would lose the state of Missouri, fixed the time when he hoped to be ready to a distance so far ahead as to make McClellan change his plans, and finally moved without consultation with any one (merely notifying Buell that he should begin at once) and at an earlier date than any he had fixed in his correspondence.

On the 22d of January C. F. Smith reported to Grant that in his

opinion "two iron-clad gunboats would make short work of Fort Henry." On that day Halleck ordered preparations for a large encampment at Smithfield. Grant and Foote consulted together over C. F. Smith's opinion, and concluded that they could certainly capture Fort Henry with four iron-clads, and informed Halleck of that on the 28th of January. In case of a failure, Halleck now has their statements on which he can fall back, and on the 30th of January he telegraphed Grant "to make preparations to take and hold Fort Henry," and wrote the same day, "You will move with the least possible delay." That same day Halleck received a valueless dispatch from McClellan about Beauregard, but it gave him the excuse for beginning a campaign, knowing that when once begun, Buell *must* reinforce him to the last man in his command. Still, on that same day, Halleck telegraphed to McClellan, not that he was ready to move or suggesting a move, but that "Grant and Foote will be ordered to immediately advance and to reduce and hold Fort Henry," that "the roads are in such condition as to render all movements" (by land) "exceedingly slow and difficult," which, of course, will put it out of Buell's power to aid by an advance on his front, and therefore compel his aid by troops on Halleck's line using the rivers. To Buell's request for information as to the time of moving he answered, "Will telegraph the day of *investment* and *attack*." Not the day of starting, but the *finish*.

Buell told Halleck that it would take him several days to seriously engage the enemy, to which Halleck replied, February 1, that co-operation, "at present is not essential," accompanied *with offers of assistance*, and yet five days after, and the day before the *attempt* at the investment of Fort Henry, he asks Buell to create a diversion "by threatening Bowling Green," knowing the condition of the roads, and Buell's inability to move for several days; and from that day till after the fall of Fort Donelson he is constantly calling for reinforcements, and protesting that "it is bad strategy" for Buell to do anything but send his forces to the Cumberland. When McClellan suggested to Halleck that Buell should go in command of the army on the Cumberland, Halleck replied, Sherman ranks Buell and must have a command in the field. When Halleck saw that Buell would get to Nashville before his own troops can, he implores Buell to come to the Cumberland River *and take the command*. Then, as if finding that his offers to Buell of promotion and command had not the desired effect, he announced that fifteen steamers are fired up at Columbus for a move on Paducah or Cairo, and told Cullum to issue orders in the name of the Secretary of War, countermanding any orders Buell might give for the return of his own troops to his own line!

As for the steamers at Columbus, they were there to take away the troops and armaments, which was done without Halleck's capturing a man. Two days after the last one had left, the flag was boldly raised on the parapet at Columbus, with this telegram to Halleck: "Columbus the Gibraltar of the West is ours and Kentucky is free: thanks to the brilliant strategy of the campaign, by which the enemy's center was pierced at Forts Henry and Donelson, his wings isolated from each other and turned, thus compelling the evacuation of his strongholds."

With reference to the fancied move from Columbus on Cairo of which Halleck gave notice on the 19th, McClellan struck the key-note in his telegram to Buell, February 20: "I tell him (Halleck) improbable that rebels reinforced from New Orleans or attack Cairo. Think they will abandon Columbus." For a military man to assert (believingly) that such a move was probable was to write himself down as a most incompetent leader.

Now, let us take a look at the "brilliant strategy" which marked the "piercing of the enemy's center." It will be recollected that the President and General-in-chief early in January had urged a move or diversion by Halleck to assist Buell, which move Halleck declared it impossible for him to make, and that he did five days after without notice or consultation order such a move (which of course did no good to Buell, who was entirely unprepared for it), the only effect of which was to induce the Confederate leaders to throw into Forts Henry and Donelson and Clarksville (connected with the latter fort by river and railroad) some 12,000 men which Grant had to meet at Fort Donelson. This demonstration ended on the 23d of January, and precisely one week from that date Grant was ordered "to take and hold Fort Henry." This order, also, was given without consultation with the President, General-in-chief, or Buell, who was vitally interested in it. The move asked for by the President was to be simultaneous upon Bowling Green, Columbus and the forts on the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers. This Halleck denounced as similar to the position of various forces in Virginia at the battle of Bull Run. Buell described his position at the time when Halleck ordered the move on Fort Henry as follows: "Bowling Green is secure from any immediate apprehension of attack by being strongly fortified behind a river, by obstructions on the roads for nearly the whole distance between us (40 miles), and by the condition of *the roads themselves*." A confession of Halleck's intentions is unwittingly given by himself in his communication to Buell of February 7, in which he says, "I suppose the mud there" (with Buell) "as it is here, is too deep for movements outside of rivers and railroads. The enemy has the railroads and we must use the rivers, at least for the present"—that

is, *Buell must go to him.* In operating against interior lines the plan suggested by the President was not only not in contravention of military principles, but was the embodiment of a far-reaching military idea. I think this the more surprising as the President had learned it from none of his advisers and had not yet been nine months engaged in war.

The attack upon the center of an interior line, without even a feint on any portion of the line, is justifiable only when a surprise can be effected or with a force superior to all the forces the enemy can concentrate at the "point of collision."

Halleck made such a move against the center of an interior line with 15,000 men. He had before asserted that the enemy had 22,000 men at Columbus alone, and that four days before his order was given, "Beauregard left Manassas with fifteen regiments for the line of Columbus and Bowling Green." As Grant moved on the evening of February 3d, Beauregard had eight days to reach the rebel front before Halleck's movement was commenced. Again, the debarkation of Grant's troops began February 4, and his force was not in position at 2 o'clock P. M. on the 6th, which gave over two days to throw troops into Fort Henry and its vicinity, from Columbus and Bowling Green. With these possibilities against him, Halleck telegraphed to Buell that "Co-operation is not essential at present," and made offers of aid. Halleck himself has written the criticism on this movement.

In all probability the President had never read a professional book on military campaigns, while Halleck claimed to have read everything. The one with his own intelligence worked out true principles, while the other failed in the ability to apply his own reading to a new yet simple problem.

Why General Johnston, who was considered a man of ability, did not withdraw the greater part of the force from Bowling Green, unite with it the force at Clarksville, 8,000, and the garrison at Fort Donelson, and fall upon Grant before he left Fort Henry, is a mystery. He, of course, knew the condition of the roads between Bowling Green and Buell, and had asserted that he had detached 8,000 men from Bowling Green "to make Clarksville secure and drive the enemy back." Such an emergency could not be met by a Floyd or Pillow or Buckner—a general should have gone, and best of all Johnston himself. It appears to have been practicable to have met Grant on the 8th of February with at least 25,000 men. In fact, it would have been better to evacuate Columbus and Bowling Green and beat Grant than to let them fall as they did with Grant victorious.*

Johnston had said to the Secretary of War that if the enemy made a mistake in his movements, he should attack him, and yet when the time

* The railroad from Bowling Green to Columbus or near it ran within 12 miles of Fort Henry

came with an opening he could not have hoped for, he failed to take advantage of the occasion. I have called attention to what I deem a mistake in not ordering the expedition against Fort Henry up the Cumberland rather than the Tennessee River.

Halleck claimed for himself and had among those who knew him the reputation of having a thorough knowledge of the art of war, gained by study of the best authorities. He therefore knew what a tyro would have known, that before commencing a campaign, among many other important questions to be seriously studied was that as to the strength of his own force, and that which under all contingencies might be arrayed against him. On the 20th of January, he wrote a letter to McClellan giving his views as to a campaign against the Confederate front in Kentucky, and he gave those views "as the result of much anxious inquiry and *mature deliberation.*" The plan sketched out was "to move up the Cumberland and Tennessee, making Nashville the first objective point." But the plan should not be attempted without a *large force, not less than* 60,000 *effective men.*" We have now his own statement that he had maturely considered this plan, and yet that precise campaign was begun on the 30th of January (ten days after writing this letter) with 15,000 *men.* Halleck does not ask Grant how long it will take him to get ready to move, but orders him to "move with the least possible delay." The situation in front, as regards numbers and the strength of the forts, is no better for him than when he said 60,000 men would be required. On the contrary, he informs Grant that a telegram from Washington says that Beauregard left Manassas *four days before* with fifteen regiments for the line of Columbus and Bowling Green.

That being the case, the advance of that reinforcement was on the line when he gave the order to Grant to move, and yet he did not think it necessary to ascertain when the movement could begin. This was an independent campaign; that is, Halleck in making such a move should have had within himself all the resources necessary to carry it through. Under any other supposition consultation with the General-in-chief and Buell, and the arrangement of a plan of co-operation were imperative—but to make it conclusive as to the independence of the movement, when Buell, alive to the importance of such action, telegraphs to know if Halleck expects co-operation, is answered: "Co-operation at present not essential." Such a campaign would not stand scrutiny and requires no comment; and it was simply impossible that it should have been begun by any military man who did not see that once begun, he was sure of all the support the government could give, no matter what other plans were given up.

In this campaign as executed, we find Halleck first making Nashville

the objective point. In his telegram to McClellan of February 19, 11 A.M., he says: "I have no definite plan beyond the taking of Fort Donelson and Clarksville. *Subsequent movements must depend upon those of the enemy.*" And on the same day, at 8 P.M., under all the pressure of business which is on him, he had worked out another plan having Florence, in Alabama, for an objective point, though he has said only a month before that after "anxious inquiry and mature deliberation" he made Nashville the first objective point. The change from Nashville to Florence was of that radical kind that should be made only after serious reflection; but by Halleck it was made in a most off-hand manner.

Having studied carefully all the published official papers relating to the campaign in Kentucky of 1861 and 1862, I am constrained to acknowledge an entire change in my opinions with reference to Don Carlos Buell as the commanding general of an army.

I had served with him before the Rebellion, and knew him to be a soldier of the best type, one who yielded and exacted implicit obedience to orders, and who performed all his duties in the most conscientious manner. Not having followed him through his career as a general with an independent command, I had naturally taken up the general voice with reference to his qualifications, and concluded that like many other good soldiers he was not born to be an independent commander.

I think the documents quoted and referred to in this paper prove Buell to be a general in the highest sense of the term. They give him a higher rank, for they show that his own plans and ambitions were secondary to his duty to his country. His want of prompt adaptability to the peculiar conditions of the war was a fault he shared with most of the officers of the regular army at the outbreak of hostilities. His high qualities were his own and placed him second to no general in our country at the termination of the campaign which I have recorded.

Owing to causes which are apparent in the official papers quoted, his well-matured plans were sacrificed. His preservation of his self-control through the Halleck campaign was a wonderful exhibition of patriotic self-restraint. His own generation may continue to do him injustice, but history will eventually give him his proper place as an able and patriotic general.

HOW WE RAN THE VICKSBURG BATTERIES

Some day, when the complete history of the war on the Mississippi is written, without fear, favor, or prejudice, it is probable that many a so-called campaign, or brilliant but unsuccessful maneuver, will prove to have been only the desperate or short-sighted efforts of patriotic, but unskilled and unlearned leaders. Prominent among these critical reviews, which the future has in reserve, will be that of the operations which resulted in the opening of the Mississippi. Who it was that permitted this great river—that was virtually open in 1862—to be so effectually closed in 1863, it might be hard to tell; and still more difficult might it be to discover by whose special command a single unarmored coal-tug was ordered to penetrate the hostile lines for over one hundred miles, and attempt to take possession of the enemy's territory. Time may also explain, or history pardon, that subsequent order, which sent a badly equipped and heavily loaded gunboat to follow this tug down the river, and fight it out alone there against enormous odds. At present, however, in the several disastrous movements, both by land and water, that preceded the final investment of Vicksburg, there is apparent cause for censure, and certainly room for explanation.

The air was filled with sunbeams, and the sky above with broken fleecy clouds, on that memorable afternoon, more than twenty years ago, when the United States gunboat *Indianola* rounded into the mouth of the Yazoo River. The decks of Admiral Porter's fleet were crowded with eager gazers, awaiting with anxious interest the approach of this, their new and formidable ally. So much had been told of the coming ironclad, and so much was expected of it, that there were probably many doubters among the old salts and seamen who stood with those expectant watchers. The first view proved that the *Indianola* was far from graceful in its lines, and somewhat commonplace in model; but it was an ironclad, and to those who knew the number and power of the Vicksburg batteries by a desperate experience, the question of armor was more vital than that of armament.

In February, 1863, the Mississippi from Vicksburg to Port Hudson was in the hands of the Confederates, who also occupied, and held entire and undisputed possession of the adjoining territory. After many unsuccessful attempts to approach these guarded gateways from the rear, a halt was called while the leaders communed together, laying other though equally

unsuccessful plans. Then the order came for the *Indianola* to run the Vicksburg batteries; and, after a few days of busy preparation, we were ready to join the *Queen of the West*, in her wild and perilous cruise among the swamps and bayous of the lower Mississippi. As it was in obedience to this command that the work was undertaken, the order is given in full:

U. S. Mississippi Squadron,
February 12th, 1863.

Sir:

You will take two coal-barges alongside, that have been somewhat lightened of coal, and stand by to run past the batteries at Vicksburg and join the vessels below. The object in sending you is to protect the ram, *Queen of the West*, and the *De Soto*, against the *Webb*, the enemy's ram; she will not attack you both. I do not wish you to go below Red River, but to remain there while Colonel Ellet reconnoitres Port Hudson, and prevent his being taken by vessels from Red River. Keep your guns loaded with solid shot; or, if you are attacked by vessels protected with cotton-bales, fire shrapnel, which are good incendiary shell.

If you can capture a good steamer I want you to keep her. If you cannot get cotton enough to protect the steamer you capture, obtain it at Acklen's Landing; and when you have filled the prize up with as much as she will carry and make good speed, send her up to run the batteries and join me here. To do this, daub over her white paint with mud, so that she cannot be seen in the dark. Dispose the cotton-bags so that everything is well-protected, and no light can possibly show in any part of the boat. You must select dark and rainy nights for running the blockade, and don't show yourself below Warrenton as you come up. After you pass the batteries at Vicksburg show two red lights on your bow, that our people at the canal may know you. If you receive any damage from the batteries, send me a short report from the other side, and go on with care until you are the other side (some distance) of Warrenton; lay by there until the moon is up, and proceed to Red River. When the *Queen of the West* returns, Colonel Ellet and yourself will go up Red River (provided you can get good pilots), and destroy all you meet with in the shape of enemy's stores. This part must be left to your discretion; Ellet and yourself will consult together what is best to be done; and, whatever you undertake, try and have no failure. When you have not means of certain success, undertake nothing; a failure is equal to defeat. Never leave your coal-barge unprotected by the *De Soto*, and never leave her between you and the enemy. Don't forget that I had your vessel strengthened to perform the part of a ram—don't hesitate to run anything down. When you have emptied the coal-barges, either destroy them so that the enemy cannot use them, or fill them with cotton and bring them back. Make your calculations to get back here with plenty of coal on board. Tell Colonel Ellet when he gets to Port Hudson to send a communication in a barrel (barrel to be marked "Essex"); and tell the commander, in said communication, that I direct him to pass Port Hudson in a dark night, and join the vessels above. Have your casemates and sides well-covered with tallow and slush before you start. Very respectfully,

David D. Porter,
Acting Rear-Admiral,
Commanding Mississippi Squadron.

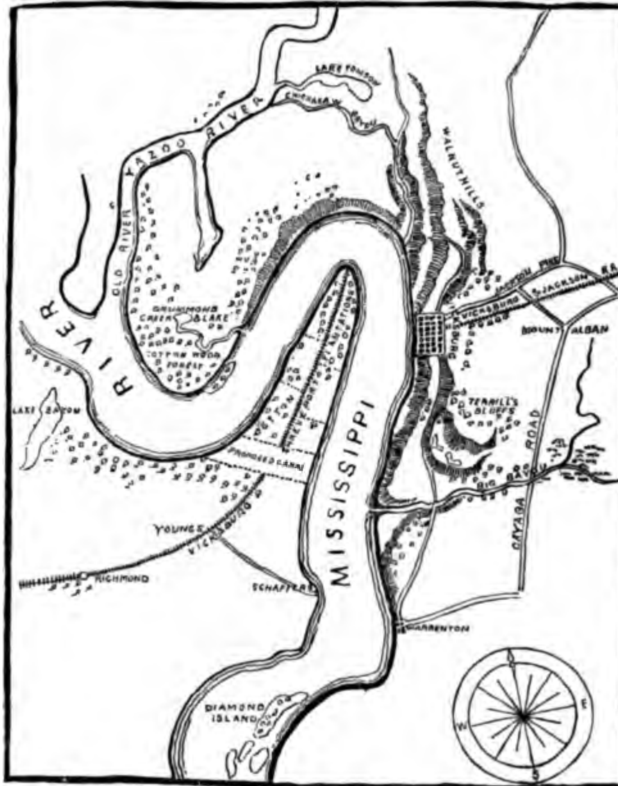
To Lieutenant-Commander George Brown,
Commanding *Indianola*, Mississippi Squadron.

Reading this order twenty-two years after that eventful night, it is difficult, even to one who aided in its execution, to recall how much it meant of coolness, hazard, and escape. A reference to the map will indicate the general course taken by the *Indianola*, and the location of the Confederate batteries. The bluffs, which, as a defense against infantry attacks, were the natural bulwarks of Vicksburg, were, fortunately, the salvation of the *Indianola*, as well as of the *Queen of the West*—that preceded her—and of the fleet which followed two months later. Why the Confederates should have located so many of their batteries and heaviest guns high up upon the bluffs, instead of at or near the line of high-water mark, it is difficult to explain, except on the hypothesis that they hoped to penetrate the decks of the venturesome craft that came within range, by means of plunging shot, rather than to pierce their armored casemates by direct fire. The fatal error of this plan was demonstrated too late, as it was discovered that, when these monster guns were given sufficient depression to reach a vessel hugging the near shore, their own safety was greatly endangered. In view of this well-known weakness, it seems all the more difficult to understand Admiral Porter's instructions to Colonel Ellet, who preceded the *Indianola*, and later, to the commanders of the fleet, to "hug the shore on the side opposite Vicksburg;" instructions which, fortunately, were not given to Captain Brown, of the *Indianola*. As an exception to this general plan, one Confederate battery was stationed on the shore above the town, just south of the bend in the river, and it was from the guns of this shore battery that the *Indianola* had the most to dread.

It was about eleven o'clock on the night of the 13th of February, 1863, the sky being cloudy and threatening, that the *Indianola*, in obedience to the above order, stood out into the main channel of the Mississippi and headed down the river. How many were in the secret at that hour is known only to themselves; to the writer, whose watch it was, the actual destination of the vessel was not known till the rattle of the rudder-chains and the turning of the bow down stream revealed it. Before the start, however, it was evident that we were going into action. The day before the scanty crew had been partially reinforced by detachments from other vessels of the fleet, and the ominous silence of the captain, with the still more ominous actions of the surgeon and his assistant, suggested that there was hot work ahead, and that we were to have a hand in it. As our vessel came in sight of the bluffs, the engines were checked till the great wheels moved with only enough speed to insure the proper steerage-way. Then came the final summons, which precedes and always portends hos-

tilities, as all hands were called to quarters. This command brought the writer, then a youth of nineteen, to his place between the eleven-inch Dahlgrens in the forward turret. On the right and left of him were the guns' crews, and behind each gun the officer in command.

Not a sound broke the silence of the night, but the whispered call of the pilot, stationed outside the port, and passed along to his assistant at the wheel, "Port a little," "Starboard a little," "Steady." The great hull hardly felt the feeble tremor of the engines, and in this form the *Indianola* passed the mouth of the canal, and the lights of the mortar fleet anchored near it. Finally, a sharp order from without, "Starboard hard," followed again by the rattle of the rudder chains, indicated an approach to the sharp bend above the town; and just here a flash, followed by a dull, low rumble above, gave what seemed to be the first signs of discovery and attack.



VICKSBURG, AND THE BEND OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

But it was a flash of lightning and its succeeding thunder from the protecting clouds above us. This false alarm was not without its effect, however, since it gave the new recruits and the youngsters a chance to determine just how they would feel when the fight actually began. This flash from the sky was followed by still denser darkness, and the only indications of an approach to the batteries were the flickering of the campfires and the higher lights of the town above.

It was afterwards reported that at last it was only an accident which

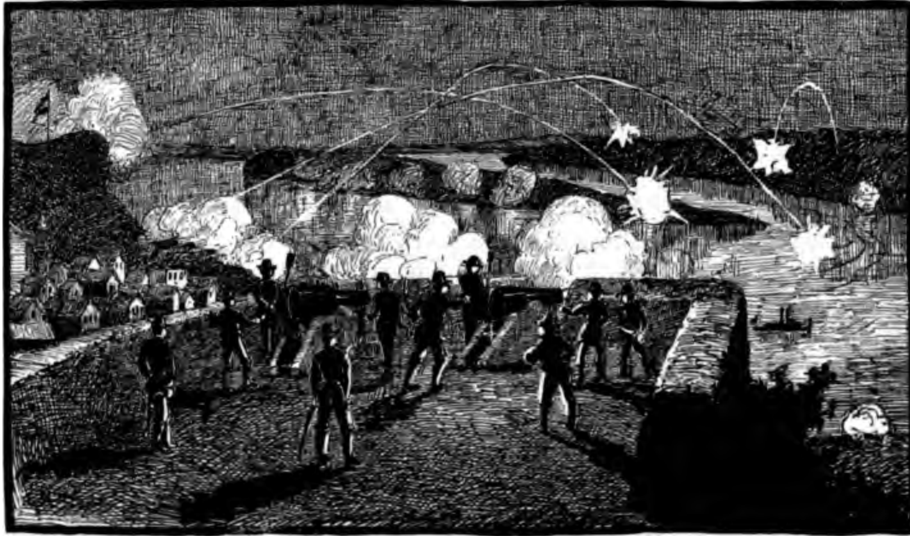
discovered to the enemy the immediate presence and purpose of the *Indianola*. The story goes that a Confederate soldier, tired of his idle bivouac, happening to take up a burning brand from his replenished camp-fire, threw it, carelessly, into the sluggish brown current that was lapping the shore at his feet. The flash of this fire-brand, as it shot out into the night, revealed to him the presence, at almost a stone's throw from where he stood, of our vessel stealthily stealing by, like some dread intruder from the jungles upon the camp of the unsuspecting hunter. But that soldier was backed by "an army with banners," and this chance discovery was followed by the instant discharge of the picket-gun. As this signal passed along the shore line, its progress was marked by volleys of small-arms, and signal rockets shooting from point to point along the bluffs, as each battery was hastily aroused and trained for action. Then came the blinding flash and deafening boom of the great guns, rivaling the thunders of heaven, and drowning the spiteful rattle of the rifles and small-arms below. The shore battery, which was now in the rear, hastened to retrieve its lost opportunity by a vigorous, but tardy cannonade. Rapidly the flashing of guns and whistling of shells followed—now from the shore line behind, and then from the great defenses high up upon the cliffs. These signals of our discovery were also our own signal for as marked a change of tactics. The great engines, that had been held under control so long, were now turned loose to run a race for life through this gauntlet of fire and iron hail. The great smoke stacks belched forth black smoke and crimson flame, and the paddles now thundered and beat the sluggish current as in angry protest against the resistless restraint of the preceding hours. The fun had actually begun—shot and shell screamed and burst above and beyond us, and the pilot's orders, now changed from whispered signs to vigorous commands, were heard and answered with no need of intervening messengers.

Thus the city was approached, and the *Indianola* was on the home stretch, though still in need of speed and endurance. Now appeared the wisdom of the captain's orders to hug the *left* shore, for the vessel was not touched by any of the enemy's heavy shot. The great guns on the bluffs, not being trained in the art of stooping to conquer, could not be sufficiently lowered to meet the water along our chosen line.

Thus the moments passed until the last of the batteries was left in the rear, and then the *Indianola*, having by a defiant whistle proclaimed its victory to friends and foes alike, passed beyond the wall of fire and slowly approached its first mooring, under the shadow of the cottonwoods.

In its rapid and safe accomplishment, the act proved to be one of little

risk or hazard, yet this happy result was not contemplated by either crew or commander. To thus approach, defy, and pass safely beyond a line of defenses which had come to be regarded by the Union commanders as impregnable, gave promise of danger and loss that might well quicken the pulses of the adventurous crew, and called for nerve and determined purpose on the part of all engaged. We had triumphed this time, and whatever of disappointment and defeat awaited us was postponed awhile, and



THE "INDIANOLA" RUNNING THE VICKSBURG BATTERIES.

was finally preceded by a struggle against odds and under conditions which will be recorded in a subsequent paper.

So far as the story of that night goes, it is told; but the question, why, when aid could have been so readily rendered along the same line, it was not furnished in the coming time of need, remains to be answered by those in whom the proper authority was then vested. Certain it is that it was not until long after the *Indianola* was a stranded wreck, and the *Queen of the West* a reconstructed cruiser in the service of the enemy, that the attempt of that night was repeated.

W. S. Ward

GENERAL GEORGE B. McCLELLAN

1826–1885

In the sudden death of General George B. McClellan, at his country residence on Orange Mountain, New Jersey, since our last issue, passes away a prominent historic figure. McClellan was not only a gallant and patriotic soldier, and the brave commander of our armies in a time of great national need, but a loyal citizen of estimable private character and broad public spirit. He endeared himself to the American people in innumerable ways—was one of the best civil and military engineers in the country, educated at home and abroad, and of good record in Mexico; was the first officer in the Civil War to win a "series of brilliant and decisive victories," to exhibit dash and generalship on the field, and prove to aching and impatient millions that the North was not incapable of military achievements; and his professional and technical knowledge of the theory of war rendered him an expert in organization. He made the Army of the Potomac capable of accomplishing great deeds; his lessons were never forgotten, and the spirit with which he animated the soldiers continued to the end. His reorganization of the demoralized fragments that drifted back in disorder from the second Bull Run defeat was in itself a service to the imperiled country that must place his name high on the imperishable list of those who materially aided in saving the Republic. Whatever the result of controversial criticisms in relation to his military and political career as a whole, the verdict of history will be just. He commanded, to an extraordinary degree, the confidence of his men and the devoted friendship of his officers. His name will be handed along through the centuries to come as that of a renowned military leader. When he was appointed general-in-chief of the army he was not yet thirty-five years of age. In 1864 he was the youngest man ever a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. Success is not always the measure of greatness. Neither is defeat the assurance of want of ability or fitness for office. The purposes and aims of General McClellan were noble and true. As the governor of a sovereign State, in a time of peace, he was able and efficient, winning many laurels. Since the war he has been engaged in civil pursuits, and in all his varied associations, as in his military life, has been found an honest, sincere, upright, courteous Christian gentleman.

collected were the choicest editions, all of which he had put in the best condition as to binding. These volumes he added to the Harris collection, together with purchases of the works by the most recent poets. The collection as given to Brown University numbers more than five thousand separate volumes and pamphlets."

Special mention is made of a very curious volume of the seventeenth century, one of the works of Anne Bradstreet. Readers of American history need not be reminded that this accomplished lady was a native of Northampton, England, and was the daughter of Thomas Dudley, subsequently Governor of Massachusetts. In 1629, at the age of sixteen, she became the wife of Simon Bradstreet, and accompanied her husband to America the year following. Among her descendants who have risen to distinction were Richard H. Dana, father and son. Mrs. Bradstreet published the first collection of her poems when she was but twenty-seven years of age. They excited an interest among her cotemporaries, which, we think, they would hardly command in our day. Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia*, considers her works "a monument to her memory, beyond the stateliest marble." Allibone quotes John Rogers, President of the Harvard College, who thus brings the tribute of his praise:

> "Your only hand these poesies did compose,
> Your head the source whence all these springs did flow."

Benjamin Trowbridge, first graduate of Harvard College, is even more laudatory.

> "Now I believe Tradition which doth call,
> The Muses, Virtues, Graces, females all;
> Only they are not eleven, nine, or three.
> Our authoress proves them but one unity."

Worthy John Norton declares that "if Virgil could read her works, he would condemn his own to the flames," which declaration we may set down to the gallantry which found special pleasure in praising the productions of the pen of a Massachusetts governor's daughter. Mr. Bartlett says that the volumes of Mrs. Bradstreet's works in the Greene-Harris collection, are of great rarity. In a recent London catalogue, a copy of the first edition is priced £25.

Another rare book in the collection is Cotton Mather's Eulogy on the Rev. Nathaniel Collins of Middletown, Ct., published in 1685. It was purchased at the sale of the library of George Brinley of Hartford in 1879. Mr. Brinley wrote the following on the fly leaf of the book, "Not in any library. Have never heard of another copy."

Many other exceedingly rare and valuable works are contained in the collection which, through the kindly regard which Senator Anthony always cherished for the place of his collegiate education, have found a permanent home in the library of Brown University. Although among so many books there is doubtless much that may properly be designated as "trash," still as a whole it is of so much worth and rarity, that Prof. Moses Coit Tyler, in writing his book on American literature, "passed several days in Mr. Harris's library consulting books which he could find in no other

public or private library." Mr. Bartlett, than whom no bibliographist in this country is higher authority, remarked some time since: "We do not hesitate to say that there is no collection in the United States (in the department of American literature to which these books appertain) that can in completeness compare with that which is to grace the shelves of the library of Brown University, the gift of the late Hon. Henry B. Anthony."

J. C. STOCKBRIDGE.

PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND.

NIAGARA FALLS

The Hon. Luther R. Marsh, in his recent Report on the Reservation of Niagara Falls, said:

When the State of New York in 1814 and 1816, as owner paramount, was so unwise as to convey the lands around Niagara Falls, and for a trifling consideration, it was not and could not well have been anticipated how soon the region in which they were situated would be filled with a rich and flourishing community, the forest give way to magnificent cities, an artificial waterway furrow the State, locomotives take the place of horses, a vast commerce in transit from sea to sea, and these almost inaccessible wilds brought into intimate and instantaneous communion, not only with her metropolis, but, across continents and oceans, with the rest of the world. Fortunately, she did not part with the soil under the Niagara River, nor with the floods that sweep over it, but still held title to the rapids and the cataract. Perceiving her great mistake, and moved by numerous petitioners, among them the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, many of our federal Senators, distinguished members of the Parliament of Canada, eminent men of the Old World, as Carlyle, Houghton and Ruskin, and of our own, as Emerson, Whittier, Holmes, Agassiz, Governors Seymour and Morgan, Generals Gilmore and Miles, Admiral Porter, the principals of colleges and educational institutions, illustrious artists, laymen, bishops and cardinals—a document more remarkable for the quality and universality of its names than any elsewhere existing; the State, I say, thus moved, resolved to exercise the right in sovereignty inherent, and, on just compensation, retake for the use of mankind those grounds to which all nations pay tribute.

On the 15th of July last, the title to the lands laid out for the Niagara Reservation as the American part of the proposed International Park, passed from individual proprietorship to the State of New York. The ceremonies were highly imposing, the oration of Mr. Carter full of classic beauty, the addresses by eminent men of Canada and New York admirably expressive of the occasion, and worthy of permanence; and the commonwealth, by its official head, Governor Hill, solemnly accepted the title and the trust. The speeches of the Premier of the Province of Ontario, Attorney-General Mowatt, and of Lieutenant-Governor Rob-

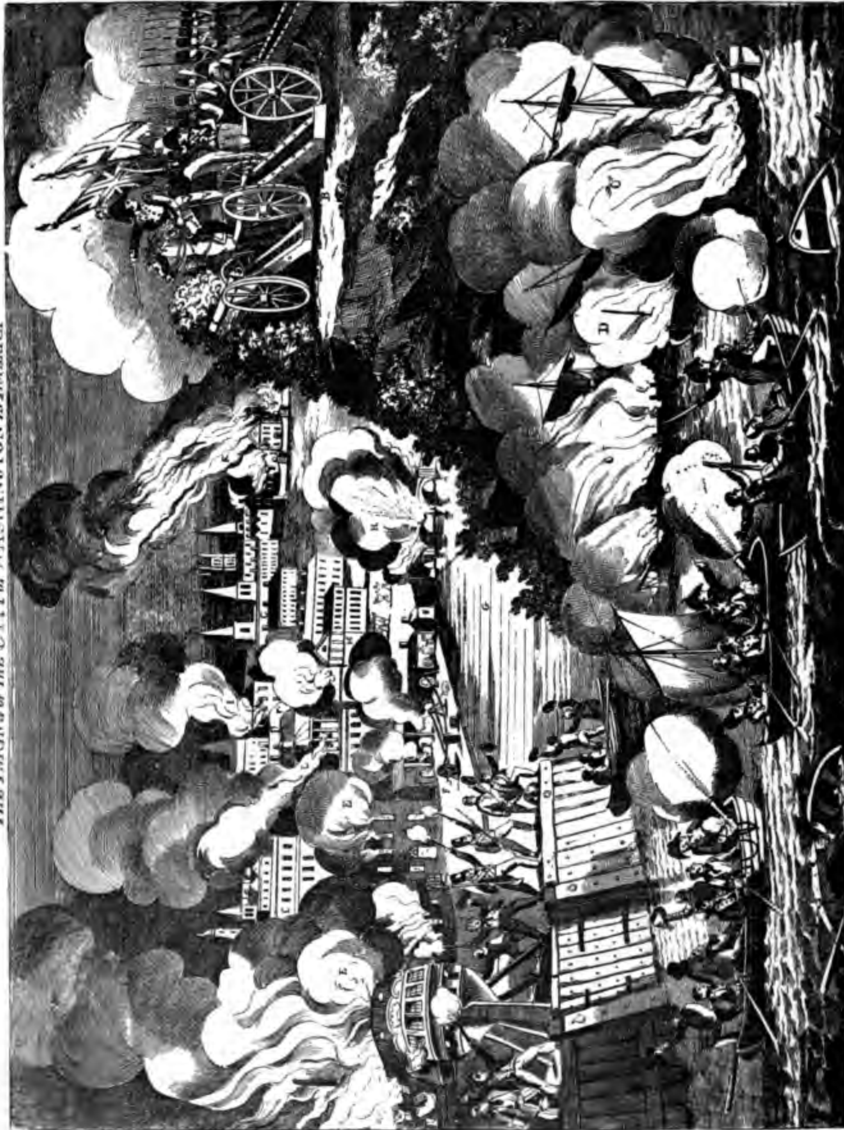
inson were in the best of feeling, and held out the clear promise that the Dominion of Canada, while, by her great statesman, Lord Dufferin, the first to suggest, would, though last, yet surely bear her part in this beneficent international enterprise.

Niagara is now enfranchised, since she is rescued from prosaic uses and unsightly buildings, from the noise, and smoke, and dirt of manufactures, from the disfigurement of the marvelous river, from exactions and annoyances, and made free for all time to every traveler from every country. She can now stand forth in her own majesty and, without money and without price, receive the incense of the world. This great act—so long desired, so often thwarted—is at last accomplished. The New York Historical Society, by its representatives, was among the immense concourse of citizens from all the country to attest its consummation as the sovereign State of New York laid its imperial hand on this prodigy of nature, to liberate and maintain it forever for the benefit of all.

Indeed, this act represents a new principle in the intercourse of nations. Two great States, New York and the Dominion of Canada, or rather, I may say, Britain and America, the greatest of empires and the greatest of republics, who in former times have stoutly tried the arbitrament of war, now make this the occasion for cordial amity, and, with national courtesy, braid the lion's mane with the eagle's plumes in symbolic token that regnant forces of earth, air and water will hereafter work together.

However considered, whether from a low plane or a high one, this act of consecration was judicious and wise. While the property purchased is of itself of far greater value to the State than it was to the proprietors, for now it unites exhaustless water power, if desired, with facilities for its use; and while it will increase taxes, not unwillingly paid, on enhanced values, and bring revenues from multitudes, else kept away, yet are these considerations trivial, indeed, compared with the loftier benefits of the investment, in the education drawn from beauty, supremacy and Almighty power. If "the undevout astronomer is mad," not less insane is he who, in sight and sound of Niagara, in its perpetual flow and roar, as if he heard the voice from out the flashes of Sinai, does not feel that God is there.

The gifts of natural beauty and grandeur with which our Empire State is so richly portioned, are affluent sources of private and public income. The Highlands of the Hudson—crowned at West Point—and the picturesque shores of that placid stream; the bright cascades of Cuyahora (commonplaced to Trenton Falls); the sea of peaks mirrored in the bosom of Champlain; the tall tops of the Catskills; the isles that dot with green the blue of St. Lawrence; the weird glen at the head of the unplummeted Seneca—these, and many others, bring a tribute of revenue both to individuals and the State, which illustrates at once the taste and sentiment of the people—touching the higher sensibilities of our nature—and the pecuniary value of these providential endowments. None, however, so renown our State abroad and loom in the eye of the world as this lordliest display of beauty and might at Niagara.


THE TAKING OF THE CITY OF WASHINGTON IN AMERICA

THE CAPTURE OF WASHINGTON, 1814

An examination of the curious old print reproduced on opposite page, in connection with the Hon. Horatio King's paper, on the "Battle of Bladensburg," will be found amusing and instructive. The circumstances under which it was prepared and published deserve a few words of introduction to show the state of English feeling at the time.

August 1, 1814, was a great day in London. It was the centenary of the accession of the house of Brunswick to the throne, the anniversary of the battle of the Nile, and was set apart for a day of popular jubilation on the final overthrow of Napoleon and the conclusion of peace. The fact that a promising little war was still in progress with the United States did not mar the festivities of the occasion, and a mimic naval battle was fought between British and American fleets on the Serpentine River, in Hyde Park, in the presence of an enormous multitude, the engagement ending after dark in total destruction by fire of the whole American squadron. Of course there was a grim irony about this version of a sea fight, considering the successes of American maritime arms, but that made no difference to the multitude, and when, a few days later, the news of the capture of Washington was received in London, popular rejoicing reached a high pitch of enthusiasm.

A complete file of London papers is not at hand, but the earliest mention found of the receipt of the welcome news bears date October 14, and acknowledges the receipt of New York papers to include September 4. It is, therefore, evident that the engraving reproduced herewith must have been executed with extraordinary dispatch, and rushed upon the market before popular enthusiasm over the event had time to cool off.

The original engraving—the property of Mr. Charles Ledyard Norton of this city—measures 13½ inches by 18½ inches exclusive of the two inscriptions. It was, no doubt, engraved by hand on copper, and if issued, as the imprint states, on October 14 (the very day, as it happens, on which the official news seems to have been received in London), the exploit speaks well for the enterprise of the publishers. Even in its largely reduced form the quaint absurdities of the picture are obvious. In the original they are far more conspicuous, and speak highly for the patriotism and topographical recklessness of the artist, whose name unfortunately does not appear. We will not go into details, but merely call attention to the fact that only four Americans and a fraction are in sight, and these are apparently citizens without arms.

N. L. C.

THE FIGHT AT FAYAL*

[The story of this remarkable naval battle in neutral waters, has we believe never before been told in verse. It presents a truthful picture of the scene, and records one of the noblest examples of heroism in the annals of America.—EDITOR.]

The *General Armstrong*, trim and tall,
One day passed into port Fayal;
To get fresh water, learn the news,
And sail by morning on her cruise.

But scarcely had the anchor dropped
When Samuel Chester Reid was shocked;
Did eyes deceive, or was he right,
Was that a hostile fleet in sight?

CAPTAIN SAMUEL CHESTER REID.

[From a Miniature in possession of his Family.]

He counted breathless, one, two, three,
Six men of war, no, could it be?
He held his glass, he looked again,
'Twas so, their decks were filled with men!

* Azores. War of 1812.

Before the sun had set that day,
Six British war ships held the bay;
Two thousand red-coats gave their cries,
For Admiral Lloyd and his "Yankee" prize.

The sun goes down, the sea is still,
The great grim hulls grow black, until
Like bands of thunder-clouds they lie,
Their dusky spars against the sky.

The *Armstrong's* men with unkempt hair,
And brawny arms, are here and there
Engaged in whispers hushed and low:
"Will they come?" "Dare they strike the blow?"

The rising moon a pathway casts
Across the sea; the shadowy masts
Of the *Armstrong* bend and wave and meet
The hostile hulls, and slow retreat.

The spars and yards of the British lie,
By moonlight silvered on the sky;
The watch is seen in his silent rounds,
And "all is well" distinct resounds.

"Prepare for action!" passed the word,
And in that voice to all who heard
Was strength to strike, to die if need
For home and ship—'twas Captain Reid.

"My lads," he said, "the *Armstrong* lies
In neutral seas, unlawful prize,
But if the British start the fight
We'll win or sink her from our sight!"

In silence as the twilight passed,
The seamen manned the guns, and cast
Their eyes upon the fleet, but all
Was peacefulness in port Fayal.

A shadow! what! it rises, falls;
A waving form, it leaves the walls
Of oak, and snake-like moves along;
No fife, no drum—there's something wrong!

Four boats approach with muffled oars,
With measured beat, and steady rowers;
Then Captain Reid with firm voice cries:
"Boats ahoy!"—no voice replies.

Once more he hails; again, again
He calls, but all is still; his men
Can see the forms, can hear the breath,
As panting, on they glide toward death.

Oppressive silence as before,
The rowers cease; then on once more;
The time has come, the words inspire:
"Your places men; stand steady; fire!"

The cannons roar, the muskets flash,
The waters surge, the timbers crash;
Mid clouds of smoke, mid leaden hail,
From mangled, dying, comes a wail.

The Admiral now is in a rage,
Five hundred men will soon engage
The reckless little privateer
To end its bold and brave career.

A second snaky shadow creeps
Along the waves, young Reid now leaps
Upon the rail and gives the call—
An echo answers, that is all.

A moment and again they near,
The cannons roar, but with a cheer
The British bend their oars, and go
Like Roman galleys for the foe.

The ship is theirs; they climb the sides;
They swarm about her as she rides
At anchor; never shall men say,
"One vessel kept a fleet at bay!"

A head appears, another there,
From stem to stern, they're everywhere,
But everywhere a seaman stands,
A trusty bayonet in his hands.

Lieutenant Williams falls and dies,
The air is filled with wails and cries;
The deck is strewn with dying, dead,
And every plank with blood is red.

Lieutenant Worth and Johnson fall,
But Reid, the grandest of them all
With steady courage holds his place,
And meets the soldiers, face to face.

Not for a moment do they gain
The deck; again, again in vain
They rise, but bayonets, bullets, knives,
That day destroy three hundred lives.

When rose the sun next day, the pall
Of death hung over port Fayal;
The sea was crimsoned with the stain
Of many noble heroes slain.

The scene upon the British fleet
Was one of shame, chagrin, defeat;
The roll-call showed three hundred lost,
Three hundred lives for nine, the cost.

The *Coronation*, twenty gun,
Sailed in and quickly now begun
To storm the plucky privateer
Whose men mocked death and smiled at fear.

But "Yankee" gunners aimed so true,
They shot the Britain through and through ·
The *Coronation* in dismay
Withdrew to safety down the bay.

Then all was dark, the whole fleet flamed;
All hope was gone, and Reid exclaimed:
"The British flag shall never float
Above me, I will sink the boat!"

In silence quickly they embark.
The scuttled *Armstrong* sinks, but hark!
The firing stops; the fight is o'er,
And all but nine are safe ashore.

The Admiral dare not fight again,
He now has lost five hundred men;
Ten days repairing and he sails,
To take New Orleans; but he fails.

The British waited those ten days
For aid, and worn with long delays,
They tried alone to take the town,
But Jackson's soldiers mowed them down.

Thus Captain Reid by courage saved
New Orleans; and by victory paved
The way to noble, endless fame,
And won him an immortal name.

CHARLES K. BOLTON

CLEVELAND, OHIO.

PEN PORTRAIT OF AARON BURR

"I have at length been gratified with a sight of the late Vice-President, Aaron Burr; he arrived at this place on the 28th inst. from New Orleans. A few days after, I had the honor of spending an evening in his company.

His stature is about five feet six inches; he is a spare meager form, but of an elegant symmetry; his complexion is fair and transparent; his dress was fashionable and rich, but not flashy. He is a man of an erect and dignified deportment; his presence is commanding; his aspect mild, firm, luminous and impressive. His physiognomy is of the French configuration. His forehead is prominent, broad, retreating, indicative of great expansion of mind, immense range of thought, and amazing exuberance of fancy, but too smooth and regular for great altitude of conception, and those original, eccentric and daring aberrations of superior genius. The eyebrows are thin, nearly horizontal, and too far from the eye; his nose is nearly rectilinear, too slender between the eyes, rather inclined to the right side; gently elevated, which betrays a degree of haughtiness; too obtuse at the end for great acuteness of penetration, brilliancy of wit, or poignancy of satire, and too small to sustain his ample and capacious forehead; his eyes are of ordinary size, of a dark hazel, and from the shade of his projecting eye-bones and brows, appear black; they glow with all the ardor of venereal fire, and scintillate with the most tremulous sensibility—they roll with the celerity and phrenzy of poetic fervor, and beam with the most vivid and piercing rays of genius. His mouth is large; his voice is manly, clear and melodious; his lips are thin, extremely flexible, and when silent gently closed, but opening with facility to distill the honey which trickles from his tongue. His chin is rather retreating and voluptuous. To

analyze his face with physiognomical scrutiny, you may discover many unimportant traits, but upon the first blush, or a superficial view, they are obscured like the spots in the sun, by a radiance that dazzles and fascinates the sight.

In company, Burr is rather taciturn. When he speaks, it is with such animation, with such apparent frankness and negligence as to induce a person to believe he is a man of guileless and ingenuous heart, but in my opinion there is no human creature more reserved, mysterious, and inscrutable.

I have heard a great deal of Chesterfield and the graces. Surely Burr is the epitome—the essence of them all; for never were their charms displayed with such potency and irresistible attraction. He seems passionately fond of female society, and there is no being better calculated to succeed and shine in that sphere; to the ladies he is all attention—all devotion; in conversation he gazes on them with complacency and rapture, and when he addresses them, it is with that smiling affability, those captivating gestures, that *je ne sais quoi*, those dissolving looks, that soft, sweet, and insinuating eloquence, which takes the soul captive before it can prepare for defence. In short, he is the most perfect model of an accomplished gentleman that could be framed, even by the wanton imagination of poetry or fiction."

The above description is taken from a letter written at Frankfort, August 30, 1805, printed in *The Port Folio*, May 16, 1807. PETERSFIELD

AN INCIDENT OF THE BURNING OF COLUMBIA, S. C.

The controversy over the question, "who started the conflagration which resulted in the almost total destruction of Columbia, S. C., during General Sherman's occupancy of the place, in his celebrated 'march to the sea,'" bids fair to remain one of the unsettled disputes of the late war. Whatever that commander's intention or directions may have been with reference to the general conflagration which devastated the city, it is certain that either by his orders or some one in subordinate command, a detail of troops was sent to burn the building in which the original ordinance of secession was drafted and debated. It may not be generally known that the convention which passed the historic ordinance which precipitated the war, convened originally in the Baptist Church of Columbia. The instrument was there prepared, presented, and partially debated, but the convention was finally adjourned to Charleston, where the debate was finished and the act passed, which declared South Carolina out of the Union, and loaded the guns which spoke the first word of actual war when they opened fire on Sumter. It is not surprising that the Union commander should feel like razing to the ground the building in which the war was virtually begun, and the now historic church escaped destruction by a singular accident. The officer sent to fire the building,

either from not knowing in which church the convention was held, or from having been wrongly directed, destroyed the Methodist church, and through this mistake, the building which is to-day pointed out to visitors as one of the sights of the city, still stands intact. As it is in a perfect state of preservation, it bids fair to remain yet many years a monument of one of the most momentous conventions of American history. The church is situated in the district untouched by the fire which laid waste the rest of the city, and thus escaped the general as well as special danger of destruction to which it was subjected. This incident of the burning of Columbia seems worthy of record in a publication devoted to American history, as the building so accidentally and peculiarly preserved stands intimately associated with the most important period of the history of our country.

J. CROLL BAUM

CHIEF JUSTICE NOAH DAVIS ON THE FATE OF ANDRÉ

"In no event or condition of the struggle was Washington unequal to its duties and demands. The treason of Arnold shook his soul like a tempest ; but it neither blanched nor swayed its heroic nature. The steps that followed show the firmness of his justice despite the tenderness of his heart. It has been a sort of fashion with some of late to pity the fate of André in a way that seems to censure the conduct of Washington. To the spy a felon's death is the law of war ; but the service of a spy may often be the most honorable self-devotion of a soldier, when it seeks by dangerous exposure to furnish information necessary to the preservation or movement of an army. But André was no common spy. His service had no trait or tinge of honor to a soldier. His previous correspondence with Arnold shows him to have been a briber and corrupter. In going to meet Arnold he faced none of the dangers of a spy, for he went under the protection of the wretch he had corrupted. Nor did he go to purchase the surrender of the post.

"No, he went not only to buy treason with gold and place—which may be legitimate strategy in war—but to bribe the traitor to disclose the weakness and strength of his post, and to so arrange its forces and impair its defenses that it should be carried by easy storm in spite of the bravery of its defenders, and with little or no danger to its assailants. In other words, to yield his post by selling his brave officers and men to a hopeless slaughter. In such an assault the slaughter would be little less than assassination by the assailants and murder by the traitor. No one could justly reap honor in the affair but the brave victims who might die in the hopeless defense. The business of André was, therefore, dishonorable to a soldier, and scarce less detestable than the treason of Arnold. But Washington gave him an honorable trial by a council of his superiors in rank. His guilt was confessed, his conviction was just, and his fate deserves no pity. His memory shall not rise to dim the fame of his judges."

NOTES

A NOTABLE WOMAN OF LYME—*Lyme, December* 4, 1739.—This Day died here in the 104th year of her age, Mrs. *Mary Towner*, after she had buried four Husbands, and been a widow about forty years. According to the best computation that can be made, and the best Account that can be had, more than 500 persons have descended from her. Her Grand Children have been Grand Parents near twenty years; and many of the fifth generation have sprung from her. She has lived a good subject in the reign of six great Kings, two Queens, and one crafty and potent Usurper; and at last departed with strong hopes of a better life.—*The New York Weekly Journal, December* 24, 1739, *No.* 315.

The Woman mentioned in your Paper, viz.: *Deborah Towner* of *Lyme*, that was said to travel three miles before breakfast, and dance with one of her Grand Children's Grand Children, died the fifth instant, in the 104th year of her Age: Her reason and strength held to the last week of her Life. She hath had four Husbands, *viz.: Jones, Crane, Champion,* and *Towner;* by the first of which she had 7 children; she hath left a numerous offspring, *viz.:* 6 children, 43 Grand Children's Grand Children: she hath been Great-Great-Grand Mother 11 years.—*The New York Weekly Journal, January* 1739-40, *No.* 316. W. K.

THE FIRST NAPOLEON—John Codman Ropes, in his recently issued volume with the above title, relates the following incident illustrative of the care with which Napoleon looked after little things: "When he had become emperor, he was one day inspecting the Invalides, the home for aged and disabled soldiers in Paris, and the matron was showing him the chests of drawers where the soldiers' linen was put. He bade her open a drawer. 'I suppose you know,' said he, 'how to arrange these shirts when they come back from the wash.' The good woman hesitated, and the emperor then explained that the proper way was to put those newly washed at the bottom of the drawer, so that the same garments should not be worn and washed continually. Nothing was too small for him."

THE WASHINGTON FAMILY—One of this name, Thomas Washington, was living on the island of Nevis, in the West Indies, in the year 1705. (*Records of Deeds, Hall of Records, New York City: liber* 26, page 89). C. W. B.

A FORTHCOMING BOOK—The history and genealogy of the Stiles family in England and America, complete, revised, and brought down to the present day, is nearly ready for the press, the author being Henry R. Stiles, M.D., who has contributed so much valuable material to the history of this country in recent years. It will be issued as soon as subscriptions are received sufficient to guarantee the absolute expense of publication. The volume is to be a large octavo, of not less than three hundred pages, handsomely bound, and illustrated with portraits, coats of arms, and views. To all of the Stiles name, or family connection, this book will be specially interesting, and copies should be secured while there is opportunity.

First american torpedo—For the information of the Public I now advertise, that I, the subscriber, have projected a method for blowing up of shipping with powder under water, and am fully of the mind that engines may be so contrived and managed, by placing them across the channel, that if our enemies should attempt to invade us, they should not be able to pass the channel, but they should come upon one or other of them, so that their shipping and themselves should be destroyed.

An experiment of this nature was tried the 2d day of this instant, April, in the method and manner above proposed with a few pounds of powder, and the experiment was made upon a raft, and as the raft passed over the engine, it set the same on fire and was torn into splinters, that scarce a piece four foot long was to be found, and some of it was cast into the air divers rods, and was seen by a person that was above a mile; and there were near two hundred persons that were eye witnesses, and were of the mind that if a sufficient quantity of powder was in that engine, and a ship had passed over it, it would have set the engine on fire, and been destroyed thereby.

Andrew Parker

Lexington, *April* 30, 1741.

New England Weekly Journal, May 5, 1741.

W. K.

QUERIES

Early american novels—Names wanted of the authors of the two novels entitled *The Highlands; a Tale of the Hudson.* 2 vols., Phil., 1826. Dedicated to De Witt Clinton, Governor of New York. *Redfield; a Long Island Tale of the Seventeenth Century.* Printed by Spooner at Brooklyn, imprint published by Wilder and Campbell, New York.

Blætta

Colonel A. hawkes hay—Can any of your readers furnish any information concerning Colonel A. Hawkes Hay, a prominent officer in the Revolution? Any facts concerning his ancestry or family desired.

W. S. Pelletreau

REPLIES

Corn [xiv. 517]—The word corn has its representatives and cognate words in all the Teutonic languages to designate the staple cereal. It is applied to wheat in England, to rye in Germany, to barley in Sweden, and to oats in Scotland. The first English settlers in New England found maize the staple cereal of the Indians, and learned from them to cultivate it; hence they naturally called it Indian corn. Nearly the same thing is true of Virginia, for Beverley, in his history of that province, printed in 1705, describes the various ways in which it was prepared for food. By the well-known law of economy in speech, the unessential part of the compound "Indian corn" was gradually dropped, and *corn* alone is used to designate the same thing.

Chas. W. Super

Athens, Ohio, *November* 2, 1885.

THE CHARLESTON CONVENTION [xiv. 413]—*Editor of the Magazine of American History*:—The circumstances preceding and attending the Charleston Convention furnish an answer, I think, to the query of "Louisville," in the October number of your *Magazine*, "Why the Democratic leaders of the Charleston Convention of 1860 did not agree to leave to the decision of the Supreme Court the question as to the time at which the people of a territory could lawfully, under the Federal Constitution, prohibit slavery therein."

At that very point were the North and South divided. This question was the essence of the conflict that ensued. In various forms, though judicially determined, it had been sectionally agitated and fiercely debated in State and National councils. Opposite opinions had intrenched opposite positions, and North and South were, at the last, antagonized irreconcilably within two hostile camps. Efforts were not wanting in the Charleston Convention, as its proceedings disclose, to formulate a proposition which, though not conforming with the convictions of both, would not conflict with the principles of either faction. But the passionate impulses developed during the long controversy disdained this weak escape from political straits. They were swollen beyond subjection, and, spurning the terms of compromise, contemplated only the arbitrament of arms. As stated in the article referred to, "the Southern destructives had once before been thwarted in their nefarious purposes, when the election of Mr. Buchanan unexpectedly seized from them the excuse of a sectional President for premeditated revolt. The possibility of impediment was now to be peremptorily excluded. No chance was to be permitted against the election of a sectional President. The bond was to be taken of fate, and the secession from the Charleston Convention, which rendered secure Abraham Lincoln's election *against all the Southern votes* in the electoral colleges, was a foregone conclusion of the ultras of the South, and upon which rested their revolutionary hopes."

Still, the opinions that proved irreconcilable at Charleston, might, as revealed, have been harmonized or suspended at Baltimore by the nomination of Horatio Seymour, had New York accepted the overture of the South. The inference from its rejection is therefore obvious, that stubborn as were the ultras of the South at Charleston, the ultras of the North were no less stubborn at Baltimore. The issue between Freedom and Slavery had simply befallen "in the course of human events." A supreme direction evidently dominated human affairs, and precipitated the great American conflict. JOHN COCHRANE

WEBSTER CHOWDER [xi. 360, 458, 550; xii. 90, 473]—General Benjamin F. Butler is reported in *The Cook* for October 12, 1885, as saying: "Some time later I would be glad to give *The Cook* the recipe for making chowder; I believe I am the only man left who knows. Daniel Webster was in his day the great chowder maker of New England, but the secret is almost dead."

Would it not be well for the general to turn to the files of your Magazine?

SOYER

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The regular November meeting of this Society was held Tuesday evening, November 3, at the Historical Society Building on Second Avenue. The Secretary, Colonel Andrew Warner, and the Librarian, Mr. Jacob Moore, presented monthly reports; and Mr. Floyd Clarkson, and Mr. John B. Dumont, were elected resident members. Professor Henry P. Johnston was then introduced to the audience and read a most interesting and instructive paper on "England's Political Indebtedness to the American Revolution." He said that the recent election was similar to those soon to be held in Great Britain, when all will vote. The House of Commons will then come from the people, to whom it will be directly responsible. Great Britain is at present more of a republic than a monarchy. This is shown by the fact that all the English colonies enjoy practically the same privileges as are enjoyed by the English people.

The Hon. Luther R. Marsh followed with a brilliant Report on the Reservation of Niagara Falls. Several gentlemen spoke on the subject of these papers, after which Resolutions were reported from the Executive Committee on the death of General George B. McClellan, and their adoption moved by Mr. Edward F. De Lancy and Hon. Erastus Brooks.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The first meeting of this Society after its summer recess was held on Monday evening, October 12, 1885. Among the many gifts of books, pamphlets, newspapers and maps received since its last meeting was one of more than usual interest and importance. This was a map of the Susquehanna River from Columbia, Pennsylvania, to Havre de Grace, Maryland, made by the late Benjamin Henry Latrobe, the elder, father of the present honored President of the Society. It was made in 1801, for the State of Pennsylvania, which contemplated the improvement of the navigation of that river. Several years were required to make the necessary surveys, and prepare the map, which most fortunately was done in duplicate. One copy was placed in the hands of the Governor of the State (McKean) at Harrisburg, and, in 1810 or 1811, after Congress had assumed charge of navigable waters, this was turned over to a Committee of Congress, and destroyed in the burning of the Capitol by the British in 1814. The other copy is that now presented to the Society, and the only one in existence. The map is eighteen feet long by two feet wide, and the part of the river lying in the State of Pennsylvania is highly finished in water colors. Every point on the river, every island or visible rock, and the best course for navigation, is laid down, the character of the rock on either side indicated on the margin. Altogether the map is one of the most important gifts the Society has received for a long time. Mr. Charles H. Latrobe who made the presentation was heartily thanked by the Society.

The Committee on the State Archives presented the third volume of the archives which has just passed through the press. This volume embraces the pro-

ceedings of the Colonial Council from 1636 to 1667. The President, Hon. John H. B. Latrobe, in speaking of the work of the Committee on the Archives called attention to many of the interesting items contained in the volume. President Gilman of the Johns Hopkins University spoke in terms of high commendation of the admirable manner in which the work had been executed, and of the great importance of this volume to a true development of the early history of Maryland. He thought the Society would render a valuable service if they would devote one of their meetings to an analysis of the contents of the volume, and to a development of the points of special interest and importance in their bearing upon the history of the State and the country, and on motion it was resolved that an evening should be given to such an entertainment as soon as the members should have had time to give the work a careful examination.

THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its quarterly meeting October 20, 1885. Hon. E. B. Washburne, the President, occupied the chair.

Albert D. Hager, the Librarian, reported 392 bound volumes and 1058 unbound books received and placed in the library since the meeting in July last. These, added to former accessions, make a total of 11,571 bound books, and 35,121 pamphlets, of which 1108 books had been purchased with the income of the "Lucretia Pond Fund." The Librarian made special mention of the generous contributions of books from the duplicates of the Wisconsin, Minnesota and Massachusetts Historical Societies, the Boston Public Library, Massachusetts State Library, and several college libraries that had obligingly furnished series of their catalogues, addresses, etc. He reported that 662 volumes were bound during the past summer, a large portion of which were pamphlets, and publications of sister societies, scientific and literary associations, and newspaper files.

Mr. Henry H. Hurlbut was then introduced and read an interesting paper on Samuel de Champlain, at the conclusion of which he presented to the Society an oil portrait of the great explorer, painted by his daughter, Miss Harriet P. Hurlbut.

The thanks of the Society were tendered and a request made that a copy of the paper be furnished the Society for publication.

HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF AMERICA—The two hundredth anniversary of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes was celebrated on Thursday, October 22, under the auspices of this Society. Religious services were held in the afternoon at the French Church du Saint-Esprit, in Twenty-second Street, near Fifth Avenue, conducted by the Rev. Mr. Wittmeyer. Hon. John Jay, President of the Society, spoke briefly, and then introduced Professor Henry M. Baird, who delivered an admirable oration on "The Edict and its Recall." Mr. Bayard, the Secretary of State, read a set of resolutions in which the Huguenot Society of America reaffirmed its solidarity and brotherhood with all of Huguenot origin.

In the evening a public reception, followed by an elegant dinner, was given

by the Society to its distinguished guests, at Delmonico's. About eighty-five persons were present, among whom were Hon. John Jay, Secretary Bayard, Professor Henry M. Baird, Rev. Dr. Charles W. Baird, Daniel Ravenel, of South Carolina; George W. Van Sicklen, E. M. Gallaudet, General Elisha Dyer, Henry E. Pierrepont, P. W. Gallaudet, Miss Cora Gallaudet, the Rev. and Mrs. A. V. Wittmeyer, J. F. Miller, A. J. D. Wedemeyer, Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, P. B. Olney, Frederick J. De Peyster, Colonel William Jay, Robert Gourdin, of South Carolina; Colonel Richard Lathers, Abram Du Bois and Colonel Charles H. Delavan. The principal address was made by Mr. Bayard, who responded to the toast "Our Guests." Other toasts were responded to by Robert Gourdin, Prof. Baird, E. M. Gallaudet, Frederick J. De Peyster, and others. Letters of regret were read from Chauncey M. Depew, Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, ex-Governor Joshua L. Chamberlain, of Maine, and Dr. Quintard, Bishop of Tennessee. John G. Whittier sent a letter regretting that illness prevented him from writing a poem to be read at the dinner.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY met on the evening of November 3, to listen to an eloquent and scholarly address from the President of the Society, Professor Gammell, on "The Huguenots and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes." The orator was introduced by the Vice-president, Dr. Parsons, who said: "The present year is the two hundredth anniversary of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; unusual interest has been manifested in this fact, and an unusual number of celebrations of the event have taken place." Professor Gammell touched upon the leading features of the Protestant Reformation, and showed how it seemed for a time as though the new faith might have at least a fair field in which to assert and maintain its doctrines. He pointed out the time when its professors began to be called Huguenots, although they were scarcely regarded as reformers then, and spoke of the origin of the name which has received not less than fifteen different explanations. He said that probably the name was first given to them in derision; and went on to illustrate how was planted in the French nature that appetite for Huguenot blood, which for more than a hundred and fifty years fed itself on massacres and butcheries, on murders and slaughters, the enormities of which no history has fully described, and no imagination has fully conceived.

The audience, representing the finest culture of Providence, listened with marked attention, and at the close of the address Rev. J. G. Vose, Dr. Parsons, and others, spoke of the great influence the Huguenots had exerted on the moral life of this country.

ST. NICHOLAS SOCIETY—Officers for the ensuing year: President, Cornelius Vanderbilt; Vice-Presidents, Carlisle Norwood, Jr., John C. Mills, James W. Beekman and Stuyvesant Fish; Treasurer, Edward Schell; Secretary, Charles A. Schermerhorn; Assistant Secretary, John B. Pine; Chaplains, Rev. Thomas E. Vermilye, D.D., Right Rev. Henry C. Potter, D.D.

CONTRIBUTION TO A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

V

LOUISIANA.

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HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF LOUISIANA. Compiled by B. F. French. Part 2, 3. Philadelphia, New York. 1850–51. 2 vols. Map. 8vo. These 2 volumes are dedicated to the Society, the whole series is comprised in 7 volumes, but these are the only ones connected with the Society.

MAINE.

Gorges Society, Portland.

GEORGE CLEEVE, of Casco Bay, 1630–1667, with collateral documents. By James Phinney Baxter. Printed for the Gorges Society, Portland, Maine, 1885. 339 (1) pp. Illustrated. Portrait. sm. 4to.

NEW ENGLAND'S VINDICATION. By Henry Gardiner. Edited with notes, by C. E. Banks. London, 1660. Printed for the Gorges Society, Portland, Maine, 1884. 83 (1) pp. sm. 4to.

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Maine Genealogical and Biographical Society, Augusta.

THE MAINE GENEALOGIST AND BIOGRAPHER. A quarterly journal. Published under the direction of the Society. Vol. 1–3. Augusta, 1875–78. 3 vols. 8vo.

Maine Historical Society, Portland.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE SOCIETY AT BOWDOIN COLLEGE, on the annual commencement, September 5, 1849. By R. C. Winthrop. Boston, 1849. 68 pp. 8vo.

LIFE AND SERVICES OF JAMES BOWDOIN. By R. C. Winthrop. 2d edition. With additions. Boston, 1876. (1) 50 pp. 8vo. This is a second issue of the preceding.

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT BRUNSWICK BEFORE THE SOCIETY, at the anniversary, September 6, 1846. By George Folsom. Portland, 1847. 79 pp. 8vo.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE SOCIETY, March 5, 1857, containing biographical notices of the former presidents of the society. By W. Willis. Portland, 1857. 54 pp. 8vo.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE SOCIETY, JANUARY 27, 1858, ON THE SCOTCH-IRISH IMMIGRATION TO MAINE, and Presbyterianism in New England; with the McKinstry genealogy. By W. Willis. Portland, 1866. 46 pp. 8vo.

ADDRESS ON THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF PARKER CLEAVELAND. Delivered January 19, 1859, before the Society. By L. Woods. Portland, 1859. 61 pp. 8vo.

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ANCIENT PEMAQUID. An historical review. Prepared at the request of the Society, by J. W. Thornton. Portland, 1857. 178 pp. 22 copies only printed.

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COASTING VOYAGES IN THE GULF OF MAINE, made in 1604, 5 and 6, by Samuel Champlain. Paper read at meeting of the Society, February 18, 1875. By J. M. Brown. Bath, 1875. 24 pp. 8vo.

COLLECTIONS. Vol. 1-8. Second series. Vol. 1-3. Portland [etc.], 1831-84. 11 vols. 8vo. *Contents* — 1. Introductory remarks; Act of incorporation; Regulations and by-laws; Members; History of Portland, from its first settlement, with notices of the neighboring towns, by W. Willis. Part 1; An account of Limerick, by C. Freeman; Wells, by J. Hubbard and J. Greenleaf; Extracts from York records; Depositions of G. Cleeves and others, 1645, concerning miscarriages of R. Nash on the coast of Maine; Submission of Black Point, Blue Point, and Falmouth to Massachusetts, 1658; Petition of E. Godfrey, 1654; Petition of inhabitants of York, Kittery, Saco, Wells, and Cape Porpus to Cromwell, 1656; Letter from E. Rishworth to Governor Endicott, 1656; Letter from J. Curwin in 1663, about the affairs of N. E.; Petition from the inhabitants of the Province of Maine to Charles II.; Gov. Lincoln's MSS. papers; Arnold's letters on his expedition to Canada in 1775; Montresor's journal; Journal of an expedition to Quebec in 1775, by W. Allen. Portland, 1831. viii., 416 pp. Folded map. Same. Reprinted with corrections and additions. Portland, 1865. 566 pp. *Fac-similes.* 2. Preface; Discourse, September 6, 1846, by G. Folsom; Brief narration of the original undertakings of plantations in America, by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, 1658; A voyage to New England, in 1623, by C. Levett; Annals of Bakerstown, Poland and Minot, by W. Ladd; History of the seven Narraganset townships, by C. Coffin; Some account of New Gloucester, by I. Parsons; History of North Yarmouth, by E. Russell; History of Bath, by J. Sewall; Some account of an ancient settlement on Sheepscot River, by S. Johnson, with supplementary remarks, by W. Willis; Account of Pemaquid, by Judge Groton; Exertions of the O'Brien family, at Machias, in the Revolution, by J. O'Brien; Letter from Rufus Putnam to Governor Bowdoin, in relation to Shay's Rebellion; Notice of W. Ladd, by W. Willis; Deed from F. Gorges to J. Usher; Deed from J. Usher to the colony of Massachusetts Bay; Opinion of R. West, counsel to the Board of Trade, as to the King's right to the woods in the province of Maine; History of the Kennebec purchase, by R. H. Gardiner; Constitution and by-laws of the Society, and list of officers and members. Portland, 1847. vi., 3-303 (1) pp. 3. By-laws and regulations; Members; Officers; Note to the history of Scarborough, by J. W. Thornton; History of Scarborough, by W. S. Southgate; History of the Bunker Hill monument, by A. S. Packard; Contribution to the history of Bath, by W. S. Bartlet; An account of Popham's colony, by W. Strachey, with introduction, by W. S. Bartlet; Early settlements of Sagadahock and on the Androscoggin River, by J. McKeen; Richard Wharton's patent to land on the Androscoggin, 1686 [etc.]; Petition of Richard Fry to Gov. Belcher and the assembly of Massachusetts; Letter from Dr. Franklin, 1735; Indian troubles in Maine, 1702-1704.

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY. Appleton P. C. Griffin

(*To be continued.*)

BOOK NOTICES

THE PEACE OF UTRECHT. A Historical Review of the great Treaty of 1713–14, and of the principal events of the War of the Spanish Succession. By JAMES W. GERARD. 8vo, pp. 420. New York, 1885: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

To excel in historical writing has from the earliest ages been esteemed one of the greatest of intellectual achievements. The increased interest of recent years in matters of historical research, especially in the particular treatment of eventful epochs, may be readily accounted for in the fact that ripe scholars and specialists are coming more and more into sympathy with the average reader. Mr. Gerard has made a careful study of that momentous period which closed with the reigns of Queen Anne and Louis XIV., of which the Peace of Utrecht was the political culmination, and he has presented the results of his valuable researches in such a forcible and attractive style that readers of every class will become familiar with what he has done. He has produced a volume to be read with pleasure as well as profit. As he justly observes, "the personages who appeared on the historic stage of the time, were such as to give it marked dramatic effect and interest." Louis XIV. made some brilliant moves on the great political chess-board. Cardinal Mazarin said of the French king, "There is stuff enough in him to make four kings and an honest man." He was twenty-three when he took the actual reins of government in his hands. His varied career can only be traced in connection with the history of the exciting period in which he lived. One of the most intensely interesting chapters of the volume is that in which the accomplished author describes the famous intrigues which for twelve years before the decease of Charles II., of Spain, distinguished his court. Among those who figured on the scene, were "the secretary of the Cardinal, all the nobility and their wives, the Pope's Nuncio, the grand Inquisitor, the queen's confessor, Father Gabriel Chinsa, a German Capuchin, the king's former and his subsequent confessor, and even the king's two physicians, who often gave advice, ostensibly for the king's health, but really from the political reasons that the queen should not be with him during his occasional journeys, for relief and repose, to Toledo."

There are no dull pages in the book, and it is valuable from innumerable stand-points. Mr. Gerard is to be congratulated upon its excellence, and the reading public upon having within reach a work that will give a better idea of the Peace of Utrecht than any hitherto published.

JOHNSON'S NEW GENERAL CYCLOPÆDIA and copper-plate Hand Atlas of the World. Combined and illustrated for daily use in family, school, and office. Complete in two volumes. Large 8vo, pp. 1562. New York, 1885: A. J. Johnson & Co.

A great want has been supplied in the admirable condensation of the elaborate *Universal Cyclopædia* of Johnson, bringing the contents of the whole into two octavo volumes for ready reference. Each of these volumes contains some 750 pages, with double columns, and in a type that admits a great amount of matter into that space. The maps, which together form an atlas of the world, are in double page, and while they are not minute in noting all the smaller towns, as in the maps of the several United States, they are beautifully executed, clear, and distinct. The volumes are extensively illustrated with fine engravings, which are as essential in setting forth many scientific matters as in other departments. As the larger work has been for many years before the public, and its merits thoroughly appreciated, it is sufficient to say in this connection that the same scholarship which rendered its accuracy so nearly perfect has given us substantially the same work in this much more convenient form. We cordially commend it to all who desire a complete compend of universal information. Nothing of the kind could be better adapted for the use of families and schools.

THE PROPHET OF THE GREAT SMOKY MOUNTAINS. By CHARLES EGBERT CRADDOCK. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1885.

Miss Murfree's success as an author was one of the literary events of last year. For several months her identity remained hidden under a masculine *nom de plume*, and when it was revealed the reading public had already been captivated by her graphic sketches of life in a region comparatively unknown as a field for literary exploration. Alleged experts have severely criticised her rendering of the dialect of the Tennessee mountains, but on the other hand, it is asserted in her behalf that she has made a conscientious study of the dialect *in loco*, so that those of us who have no personal knowledge must in justice pronounce hers the correct rendering until its falsity has been authoritatively disproved. There is no question as to the readable character of her stories, and the *Prophet* is no exception to the rule. Some readers may tire, perhaps, of the redundancy of her descriptions of natural scenery, but others will enjoy

them, and all will find the book worth reading as a novel of original type. To the critic, a not unnatural regret must occur that so strong a writer, as Miss Murfree evidently is, did not make more of the Prophet. The first mention of him suggests a coming scene where a religious enthusiast shall wrestle with Satan on the bald mountain top, but the hope is inadequately realized, and one cannot but feel that in the case of the Prophet, highly picturesque possibilities have been slighted. The description that lingers most conspicuously in the memory is that of the interior of the moonshiners' subterranean whisky-still, with its rough human occupants, its weird shadows. and its final tragedy. It is very easy for a critic who does not habitually write novels to say that a particular book falls short by a little of what we call "greatness." Yet such is not an unjust comment upon the *Prophet of the Great Smoky Mountains*. The possibilities of the situations are noble, and the story as it stands is far above mediocrity—easily a bright star in the literary firmament. But it lacks the touch that might have placed it among the planets.

ROCHESTER. A Story. Historical. By JENNY MARSH PARKER. 8vo, pp. 412. 1884. Rochester, New York: Scrantom, Wetmore & Company.

This unique work touches upon so many points of interest connected with the Genesee Valley, that in the language of its author we may say, "the story has its beginning in the unwritten history of the early human race on this continent, the first possessors of the soil we call our own." The wealth of evidence that a race of men inhabited this region long before the comparatively modern Indian, is overwhelming. The white man found the Senecas in possession, and they told of a people who held their hunting grounds long before them, but who were not of their kindred. Whence they came and whither they went the wisest sachems did not pretend to guess. But when the white man came he had come to stay. Civilization and barbarism looked each other squarely in the eye.

The titles of the successive chapters in the book give a seriously inadequate idea of their contents; the reader will find in the one devoted to "our first families" a variety of information. The gold Bible of the Mormons was said to have been found here. Joseph Smith was the son of one of the pioneers The author says: "Rochester narrowly escaped the notoriety of publishing the first Mormon Bible, for it was the prophet himself who, in the year 1829, addressed Thurlow Weed in the *Telegraph* office, saying he wanted a book printed—that he had been directed in a vision to a place in the woods near Palmyra, where he had found a gold Bible, etc. The little he read to Mr. Weed from a tablet in his hat, sent him elsewhere with his golden Bible." The first grist mill in the region was almost two miles and a half from the present town of Penn Yan. Colonel Nathaniel Rochester, with his family of five boys and five girls, arrived in the little village of Rochesterville in 1818. These pages are enlivened with many a picturesque incident of early life in Rochester, as the village grew and blossomed into an important city. Its later history is also treated with painstaking care. The work is well conceived, written in an engaging style, and fully illustrated. If well handled by its publishers we predict for it a wide sale with cordial appreciation.

A NARRATIVE OF MILITARY SERVICE. By GENERAL W. B. HAZEN. 8vo, pp. 450. Boston: Ticknor & Co. 1885.

The first impression of which one is aware on opening this volume is that of disappointment at the character of the illustrations. But the workmanlike, or perhaps we should say soldier-like, context presently leads us to overlook artistic shortcomings. In considering the personal military narrative of a contemporary American officer, the reader almost unconsciously compares it with General Sherman's volumes which achieved such a phenomenal success from a literary point of view. A deliberate comparison, however, would be unjust, for the two books are as unlike as are the respective authors. General Hazen appropriately dedicates this volume to the "survivors of his command and the memory of the dead," and repudiates at the very outset all idea of writing history. He has trusted, as he must of necessity do, to his own recollections of events and occurrences for the narrative parts, supporting his statements by citations from the official record, and from private letters received from the men of his command. We have used the word soldier-like in reference to the literary character of the book, and it well describes the frank, straightforward way in which the author arranges his material. Official orders and reports are not in general interesting reading, but in this case they are brought in with a certain technical or tactical skill that at once commends itself to the reader—especially if he happens to have taken part in the campaigns described. General Hazen has had the misfortune to be drawn of late into the whirlpool of Washington politics, and has made a host of enemies, which will have its influences upon press notices, for the average reviewer of the period is not above partisan influences. That he has an honorable record as a brave and accomplished soldier is beyond dispute. The narratives before us may or may not settle the controversies concerning the author—probably not, for such matters are too strongly tinctured with

personal feeling to admit of conclusive settlement during the lives of the participants. Yet as a readable work, which every student of the civil war will peruse with pleasure, and as a contribution of material for the use of the future historian, General Hazen's book has decided and permanent value.

AN HISTORICAL ATLAS. Comprising 141 Maps, to which is added, besides an explanatory text on the period delineated in each map, a carefully selected bibliography of the English books and magazine articles bearing on that period. By ROBERT H. LABBERTON. Eighth Edition, square octavo. New York, 1885: Townsend MacCoun.

The new features of the eighth edition of this exceptionally valuable atlas will be welcomed by all students who desire to work out for themselves any special line of investigation. Professor Labberton has written a concise and connected narrative, free from all confusing detail, which accompanies and explains these maps. He has thus given to general readers the information most desired on historical and geographical points. He has also added to the table of contents under each chapter, a brief and well-chosen general reference to standard works and notable magazine articles. The maps on early England are more numerous and comprehensive than in any other historical work or atlas, and the author of the text has done ample justice to these instructive illustrations.

Europe from the Peace of Paris to the Peace of Prague is so admirably presented as to deserve special mention, and the scholar may learn more of the causes and consequences of the Franco-Prussian War from these maps and Professor Labberton's able and scholarly descriptions, than from any other published source. This atlas shows the geographical extent of any important factor in the world's history at any given time, which is more than can be said of the ordinary modern atlas, or even those of classic fame.

WILLIAM E. BURTON, Actor, Author, and Manager. With recollections of his performances. By WILLIAM L. KEESE. Crown octavo, pp. 230. 1885. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

During his life no man was better known than William E. Burton, and his death called forth a universal expression of admiration for his genius and regret for his loss. He was the comedian of a past generation, whose name is identified with certain delineations of character that passed away with him. He came to this country in 1834, and died in 1860. He was identified with such parts as *Captain Cuttle, Mr. Toodle, Ebenezer Sudden, Mr. Micawber, Aminadab Sleek, Paul Pry, Bob Acres*, and *Tony Lumpkin.* Mr. Keese has touched with a skilled pen upon the whole career of Burton, presenting a most interesting record. He was the son of a printer in London, and was classically educated. At eighteen his father died, and he assumed the management of the printing office, then edited a monthly magazine, and among other things compiled a little work entitled *Burton's Cyclopædia of Wit and Humor.* He finally made a trial of his stage ability, and was successful. Before coming to America he had made a comic character famous by fifty consecutive representations. He was thirty years of age when he arrived unheralded in New York, and his unfolding genius already gave full promise of the delightful humor which he subsequently displayed during so long a period for the amusement of the public. The volume is illustrated with some half dozen of Burton's portraits, in various characters which he represented from time to time, and contains an excellent picture of Palmer's Opera House, from a water-color drawing. The author, with graceful ease, has included in the work a general view of the American stage during the period. The book is elegantly printed on laid paper, and the edition limited to five hundred copies.

INCIDENTS AND ANECDOTES OF THE CIVIL WAR. By ADMIRAL PORTER. 8vo, pp. 357. New York, 1885: D. Appleton & Co.

This book is far more readable than any novel, which is saying a great deal, since its distinguished author has so recently made a successful venture in the realm of fiction. The pleasant, vigorous style of narration with which Admiral Porter is gifted could not be better employed than in recording the incidents and anecdotes that came under his own personal observation during the civil war period. We have them here in one steady, uninterrupted flow throughout the book. Sketches of the rejoicing in Washington when South Carolina seceded, the plan to save Fort Pickens, a memorable breakfast, the attack on New Orleans, an interview with Ericsson about the *Monitor*, incidents on the Mississippi and in many other places, cannot fail to attract a multitude of readers. While at Alexandria, the Admiral writes: "My weakness was for horses; I always required a horse. I was in the saddle all the spare time I could find; when I arrived in Alexandria I found myself without a horse. My flag-ship then was a small stern-wheel boat with a crew of only forty-eight men and six six-pounder boat-guns. I had room for only one

horse, and he had something the matter with him. I must have another horse, and so I told Gorringe, who was acting flag-captain *pro tem*. In less than three hours he had found one, and I took him out to try his mettle. While riding along the river-side I met a lady on horse-back, and I raised my cap as I was about to pass her, but she put herself right across the road and disputed my way. 'I hope you are enjoying yourself, sir, *on my horse*,' she said, 'and I am glad I have met the gentleman who borrowed him, because I want to know the man that borrows anything from me, to be certain that he will return it. You aren't what they call a quartermaster, are you? Because, if you are, I want to get my horse back at once. You're not, eh? Well, so much the better; you can come and see me. My name is Mrs. Holmes. That horse has a trick of shying; he'll throw you off if you let him; my house is a plain yellow building with gable-ends—and he's a little spavined, but nothing to hurt—and there's a large dog-house close to the gate, and he feeds on corn (the horse I mean); and there, now, I haven't time to listen to you at present, but hope you will enjoy yourself riding my horse; only take care of him, and don't forget to return him before you go away. Good-evening,' and off she rode."

IN CAMP AND BATTLE WITH THE WASHINGTON ARTILLERY OF NEW ORLEANS. A narrative of events during the late Civil War, from Bull Run to Appomattox and Spanish Fort. Illustrated with maps and engravings. By WILLIAM MILLER OWEN, First Lieutenant and Adjutant B.W.A. 8vo, pp. 467. 1885. Boston: Ticknor & Co.

The Washington Artillery of New Orleans was one of the best disciplined military organizations of the South at the breaking out of the late civil war. The volume before us is a record of its service, compiled by the adjutant from his diary, and from authentic documents and orders, and it possesses singular, even fascinating, interest. The author says, "I do not pretend to write a history of the civil war, nor any romance, nor will I set down aught in malice;" at the same time, he gives us a spirited and breezy narrative from the Confederate point of observation, and in a style so clear and attractive, and presented with such cleverness and good taste, that it retains all the flavor and attractiveness of a contemporary account, while based with precision on an official diary. "We were called 'band-box soldiers,'" says the author, "by the commands which came to Richmond direct from Pensacola, and saw us before we took the field. We are now (July, 1861) fast approaching an appearance that would have met their entire approbation, only as Bull Run flows just back of our camp, we could claim to be somewhat cleaner than the average; and let it be of record, that all through the war the Washington Artilleryman, though he might wear a ragged jacket and torn shoes, was clean and presentable. Indeed, this condition of things was necessary, as the command had, or claimed to have, cousins and aunts in every city or hamlet in the whole of the eastern part of the Old Dominion. The best rooms everywhere were opened to it, and the land flowed with eggs, chickens, milk, and 'wild honey.' The Hon. John Slidell and Judge Alexander Walker, of Louisiana, were often in our camp. Mr. Slidell was the guest of General Beauregard, whose head-quarters, removed to Weir's house, were not far from our camp on Bull Run. We often rode over after dress parade in the evening. The office of Colonel Jordan, his adjutant-general, was in the house. Captain Gray Latham, with his red flannel shirt, was the hero of the hour; Captain H. E. Peyton also loomed up like a hero. The general's staff was composed mostly of young South Carolinians of good family, such as Captains Heyward, Chisholm, Ferguson, and others."

The tone of the work is manly and straightforward. All the important engagements in which the Washington Artillery participated are sketched with accuracy and fullness of detail, and without a trace of bitterness toward the foe. The volume is handsomely printed, and several illustrations and battle maps add to its permanent value.

EVOLUTION AND RELIGION. Part I. By HENRY WARD BEECHER. Pamphlet 8vo, pp. 145. 50c. New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert.

This handsomely printed pamphlet comprises Part I. of what may be regarded as one of the distinguished author's most important intellectual achievements. It contains the eight opening sermons of a series whose subject is sufficiently indicated by the title, and shows that Mr. Beecher is as ready now, when nearing the close of life, to enter the difficult field between theology and science, as he was thirty or forty years ago to enter the physically perilous regions that lay between pro-slavery and anti-slavery. His general views on evolution cannot be broadly considered until the series is complete, but it is safe to say that they will occupy a conspicuous place in the rapidly increasing list of works on this fascinating subject.

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